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THE

LIFE, TIMES, AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

THE RIGHT REV. DR. DOYLE,

BISHOP OF KILDARE AND LEIGHLIN.

BY

WILLIAM JOHN FITZPATRICK, J.P.,

AUTHOR OF "THE LIFE, TIMES, AND CONTEMPORARIES OF LORD CLONCURRY," "LADY MORGAN; HER CAREER, LITERARY AND PERSONAL," &c.

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THE

LIFE, TIMES, AND CORRESPONDENCE

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CHAPTER XXIII.

Letter to Lord Farnham on the Second Reformation—Frothy statements and false statistics—The Catholic Claims irresistible—Must the Church Establishment fall?—Lord Farnham's predictions—Separation of the two Islands—The United Irishmen—The voice of warning—Bishop England's plan of physical force—Verification of the prophecies by J. K. L.—5,000,000 of bullets arrive—The Catholic Question again defeated—Correspondence with O'Connell—Letters from Ensor and Cæsar Otway—Conversions to Catholicism—Dr. Doyle in tribulation—Whitefeet—Dr. Doyle refutes the statistics of the Kildare-place Society—Anecdotes—A book society—Dr. MacHale on Dr Doyle—Correspondence about an apostate Priest—Another *Charge* from Dr. Magee—Dr. MacHale and Sydney Smith urge J. K. L. to answer it—Extracts from the reply—An evil spirit exorcised at Clongowes—Correspondence with George Ensor—Another antithesis—Letter from Dr. Magee—Melancholy break-up of the Archbishop's mind.

In January, 1827, Dr. Doyle threw aside his elaborate reply to Archbishop Magee, on which he had been bestowing much labour, in order to enter the lists with Lord Farnham, who had just delivered a rather remarkable speech on the occasion of inaugurating "a Cavan association for promoting the Second Reformation in Ireland." Lord Farnham, although an ardent religious enthusiast, like his cotemporary, Sir Harcourt Lees, was in the main a sincere and well-intentioned man, perfectly honest as a politician, and occasionally right, as his spirited opposition to the Union in 1800 proved. In the later years of his life he fell a victim, with an immense number of old ladies, to much of the fanatical folly then so prevalent in Ireland. "The controversial excitement through the country," writes Mr. Daunt, "was actually frightful. The Protestants were taught to look upon the religion of the Catholics as a grand magazine of immorality, infidelity, and rebellion; whilst the Catholics regarded their enthusiastic assailants as the

victims of a spiritual insanity, derived from an infernal source." Wondrous statements and astounding statistics regarding the progress of proselytism found repeated expression from Lord Farnham's lips, for which at the time he had to suffer many an intemperate retort; but historically we must regard this pious Peer rather as the deceived than the deceiver. "Weekly bulletins of the number of new converts from Popery," writes Mr. O'Neill Daunt, "were placarded on the walls, and suspended round the necks of persons hired to perambulate the public streets. Fourteen hundred and eighty-three converts were at one period announced as the fruit of Lord Farnham's exertions in Cavan; but when Archbishop Magee went down to confirm them, their numbers had shrunk to forty-two. He kept open house for proselytes, who were furnished with soup, potatoes, and in some instances with clothes. Pauper Protestants sometimes enjoyed his hospitality under the pretext of being converts from Popery, and such Catholics as thought they could escape recognition among the multitude of strange faces, continued to be converted three or four times over, in order to prolong the substantial advantage of being fed, at a dear season, at the noble Lord's cost. When the supply of food, &c., was discontinued, they returned to their former Church." So far, Mr. O'Neill Daunt.

Dr. Doyle, although a churchman, refrained from noticing Lord Farnham's speech on its strictly religious claims to attention. He passed by its local, and personal, and religious portions, "which would probably employ the pen of some caustic polemic," and took to account only that portion which was purely political. J.K.L. discussed it with the gravity and freedom due to the deliberate opinion of a distinguished leader of a party. Lord Farnham's opinions, when disengaged from extraneous matters and superfluous words, were—first, that the Catholic Claims must be conceded, if the Irish Catholics continue in their present strength of numbers; secondly, that if these claims be conceded, the Church Establishment must fall; thirdly, that a consequence, not remote, of such concession would be the utter separation of the two Islands.

J. K. L. examined in detail each of these propositions. The first he pronounced to be undeniable, and that it was as easy to stop the course of the sun as to impede the progress of reason and justice which had arisen to liberalize the Protestant and liberate the Catholic. "The cause of the Irish Catholics," he continued, "has now progressed so far—it is carried onwards by such a force, external and internal, foreign and domestic, that to arrest it would be as much beyond the power of any body of men, as it would be beyond the power of your Lordship to stem the

cataract of Niagara. The Catholic cause cannot be defeated in this empire, for, now that its merits are known, it is aided by the genius of the constitution, the spirit of British law, the immense power of literature and commerce—nay, as bearing on the security and value of property, it has allied itself with the private interests of the most influential part of the community, whilst it has only to combat with coarse and vulgar prejudices, with an Establishment, useless, burdensome, and corrupt, and with a pride and selfishness which every occurring death diminishes. Our cause then must beyond doubt prevail, if public opinion be the supreme regulator in this empire."

Dr. Doyle discussed at much length the second opinion advanced by Lord Farnham, and quite concurred with his Lordship that the Church Establishment must fall sooner or later. He hoped the time was not far distant when religion would be relieved of an incubus, and Ireland from an intolerable pressure. Dr. Doyle dealt severely with the Irish temporal Establishment, but his views were hardly stronger than those which had been already expressed by Lords Brougham, Macauley, John Russell, and the Rev. Sydney Smith. The Bishop, adopting a milder tone, then puts the question—"Can your Lordship, laying your hand to your breast, appeal to your conscience or honour, and say that the Irish Church Establishment requires no reform?" Assuming its reformation to be a necessary consequence of the concession of the Catholic Claims, J.K.L. showed that they ought not on that account to be withheld, and Lord Farnham would act more wisely by inviting Whigs and Tories to settle the great national question which troubled the public repose and agitated the empire, than by calling on them to enter with his Lordship upon what a little more experience would show him to be a perfectly fruitless crusade against the religion of the Irish people. "Fruitless, I mean of such conversions as you contemplate, but probably fruitful in results far and widely different from those which you would have the public to believe you expect."

Dr. Doyle, as we have seen, had little hopes in the ultimate success of the movement of which Lord Farnham had constituted himself a zealous and intrepid leader. "Many Catholics," he said, "anticipate, and not without cause, that a number of those trees which, as they say, are now twice dead, will be enlivened and take root again; that many wandering stars, which now travel unrestrained by any law, will be fixed again in their orbit; that great numbers of men, who are now tossed about by every wind of doctrine, will come to bend in the temples and adore before the altars which their fathers deserted."

Dr. Doyle next showed the untenable character of Lord Farn-

ham's startling prediction regarding separation. He reminded him that it was Protestants and not Catholics who had been almost always favourable to a severance of the two countries: "When a jealousy of British influence, or a dislike to the connexion, produced, at a subsequent period, the league of United Irishmen, whose avowed object was separation, who were its framers, its propagators, its supporters? *They were not Catholics*—the Catholics were only its victims. When this country, its laws and privileges, and its distinct national existence, were afterwards brought to market and made matter of traffic, who were they who, swayed by a thirst of gold, sold their conscience and their country? Were they Catholics? No!"

The Bishop expressed great regret that Lord Farnham should be so "blind to the loyalty of the Catholics, so long maintained; to their fidelity, so often tried; to their love of country, so often proved."

Dr. Doyle brought to bear all the resources of a strong and solid logic with a view to undermine the position taken up by Lord Farnham as a consequence of Emancipation. The Peer's gloomy forebodings had already influenced the views of not a few persons previously favourable to the Catholic cause. "The question," continued Dr. Doyle, "for an Irish patriot to consider is, first, would separation from England be practicable if the Catholics be emancipated? Next, would it be useful if it were practicable? If the present balance of power in Europe can be maintained, every attempt to separate these islands would be abortive; and until a revolution more extensive and violent than that which has lately terminated shall again pervade this hemisphere, every Irishman of sound views will labour to cement the existing union. If the Catholics, therefore, were emancipated, and Ireland governed justly, there is no portion of her inhabitants would labour more zealously, or with fairer views, for the prosperity of the United Kingdom."

Dr. Doyle argued at some length on this point, but concluded by saying that his remarks were made "on the supposition that the just claims of the Catholics are conceded, and the country governed, not by compromise, indecision, and petty intrigue, but by a just, and frank, and straightforward policy."

The Bishop then reversed the picture, and put the pregnant question—"Your Lordship fears separation if the Catholic claims be conceded. Has your Lordship no fear if they be withheld?" Lord Farnham had indeed no such apprehensions, but it would seem that a longer-headed man, the Duke of Wellington, had very considerable fears on the subject, for, two years later, we find him declaring that he yielded to the Catholic Claims, not from a con-

viction of their justice, but simply to avert the calamities of a civil war. "In reasoning on this hypothesis," wrote Dr. Doyle, "I do not take into calculation the increased irritation, heart burnings, hatred, and disaffection, which your new crusade will produce. I argue only on the data already before us of the existing state of things." He then went on to show, from a variety of circumstances long forgotten, that the peace of Europe was confessedly in jeopardy. Referring to America, he said: "We also know of their views on Ireland, and how many of our exiled countrymen burn beyond the Atlantic with a spirit of revenge."

In this Dr. Doyle was perfectly right. The late Stephen Coppinger of the Catholic Association informed the writer of these pages that he had been himself assured by Dr. England, Bishop of Charleston, North Carolina, that he (Dr. England) almost personally organized, in 1828, a force of 40,000 men, which, headed by General Montgomery, the son of an Irish refugee, was intended for the invasion of Ireland had Emancipation continued to have been withheld. Mr. Coppinger added that Sir T. Wyse, author of an "Historical Sketch of the Catholic Association," was aware of this fact, and made an indirect allusion to it in that work; and further, that the Duke of Wellington was in full possession of Bishop England's scheme. "This is a very important historical fact," observed Mr. Coppinger, "and by no means generally known. Even O'Connell himself knew very little about it." Reverting to Dr. England, Mr. Coppinger said: "He had been editor of an influential Cork paper, and conducted it with great patriotic spirit and ability. The hierarchy rather feared his influence and views, which were decidedly democratic, and a memorial, signed by nearly all the Bishops in Ireland, was sent to Rome, praying his Holiness to appoint him to some vacant foreign see.* Some of the episcopal body seemed to fear that, on the death of the Bishops of Cork or Cloyne, Dr. England might be elected to the dignity, and, whether true or false, he was suspected to have been tinged with revolutionary principles. Dr. Coppinger, the venerable patriot Prelate of Cloyne, entertained a great regard for Dr. England, as well as a hearty appreciation of his talents, and refused to sign the memorial to Rome. This fact was communicated to me by Dr. Coppinger himself."

* The late Mr. Fagan, M.P. for Cork, in an elaborate tribute to Dr. England's tribunitial powers, writes: "Why was it Ireland lost the services of that distinguished man? Why was his lot ultimately cast in a foreign land—in the southern States of Republican America, where his genius burned out, amidst a race of uncivilized slave-owners? He sacrificed himself to the service of religion, but would he not have rendered it more service as a Prelate in his native land, co-operating with such able and exalted men as Dr. Doyle in improving the condition of the people, and making Catholicity respected even by its enemies?"

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anecdote. Coyne, on his way to London, paid Dr. Milner a visit at Wolverhampton, and in the morning the Bishop said: 'Now, Mr. Coyne, I am going to say Mass; *you* need not come down to the chapel; and opening a door in the wall, he said, 'here is a little tribune opening on the chapel where I say my prayers.' Coyne found on the Bishop's kneeling-place a 'Following of Christ,' a 'Think Well On't,' and a 'Garden of the Soul,' all worn and blackened with the Bishop's thumbs. When Dr. Doyle heard this, a tear burst into his eyes, and he exclaimed—'That gives me a greater idea of Dr. Milner than his "End of Controversy" and all he has ever written—that he should constantly nourish his soul with those simple but solid manuals of the people!'"

In February, 1827, the Catholic Book Society of Dublin was established. Many isolated efforts had long been made by individuals to print and publish cheap Catholic books; but failure was generally the result. Hence a society was formed for the more effectual publication of works written in defence of truth, in support of religion, and in refutation of error and misrepresentation. Mr. Battersby, an active promoter of this scheme, writes: "The Right Rev. Dr. Doyle was the first Prelate out of Dublin who warmly supported the undertaking." The Bishop proved his sympathy with its objects in the most practical manner, and wrote an admirable address on the origin, nature, and advantages of the institution. Its plan, he said, was so simple that all could understand it; it was so wise that no person could fail to see how well fitted it was for the attainment of the end proposed. "Religious instruction is the most easy and most effectual means whereby men can be rendered wise and good; it makes them acquainted with the Almighty God; it informs them of His power, His wisdom, His providence, goodness, and mercy; it instructs them in the duties which they owe to Him, and renders sweet and easy the performance of those duties; it teaches them that important knowledge of themselves, of their own good and bad qualities, without which they are incapable of escaping the dangers and temptations of this world, and, by placing before them in a proper light the obligations annexed to their respective situations in life, it also enables them to become good citizens, faithful friends, dutiful children, wise parents, and, above all, good Christians. The rich family, and the family in easy circumstances, are able to provide themselves with useful books; but the very titles of these books are not always known to them, or if known, they may not be easily procured—perhaps the disposition to purchase them may not always exist at a certain time or moment; it may pass away and be lost amidst the distraction of the world. But the Catholic Book Society employs the combined wisdom of several pious and learned men

in the selection of books; it conveys them into the houses, and places them before the eyes and in the hands of persons who would seldom think on them, and compels, as it were, those who, 'like the sluggard, will and will not,' to read and reflect upon what their interests require that they should know. But the tradesman, the peasant, the poor labourer, who with difficulty earns his bread by the sweat of his brow—he it is who requires instruction and consolation. Religion alone can render his burden light and his yoke sweet; to him the Catholic Book Society becomes the agent of religion, it enters his humble dwelling, it employs his leisure in the work of his own happiness, or, whilst he rests his weary limbs from fatigue, it expounds to him, through the lips of his own beloved child, those saving truths, those consoling reflections which a just and merciful Redeemer has been pleased often to conceal from the prudent and the wise, and to reveal to the little ones, the simple, and the poor. To him heretofore books of religious instruction were, in many instances, like delicious fruits enclosed within a garden which he was not allowed to enter; the object of the Catholic Book Society is to open the enclosure, and to permit the poor man and his family to feast with the rich man on the common gifts of God—on the fruits, not of the earth, but of heaven."

But the Catholic Book Society proposed to itself other duties. It aimed to co-operate with the legitimate guardians of the Catholic faith in their efforts to preserve it intact: "The streets, the highways, bear testimony to the afflicting trials which now in Ireland beset and encompass on every side the sacred deposit of the faith. Calumnies the most unfounded, misrepresentations the most gross and incredible, are everywhere circulated against Catholics, and against whatever they esteem most sacred and venerable. To read the Acts of the Apostles, the apologies of primitive Christians, the letters of those holy Bishops who preserved the faith, instructing and consoling the true believers in the earliest ages of the Church, and to compare what happened in their times with what is now occurring in our own, it would appear that, with the exception of those cruelties which the temper of the present age would not endure, the Church of Ireland is not inferior in suffering, in patience, in fortitude, or in charity even to the Church of apostolic times. To assist, then, the Catholic Church and the people of Ireland under the present severe and prolonged trial, nothing can be more useful than the perusal of religious books. Such books tend to elevate the soul to God; they assist to keep before her eyes the example of Christ and of his saints, to enkindle in the heart heavenly desires and affections; they contribute to enlighten the mind with the knowledge of divine truth,

and whilst they assist to allay anger, to subdue pride, and to extinguish all feeling of hatred and revenge, they enable the most illiterate to give to everyone that asketh an account of the hope that is in them, and thus arm the Church on every side with those peaceful weapons which alone she uses in her just defence."

The Kildare-place Society underwent about the same time some renewed strokes of chastisement from Dr. Doyle's pen. He expressed himself more than ever opposed to the diffusion of Scripture-reading among weak and illiterate children, without note or comment, or previous prayer, or any regard whatever to Church authority. Dr. Doyle showed, moreover, that every great champion of the Kildare-place system was the open and determined enemy of the Catholic Claims. The Right Rev. Dr. MacHale, noticing Dr. Doyle's writings on the subject, observed: "After the *exposé* of the Catholic Bishop of Kildare, I am surprised, or rather not surprised that the Kildare-place Society should be still invested with the public funds." And in a subsequent letter Dr. MacHale wrote: "But the statement of the Bishop may not affect these gentlemen since they can controvert the import of the signature which he is generally thought to assume. The power of his pen does not depend upon his title to the temporalities of the Church, which, with his episcopal brethren, he does not envy to its possessors. But the reader must smile when he is told that the law annihilates such a personage. The mysterious hand of J. K. L., without recognizing the body to which it is appended, would be more alarming than if his person were known and defined."

Mr. Topham, in regard to the state of certain schools, read a lecture, as long as one of the chapters of St. Paul to Timothy, to Dr. Doyle, and appealed to the public to correct the maladministration of that unworthy Bishop. Dr. Doyle's reply, which was written in the third person, thus concluded: "The Committee boast of their endeavours to promote Scriptural education, and yet Dr. Doyle is fully satisfied that the Kildare-place Society is the greatest obstacle to so desirable a result. Dr. Doyle has ever been a friend to Scriptural education when regulated as it ought to be." He expressed his conviction that until the Kildare-place system was wholly discarded, the dissensions and heart-burnings which then prevailed would not be diminished. "On the heads of those," he added, "who oppose obstacles to so great a good let the responsibility descend, whilst all should remember that saying in the Book of Proverbs, that 'the soul of the Lord detesteth him who soweth dissensions among brethren."

Dr. Doyle's vigilance on behalf of Catholic interests was not exercised or displayed in his capacity of a public writer only. He

toiled in private with unflagging zeal to arrest all attempts to reduce his people by proselytism. To preserve the faith of one obscure member of his flock he often bestowed more labour and anxiety, in private correspondence and other exertions, than many of his writings on public events occasioned. We may subjoin one letter as a specimen. Writing to Mrs. Coney of Wexford, the 3rd June, 1827, he says:

"My dear Mary—The gentlemen at our College here are very much interested for a young female who, agitated by many unusual trials, became a Protestant some months ago. She afterwards was sincerely reformed, but is still exposed to great temptations. Her removal from this county would be very desirable, and those who know her are fully satisfied of her virtue and sincerity. She is young, handsome, and capable of being a very useful servant, especially as housemaid. She can do all sorts of plain work, and would gladly fill any situation, even the most humble.

"Could you take her under your own care, and give her some kind of employment? I am sure you could very easily obtain some situation for her, or perhaps she would, if with you, provide herself with a husband, as they tell me she is very interesting; at all events, I am sure she is an object of charity, and that here, wherever placed, she would be sought after and tampered with, so that to preserve her in the state of grace and in the practice of virtue, it is most desirable to have her removed and placed with a person who would feel an interest in her."

Another letter will serve to illustrate his anxiety in private on behalf of Catholic interests. The Rev. Mr.——, a member of the Augustinian Order, had just read his recantation in the Protestant Cathedral of Christ Church, Dublin. The following communication is addressed to the late Very Rev. Austin M'Dermott:

"Carlow, 22nd March, 1827.

"My dear and Very Rev. Friend—I am fully sensible of the deep affliction into which you must be plunged by the prevarication of that idiot ——; but it is only a just judgment upon our Order, as well as upon the other Orders in Ireland, for admitting into their society the stupid and vicious whom every other class had rejected.

"But what will you do to repair the scandal? Would you think it right to obtain information of the life of that unhappy man, his wanderings and extravagances, and certify them to the public at whatsoever risk? I should not, if in your place, hesitate to do so, provided that the follies and ill-conduct have been all

upon his side. But this is a point you should well ascertain, by visiting the houses in which he has been, and discovering what he calls 'persecution,' and whether it deserved that name.

"✠ J. DOYLE."

This vacillating Priest returned shortly afterwards to the Catholic Church, and read a letter of atonement, for the scandal he had caused, from the altar of a Catholic Chapel in Dublin. He is still alive, but has never since been permitted to officiate as a clergyman.

Another Pastoral Charge, very intemperate and illiberal in its allusions to Catholicism, emanated about this time from the prolific pen of Archbishop Magee. Many persons would probably not have minded it on these claims to attention, had not the philippics in question exhibited one of the most remarkable political tergiversations which had taken place for a considerable period. The reader need hardly be reminded that all the political antecedents of Dr. Magee had been of a most moderate character until promoted, during the viceroyalty of Lord Wellesley, to the archiepiscopal bench of Dublin, which seemed on a sudden to effect a complete revolution in the Prelate's views. Referring to "the vicious circle" round which Archbishop Magee had lately been so furiously driving, Dr. MacHale, the present Archbishop of Tuam, expressed a hope, in *The Evening Post* of the day, that "J. K. L., Dr. Magee's first correspondent, might dissipate once more his ill-wrought sophistries to the wind."

But it was not Dr. MacHale alone who called upon Dr. Doyle to answer the Archbishop of Dublin. The Rev. Sydney Smith privately wrote to the following effect: "My dear Lord—Have you seen Magee's last Pastoral, teeming with poison and polemics instead of peace and good-will? If not, get it at once, and answer it, for you are the only man in Ireland competent to do so. *There* he will find his match in J.K.L., and I will immolate the beast in *The Edinburgh Review*."* To find an Irish Catholic Bishop and

* Lady Holland, the accomplished daughter and biographer of Sydney Smith, addressing the author, 28th March, 1857, writes: "I rejoice to hear the task you have undertaken, for such men as Bishop Doyle are as rare as they are valuable; and it is a duty to the world, more than to themselves, that their example should be held up to admiration, and their memory kept alive in the minds of their fellow-countrymen. Though it is quite true that my father had frequent intercourse with Bishop Doyle, both in person and by letter, yet, owing to that mania he had for destroying papers, to which I frequently allude in the memoir, there is not the least fragment of it remaining; neither, at this distance of time, can I recall more of his conversation on the subject than the high respect and admiration my father had for Dr. Doyle, always speaking of him as one of the most perfect specimens of a gentleman at heart that he knew, and of the satisfaction he always had in transacting business with him, from the respect his honesty inspired—from the conviction, that though a

an Anglican Canon Residentiary of St. Paul's conspiring for the overthrow of a Protestant Prelate is certainly a novel spectacle.

Dr. Doyle disliked religious controversy, but having, only a few days previously, been taunted by the Rev. Cæsar Otway with preferring the political to the polemical arena, he resolved to deviate from his usual course.

Dr. Doyle's reply to Dr. Magee fills 146 large octavo pages. It was published simultaneously by Coyne in Dublin and by Ridgway in London. Dr. Doyle having "submitted it, most respectfully, to those to whom the Charge had been addressed," thus commenced: "A Charge, breathing discord and dissension, has been lately addressed to you by the most dignified ecclesiastic of the Established Church in your province. This Prelate has assured you that you are competent to judge all things. I think differently; but I am satisfied that you are at least competent to decide upon the merits of his Charge. For many of you, individually, I entertain sentiments of the highest respect; to you all I am bound, as a fellow-Christian, by ties of charity—ties which I hope may never be severed."

Dr. Doyle quoted largely from St. Augustin, and resumed: "I wish earnestly that I were enabled in addressing you to put on the spirit of this great man; but if at any time the oppression and injustice, under which as an Irish Catholic I labour, extort from me strong expressions, they are to be received, as in truth they are directed, not against the multitude of my Protestant fellow-subjects and fellow-Christians, but against the vices or insanity of a few furious men—men who either have originated and established in these countries religious error, with its attendants, schisms and dissensions, or who still labour to perpetuate division, to strengthen discord, and prevent, by every means in their power, not only the peace and happiness of Ireland, but also the salvation of a numerous and most deserving people."

J. K. L. then proceeded to repel assault, "not to inflict wounds—to reply to an impassioned philippic, which the voice of the country must condemn, and to defend an injured community from the unprovoked and now reiterated attacks of a Christian Bishop, who claims to discharge an embassy for Christ."

"I had hoped that this Most Reverend Prelate, embarrassed as he was by the occurrences in which he has been involved since his elevation to the See of Dublin, would have said with the Psalmist in the bitterness of his soul 'It is good for me, O Lord,

most zealous Roman Catholic, he was, like my father, deeply impressed with the purest fruits of true religion to all good men—the desire of promoting toleration, and religious love, and peace amongst mankind; and it is this quality, so rarely combined with zeal, which makes his example of so much value to the world."

that thou hast humbled me, that I may learn the ways of thy justice,' and that in the silence of retirement he would have laboured to efface from his literary character and public life those stains which a forgetfulness of his own infirmity, and an unwarrantable disrespect for other men, had imprinted on them. But whether it be a peculiarity of understanding, or a pride not to be subdued, which animates him, he appears resolved still to exhibit himself from his high station as a rallying point to the insane bigots who infest this country, and as a subject of censure to those who, were he less obtruding, would willingly pass him by unheeded. But the sympathies which the world generally bestows even upon well merited distress, can no longer be collected about his Grace; and what the public should deplore is (to recur to the language of St. Augustin), that by him and a few other restless enthusiasts the salvation of many is endangered, and the peace and comfort of society incessantly disturbed. To men of this description 'who *will* not to know the truth, that they might act rightly,' I do not address myself; my appeal is directed principally to those who, however prepossessed by early habits of thought, or influenced by alienated feelings, are yet inclined to listen to the accused pleading in his own defence, and disposed to judge impartially between man and man."

To introduce lengthy extracts here might tend to break the thread of our narrative; while, on the other hand, to attempt a rapid summary of the enormous mass of learning, logic, and polemical argument which filled this portly pamphlet would not be doing justice to J.K.L. One might as well present a few scattered blocks of carved stone as a specimen of the splendid architecture of Bernini at Rome as to hope to convey, by a few disconnected paragraphs, an accurate idea of the artistic comprehensiveness and beauty of Dr. Doyle's work. To the original we must refer the reader. There are, however, a few remarks so full of pith and point that we cannot avoid quoting them as a sample of the condensed force with which Dr. Doyle habitually spoke. At page 59 he writes: "It is most afflicting, therefore, to find a Christian Bishop denounce to the world the great and only stay of Christianity as a supernatural religion, and appeal to the pride of the human heart, to the fondest and strongest prejudices of our nature against the mysterious but wise economy of our faith. If the wisdom of this world were not folly with God—if he had not rejected the prudence of the prudent and the wisdom of the wise, in order to save men by the folly of the cross, then it might be reasonable to appeal to human pride, to awake the passions, and rally them in opposition to the authority established by the Redeemer."

"Who, says the writer of the Charge, will submit himself to authority? Let every creature, says St. Paul, be subject to the higher powers. Who, says this Archbishop, will relinquish the right of private judgment? The arms of our warfare, cries out an Apostle, are not carnal, but powerful of God unto the pulling down of every stronghold—destroying counsels and every height that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every understanding to the obedience of Christ. Who, says his Grace of Dublin, will submit to the decisions of fallible men? 'As my Father sent me,' says Christ, 'so I send you; going, therefore, teach all nations—and lo, I am with you *all days*, even to the consummation of the world; whosoever hears you hears me, and whosoever despises you despises me and the Father who sent me.'

"Shall the high-minded and enligtened people of this country submit to the decrees of any Church, say this Christian Prelate. If any one do not hear the Church, says Christ, let him be to thee as an heathen and a publican, for that Church is founded on a rock—or, as St. Paul describes her, she is the pillar and immovable ground or foundation of truth.

Regarding apostolical succession Dr. Doyle wrote: "We, in union with our Head, are the successors of those men; for eighteen hundred years we exhibit a regular and uninterrupted succession. During that time we have preached the Gospel throughout almost every tongue, and people, and nation upon the earth; we have stood together, whilst the earth has been moved and shaken, empire transferred from nation to nation, and thrones crumbled in the dust. We have been assailed by dangers from abroad and terrors from within; our own children have often raised their heel against us, and in the midst of peace our bitterness has often been most bitter. The calumnies and persecutions which beset our Divine Master have ever been employed against the entire or some portion of our body; those who should support us have often deserted or defamed us; but He who first sent us has remained with us, and supported us in every tribulation. We pretend to nought that has not been given to us; we were entrusted with the care of that divine faith which is one and indivisible, without which it is impossible to please God, and by which the just man liveth; to preach and preserve this faith, is our office and duty—the code wherein doctrines which express this faith is contained has been confided to us; about the meaning of this code, and of the truths contained in it, Christians often differ and dispute; we are appointed to settle those disputes, because we are appointed to instruct and to rule the Church, and to give an account to God, of the souls of those who are called to believe in

Christ. Were our decisions not final we would not be competent to fulfil the duties imposed on us by our heavenly Master—to punish the refractory, to reject the heretic, to preserve the unity of the Church. Were our decisions regarding the doctrines of faith not exempt from error, there could be scarcely any faith remaining on the earth—for there is no doctrine touching it, revealed by Christ, which the malice or folly of men has not assailed. Were our decisions not conclusive, what could put an end to doubts, to anxieties, and distrust—or how would any doctrine, from that which Paul of Somosata or Arius assailed down to the most seemingly unimportant, be finally and irrevocably determined? And if not finally and irrevocably determined, how could the belief in any such doctrine, so brought into doubt or discussion, ever be held on any other ground than that of individual judgment or opinion?"

J.K.L. indignantly denied that Dr. Magee and his colleagues had any connexion with the Apostles. He upbraided them with having had the impiety to assert that Christ had violated His promise, deserted the Church which He had purchased with His own blood, delivered the beloved of His soul to idolatry, permitted error to overwhelm truth, and the powers of hell to break in pieces the Rock on which He built His Church.

He reviewed the attributes which Dr. Magee had assigned to the Established Church. She was Protestant—"and this," said Dr. Magee, "is the primary character of the Established Church." With both of these positions J.K.L. fully concurred. "To deny that she is Protestant," he added, "would be just as senseless as to deny by circumlocutions the Catholicity of that great and universal Church from which the Established Church separated herself, and against which she has been vainly protesting for three hundred years."

"Maintaining the paramount authority of the Scriptures," said Dr. Magee. "No," replied J. K. L., "for she admits that the Parliament has a power to alter the religion of the land. It is the Catholic Church which maintains the paramount authority of the sacred Scriptures, declaring that no power on earth, either Church or Parliament, can interfere with the religion revealed in them. The next difference between her and the Established Church on this subject is, that when doubts arise on passages of the Scripture, difficult and hard to be understood, the Catholic Church decides the meaning of them by the judgment of the Catholic world, to use a phrase of St. Augustin, expressed by her chief pastors, whilst the Established Church leaves such doubts to be decided by the private opinion of each individual."

He examined each of the remaining attributes of Protes-

tantism laid down by Dr. Magee, including the right of private judgment, referring to which J. K. L. alluded to some of the points which have been already noticed in vol. i., pp. 75, 337.

Dr. Magee asserted that the Reformers purified Catholicism "from the dross of superstition, and restored religion to the true and ancient Catholic standard." "Religion," replied Dr. Doyle, "clearly could not have departed from the Church, nor from the true and Catholic standard, whatever the learned Prelate may understand by that 'standard,' unless the spirit of truth departed from the earth, or that Christ failed in his promise of being with his Apostles all days even to the consummation of the world. . . .

"The insinuations in the Charge respecting a division of allegiance, and the insecurity of that which we owe and pay to the Sovereign of these realms, are slanderous and malignant. They are founded on no facts, supported by no proof—they are contradicted by every page of our history, by the preambles of divers Acts of Parliament, by the statements of our friends, the confessions of our enemies, by the senate and ministers of the King. I omit our own oaths of allegiance, which are incompatible with a division of allegiance, because I cannot submit to vindicate myself or my fellow-countrymen from the imputation of perjury. It is the grossest insult which men were ever condemned to endure.

"I shall never again condescend to argue this subject. Let the man who has read history, and observed the conduct of the Catholic Clergy and people in the different states of Europe for the last three centuries and yet harbours this opinion, remain in his prejudice. Let him, if he will, be the foe of our civil liberties on this ground. Whilst he retained such an opinion I should hesitate to receive any favour at his hands, for if I did I should receive it from the hand I scorned.

"But to such a man I would say, not that the allegiance of the Catholic is undivided, but that should the Irish ever violate their allegiance they will do so, not as Catholics, but as men driven by a cruel and protracted tyranny to take refuge in despair. Some individual of them, stripped of his property, banished from his home, his religion scoffed at, his sufferings reviled—some such man may wrest the child of his heart from the hands of the proselytizer or the embrace of her persecutor—he may take her to the forum, plunge a dagger into her heart, and set a nation on fire by the sprinkling of her blood. In such a case conscience is silenced, the duty of allegiance is erased from the heart, and he who but just before was a good Christian and a loyal subject, now, agitated by revenge, becomes savage as the tiger; he despises

life, scoffs at danger and at death, and slaking his thirst with human blood, exclaims with Cato—

> "A day—an hour of virtuous liberty
> Is worth a whole eternity of bondage."

The work in which Dr. Doyle had engaged was undertaken through necessity, and not from choice. Dr. Magee was daily damaging the cause of the Catholic Claims. "I abhor dissension," writes J. K. L.; "I dislike controversy; I have never, but in the lawful defence of my country or religion, when both or either were assailed—not by vulgar calumniators, but by men of station—opened my lips or dipped my pen in ink to interest the public. I have never exhibited to the disgust or indignation of my fellow-subjects the tyranny, the absurdity, the hypocrisy of the furious men who assail us, unless when I apprehended that truth or justice imperatively required of me to speak or write in our defence. I have from my youth deeply imbibed the sentiment of Lucilius [here follows a Latin quotation]; and though I may not be able to ascend to the place allotted to the wise and good, as exhibited in the picture of this life by Epictetus, I shall never, God being my helper, cease to combat those furious or deceiving passions which infest the way, embarrass or corrupt mankind, and augment the number of human ills."

Dr. Magee's origin had been humble. He was a man of considerable ambition, and it is said that the archbishopric of Dublin did not terminate his hopes of church promotion. George IV., moreover, was known to hold the opinions which found such eloquent expression from Dr. Magee. "Lord Sidmouth," said Sheil, "was understood to have said, when he attended the King to Dublin, that during all his intercourse with political life he had never seen a man of a more ambitious temperament."

Our Bishop did not enter the lists with Dr. Magee on merely sectarian, professional, or personal grounds, although his name had been more than once mentioned in terms of hostility by the belligerent Archbishop. Dr. Magee had attacked the Unitarians as well as the Roman Catholics; and Dr. Doyle, with hearty liberality, flung the ægis of his protection between them and their influential opponent. "Are the Socinians not men of sound judgment?" he wrote. "Have they not, according to your rule, a right—nay, are they not obliged to follow the dictate of that judgment in preference to all authority on earth? And yet you exclude them from the kingdom of God, because, in the exercise of their judgment, or in what you consider the discharge of their duty, they differ in opinion from yourself. Your opinion

of them, if judged by your own principles, is unjust, uncharitable, unreasonable." Dr. Doyle pursued this subject at considerable length, and his remarks, to the effect that we should condemn no man as lost, rise to an extraordinary pitch of eloquence.

The sundry aspersions cast by Dr. Magee upon Dr. Doyle, the latter rarely noticed. Dr. Doyle was charged with having acted insidiously, and of misrepresenting the truth through interested motives. "Were I to undertake to repel such charges," wrote J. K. L., "I would seem to confess they were credible, and that deceit, or a wish to misrepresent the truth, could possibly find a place in my breast. I might, did I dwell on the subject, also appear to vindicate the private opinion of an individual, rather than to refute the misrepresentations of the common creed and principles of Catholics which abound in this Charge; but individual selfishness has not, thanks to God, so far prevailed over my sense of duty as to induce me to mix up the personal concerns of any body with the public interest."

The late Right Hon. R. L. Sheil, in a very amusing paper contributed to the *New Monthly Magazine* at this period, describes the rather far-fetched spectacle of Dr. Magee undergoing exorcism by the Jesuits at Clongowes College. The various demons of covetousness, ingratitude, pride, and parsimony, having been cast out, Sheil proceeds:

"Having thus expelled the devil of avarice, Father Kenny was proceeding to eject the devil of polemics, when it was suggested that Dr. Doyle was the best qualified theologian to perform this operation. Accordingly Father Kenny yielded his place to the Bachelor of Coimbra, and the Bishop of Kildare advanced to the office of exorcism. He did not, however, adopt the ordinary ritual of diabolical ejection; but in order to allure this devil out, who he knew was always prompt and willing to appear, he challenged him to a controversial disputation respecting the comparative claims of the two rival religions, when instantly a direful hissing was heard, and the devil of polemics sprang from the Doctor into the midst of the fraternity.

"The young Jesuits immediately assailed it, and the Rev. Mr. Esmonde laid his hand boldly upon the fiend; but the fierce adder turned upon him, and giving him a formidable sting, he was compelled to let him loose. The fiend went hissing in triumph round the chapel, spitting its venom on the images of the saints and crucifixes, rearing itself aloft, and erecting itself upon its burnished spires. It must be owned that, however hateful from its venomous qualities, it was not destitute of beauty, and its brilliant skin and glossy scales were appropriately emblematic of the Doctor's intellectual qualifications. It was

manifest that Dr. Doyle was the only divine competent to contend with this devil, and he was loudly called on to attack it. The fiend, who did not at first appear to entertain any dread of the Carlow theologian, turned round, and seemed to collect and concentrate all its power to make a dreadful spring upon him; but Dr. Doyle subdued it with a single word. He merely articulated, 'Plagiarism!' and instantaneously the serpent shrunk back, and made an effort to escape; but Dr. Doyle set his foot upon its head, and crushing it to the ground, commanded it to confess the misdeeds which it had caused the Doctor to perpetrate. The fiend, after twisting and contorting itself in vain, assumed a human voice, and answered:

'I am the Devil of Polemics,
Who made the Doctor for the heretics
Ply tongue and pen in such a way,
That there has been the devil to pay,
Since with the rage of disputation
He had driven mad one half the nation,
And all religions have gone amiss
Since he flung his fierce antithesis.

'If discord rages through the land,
If controversy's furious band,
From north to south and east to west,
The country with their howls infest,
The Doctor has the fearful merit
Of having raised this frantic spirit,
That long hath set, and will for years
Still set the people by the ears.
Now, holy father, I entreat you,
Since I could never yet defeat you,
And since 'tis by opposing me,
You owe your fame in theology,
And if you lose an antagonist,
Your name in the papers will be miss'd—
I humbly pray you, J. K. L.,
Don't trample me too soon to hell,
But long in Kildare-street let me dwell.
'Twould never answer me or you,
That neither should have naught to do.'

"'No!' exclaimed Dr. Doyle; 'I will drive thee from the face of the country.'

"He was about to put his menace into execution, when there was a general remonstrance from the Jesuits, who felt the force of the devil's logic and the cogency of the last argument."

Dr. Doyle distributed among his literary friends several presentation copies of the reply to Dr. Magee. George Ensor, the eminent patriot and writer, says: "My dear Dr. Doyle—I have many apologies to make for not sooner thanking you for your reply

to the antithetical Magee. It is exceedingly well written, and parts of it actually startling and overpowering. The great argument of the Catholics, in opposition to the Protestant Episcopal Church, is Christ's transmission of His authority in succession to the Chiefs of the C. Church, which the Protestants admit by admitting that their ordination comes through the Catholic Church. To deny the C. Church after this admission is for a son to claim his father's property by denying his father's right of inheritance. Positively there is no church, nor pew, nor field-preacher that cannot defend himself better than the Law Church, farther than they have it by that sovereign argument, the *ultima ratio regum.*"

Mr. Ensor justly calls the Archbishop "the antithetical Magee." He was certainly not averse to discharging from his quiver of points a barbed antithesis occasionally. We have already seen the difficulty in which Dr. Magee involved himself by declaring that the Catholics had a Church without a religion, and the Dissenters a religion without a Church. When undergoing his parliamentary examination, he averred that the religion of Catholics was politics, and politics their religion. It is no doubt to this declaration that Dr. Doyle alludes in the following unpublished fragment found amongst his papers: "It has been said that religion amongst the Catholics has become politics, and politics religion. This saying, though unjust in its application by the person to whom it is attributed, is nevertheless true to a certain extent. Not only politics, but education, and every right or franchise we possess or claim is resolved into or connected with our religion; and this religion being the apparent cause and the distinctive mark whereby we are separated from our fellow-subjects, it is found blended with all our privations and all our wrongs. The very oaths and declarations which shut us out from the constitution are not composed of words expressive of any civil duty; they are a tissue of absurd theology—a crude effusion of religious bigotry, inconsistent, and either unintelligible or untrue. Whilst, therefore, this religion is thus mixed up or confounded, not by us but by the Legislature, with our civil condition, it is quite impossible for us to separate them. Their union must appear everywhere; no politico-chemical process can present apart from each other the simple elements which, united, produce that compound of religious degradation and political slavery called an Irish Catholic. This religion, oppressed and degraded in those who profess it, must enter with the Catholic children into the school; it must seat itself at the same bench and at the same desk with the inheritor of political ascendancy and a dominant creed; it must crouch before the first-born of the State; it must yield precedence and practice submission in all things to those who are

exalted by the laws; it must feel the superiority whether of the child of the common bailiff or the son of the knight of the shire; and if the tongue of this youth who bears about him the mark of this religion should murmur a complaint, should his blood boil or his heart burn within him, should indignation nerve his young arm, and he vent his wrath upon the blameless child of the ascendancy, his religion is condemned, his faith is made answerable for his offence; no cognizance is taken of the civil condition of the child, or of the thousand provocations to his passions hourly ministered by the Penal Laws. Whilst these laws continue, they will introduce their virus into politics, into religion, into trade, into legislation, into the distribution of justice, into familiar intercourse, into schools—into all and every possible thing, place, and institution."

The following letter, transcribed from the original, is addressed to Mr. Cadell, the publisher, by Dr. Magee. It shows the interest he took in the success of his Charge, and in the progress of the "New Reformation" movement:

"Dublin, 24th March, 1827.

"Dear Sir—I trust that before this reaches you the reprint of the Charge has been executed. I enclosed a couple of newspapers, containing interesting matter relative to the progress of the Reformation in this country, for the use of *Blackwood's Magazine*. The writers of that periodical are most able, and they may wish to have possession of facts, which, if they please, they can make excellent use of. I send with this letter another paper, which will show them that we are going on from hour to hour, our Reformation making continual progress. I will thank you for a list of such persons as you have sent my Charge to '*from the author*,' lest I may have forgotten some to whom it ought to be sent. I think I left an order upon your house for a payment of five guineas, to be made for me to 'The Athenæum' yearly. I will be obliged by your sending the following new works by your monthly dispatches, through Mr. Goulbourne: 'Modern Jesuits,' 'Spirit and Constitution of the Church,' 'Woodhouse on the Apocalypse,' and 'Muspratt's Annals of St. Paul.'

"Yours faithfully,

"W. Dublin."

On the back of this letter Mr. Cadell has written a copy of his reply: "My Lord—I have thought it best to postpone the reprint of the Charge, as the demand for it has not been large." How far Dr. Doyle contributed to arrest the success of this publication we leave to those who read his conclusive reply to determine.

"The hackneyed expression of *the divine right of tithes*,"

writes Bishop O'Connor, "was blown up by Dr. Doyle's reply to Dr. Magee, wherein he demonstrated its fallacy and proved that the right is vested in Parliament; which had such an effect the following year, that the Commutation of Tithes' Bill passed, which had been scouted out of the House year after year when introduced by Sir Henry Parnell, and others before him."

With the exception of a letter to the chairman of a Brunswick meeting in Dublin, enclosing £100 as his Grace's subscription, the Charge to which Dr. Doyle had so conclusively replied may be regarded as the last flash of Dr. Magee's genius. He had been from his early youth a most laborious student, and now, in the repose and decline of his life, the penalties of an overtasked brain laid their grasp upon him. To the insidious mental disease which had already killed Swift, and afterwards bathed in darkness the minds of Scott, Southey, Moore, and Plunket, Dr. Magee rapidly succumbed. Unlike the great men we have mentioned, however, Dr. Magee's mental ailment betrayed itself by outward extravagancies, which to enumerate in detail might pain the feelings of his friends and family. But there can be no impropriety in mentioning that towards Dr. Doyle he felt a singular impulse of fascination, and has been known not only to leave his card upon J.K.L. but to accost him in the street. A Prelate writes: "Dr. Doyle used to take up his quarters with Coyne the publisher when he came to Dublin: one day Dr. Magee called at his private door. Coyne happened to go to it. Dr. Magee said, 'Give my card to Dr. Doyle. You need not mention to any one that I called.' Coyne knew his man, and, throwing himself back, with a look of indignation, he said, 'Who are you, Sir?' Dr. Magee made a confused half apology. But when he next met Dr. Doyle, he said, 'Yours is the prince of booksellers'—and told the anecdote."

Before inserting this anecdote, we asked the Prelate who communicated it whether the details were given on hearsay. His Lordship, in a letter now before us, replies, "Coyne himself told me the anecdote in 1836."

CHAPTER XXIV.

How to address the scrupulous—Letters—A romantic and novel incident—May a Priest's vow of celibacy be dispensed with?—Death of Lord Liverpool—Canning forms a ministry—Death of Canning—Europe in mourning—The Catholic Cause once more nearly wrecked—Letter from George Ensor—Discussion between the Rev. Messrs. Pope and Maguire—The horns of a dilemma—Curious letter from Devereux—The new Lord Chancellor—Dr. Doyle's visit to Cork—Interesting letters from Dr. Doyle—He is forbidden to write by his physicians—His metaphysical discussions—His wonderful conversational power—Anecdote—His reply to Bishop Elrington—Letter from Devereux—The New Reformation in Carlow—Varied correspondence—A frightful murder—Mysterious disappearance of episcopal papers.

MEANWHILE cases of conscience from repentant sinners, and innocent scruples from saintly nuns, were being perpetually submitted to the good Bishop for his decision and advice. His paternal correspondence with nuns was, in itself, almost enough to exhaust all his leisure. Had not the flame of charity burned with peculiar strength within his breast he could never have found time for an occupation so troublesome:

"Carlow, 22nd July, 1827.

"MY DEAR SISTER—I wrote a long letter in reply to that with which you favoured me, but having laid it on my table among other papers, I afterwards tore both it and yours in mistake. I cannot now be otherwise than brief, for I do not distinctly recollect the different subjects of your letter. It occurs to me that you complained of a feeling of envy towards a sister, excited by her good conduct. To remedy it, tell your feeling to her—desire her to pray to God with you to purify your heart, that serving Him you may know Him, and love whatever He loves, because His love is ever just. Prefer her society for some time, when you can do so without notice. You have mistaken Cochin; he, like all others, approves of accompanying the Priest in the prayers which compose the order of the Mass, as the best method of assisting at it, if we cannot meditate on the passion and death of Christ. This latter is the best of all modes for doing that which the Mass was instituted to effect—namely, to commemorate the death of the Lord. You also mention the manner of meditation recommended by St. Teresa. It is good, and should not be relinquished through a sense of our unworthiness, for to our Lord nothing is unclean; but it is liable to other inconveniences, and requires too great an effort of imagination. I think it much better for you to contemplate our Saviour in some stage of His life, or passion, or glory, preferring, with St. Mary Magdalene di Pazzis, the agony in the garden, where He suffered, prayed, held communion with the

angel, and manifested great desolation of spirit, with sweetest and most perfect resignation. When your mother comes to see you, say to her that novices are not permitted to invite any person, unless expressly desired to do so by the Superioress. I could wish, my dear child, that asking people to sit, or talk, or eat, or drink in a convent, never entered into the head of any one. From these little trifles many evils take their rise. It is very difficult to preserve our heart and our mind in a community; but if the members of it can have recourse to friends or seculars, there is an end to all pure love of the religious state, and to perfect union of heart.

"You next refer, if I recollect well, to a mode of examining your conscience for a long time, or for a week. The confession of the year is made in the same manner as for one week—by carrying our reflections back to the commencement of it. The examination for the week can be made by you nearly thus: Have I been disposed to prefer the Almighty God and the fulfilment of His will, which is my sanctification, to all things else? Have I, with deliberation and intention, neglected the sacraments or any of those prayers which I am bound to perform? Have I performed those duties carelessly and negligently? Have I wilfully transgressed the rule, constitutions, or express directions of my Superioress or Mistress of Novices? Have I with reflection given offence, or neglected to repair such as I may have given inadvertently? Have I sought for objects which might afford gratification to my eyes, touch, hearing, or any other sense, unless as recreation? Have I wilfully occupied my mind with dangerous thoughts, or neglected to turn my heart from them to my Saviour? Have I knowingly deviated from the strict truth, spoken of myself with pleasure, or sought the esteem or affection of creatures, or delighted in it? Do I wish to be poor in spirit, chaste, and obedient to the end of my life?

"The above form of examination will answer you very well, though it might not suit another. A short time will suffice to go through it each week. I have left out of it all mention of your correspondence with the divine grace, or the forming or keeping your resolutions, because your disposition is eager and ardent, and your mind unable to judge of the operation of grace, even in yourself. Do not write the sentiments which occur to you either after communion or at prayer; they are the fruit of your imagination principally, and would create for you a world of mental toil and many errors. Refrain, on days of retreat in each month, from any new resolution; be content with renewing the old, and in a longer retreat do not reduce any resolution to practice until approved of by your confessor.—I remain, my dear child, yours, &c.,

"✠ J. Doyle."

Amid all his cares and occupations he did not forget the friends and aspirations of his youth. The following letter to Father M'Dermott, his old fellow-student at Coimbra, shows that Dr. Doyle, when in the plenitude of his fame and power, was as staunch an Augustinian Friar as the most devoted religious could wish:

"Carlow, 16th June, 1829.

"My dear Augustin—I write to you at the special desire of our dear old friend, Misquita, now a resident Clergyman in Calcutta. He tells me of the great numbers of our poor Catholic fellow-countrymen who are in that city and its dependencies, destitute almost of the aids of religion. He presses me not only to request, but to urge our Provincial in this country to send to the scene of his own labours two or three steady Clergymen, Augustinians. Should you have such persons, I will have an application made at the colonial office in London for their transmission; and were they such as I could vouch for, 'tis probable they might be sent to Calcutta free of expense; but they would, I am confident, be sent from Lisbon, as the Cardinal Patriarch, who is a member of the Regency there, is disposed to oblige us. Write when at leisure, as until I hear from you, I cannot reply to my dear friend, Misquita."

It was about this period that a very curious incident occurred. A young lady, the daughter of a Protestant Clergyman, took it into her head to fall deeply in love with a handsome Curate of the Catholic Church, officiating in Dr. Doyle's diocess. The Priest gave her no encouragement; but the matter preyed deeply on her mind, and at length fears were entertained lest the foolish, but beautiful girl's health should fall a victim to her unrequited passion. A Clergyman of the Protestant Church sought an interview with Dr. Doyle, in the hope of being able to persuade him to grant a dispensation for the Priest to marry. Dr. Doyle listened patiently to the singular tale of which his visitor was the bearer, and then proceeded to explain that the Church so far from disapproving of marriage, had raised it to the dignity of a Sacrament; but that, following the counsel of St. Paul, it required that a vow of celibacy once taken could not without crime be violated. The Bishop reminded his visitor that St. Chrysostom, writing to Lapsum, who had married after taking a vow of continency, pronounced marriage to be honourable, but that under the circumstances of the case it was worse than adultery. "The early councils of the Church," he added "whose views you profess to reverence, all inculcated continency, and that of Carthage declares that the practice was derived from the

Apostles. In the previous century, when Jovinian and Vigilantius derided chastity, St. Jerome impressively laid down the practice and law of the Church, from which it appeared that none but men who had embraced a life of celibacy could be admitted to orders. It is a mistake to imagine that the marriage of divines was of that frequent occurrence in early ages which you would fain allege. Fleury mentions that in the year 893, the first instance of a Priest who pretended to marry after his ordination occurred. The people, disgusted and infuriated, laid violent hands upon the unworthy pastor, and his Bishop solemnly excommunicated him. And if the Priest to whom you allude," added Dr. Doyle, "should follow, in a moment of infatuation, the example of Angelic, the same fate awaits him. 'He that is unmarried,' says Paul, 'careth for the things that belongeth to the Lord.' The very ceremonies, which from time immemorial accompany the form of consecration, are designed to remind the ecclesiastic that the Church is his spouse, and his flock his children. When you quoted the Scriptures to prove that St. Peter had been married, you should have added that he separated from his wife the moment he became a disciple. It is quite true that marriage is declared by Holy Writ to be honourable in all, but it also teaches (see *Matthew*, xix.) that celibacy is more honourable."

Few persons have any conception of the number and miscellaneous character of the visitors who perpetually sought interviews with Dr. Doyle on every imaginable pretext. A lady waited upon the Bishop to solicit ecclesiastical promotion for a clerical friend. Dr. Doyle received her novel application with that admirable combination of courteous dignity and sternness which none knew better how to assume. "Madam," he said, "I admire woman in her proper sphere; I like to see her fulfilling the duties of her state and mission; but when she interferes in the affairs of men—especially in ecclesiastical affairs—she ceases to be a woman." Captain Maryatt, in a letter to the Countess of Blessington, speaks of a lady, who had vaulted into the arena usually allotted to man, as having "*unsexed* herself." Dr. Doyle would seem to have viewed his visitor in a similar light. It may not be generally known, that even if a Priest used any influence to obtain for himself promotion, he is esteemed guilty of simony.

In the spring of 1827, Lord Liverpool died, after having held for fifteen years the reins of Government. With the death of this uncompromising statesman perished the great obstacle to the settlement of the Catholic question. After considerable doubts, delays, and difficulties, George Canning at length, on the 10th of April, received instructions to form a Government. Of the twelve

individuals who composed the Cabinet, three only were hostile to Emancipation. Catholic hope brightened during this short but memorable regime. Without holding out to the Catholics any very decided expectations of concession, Mr. Canning was yet known to entertain views favourable to a settlement of their question. He had himself, a very few years previously, introduced a bill to enable Catholic Peers to occupy seats in the House of Lords; and his devotion to the Catholic cause was the ground on which he had been deserted by his former colleagues. Dr. Doyle admired Canning, and we have been assured by Mr. Stapleton, the private secretary and biographer of Canning, that to his certain knowledge that great statesman had a high opinion of Dr. Doyle. Canning's sudden death, in the August following, produced a profound sensation in the public mind of Ireland. Catholic hope drooped, and the cause of constitutionalism received a mortal blow. The Irish liberal press without exception appeared in mourning; even France had hailed him as the "minister of representative Europe," and wept for his loss.

A private letter, addressed to Dr. Doyle by George Ensor, the distinguished author and politician, refers to the change of ministry:

"10th September, 1827.

"My dear Dr. Doyle—What was probable has happened—Canning is dead, and the old appetite is returning. The King is a Tory, though he was a Whig when a prince. Toryism is the natural character of the English constitution. The democracy is in this case a parasitic plant. The Whigs were hardly pushed in upholding their consistency to appease the Catholics or secure their favour, and to tranquilize the Protestants. The last *Edinburgh Review* says the opposition to the Catholic Claims is not from the highest nor the lowest, but from the middle orders—and this from ignorance. The present ministry is not likely to enlighten them, for they would willingly suppress discussion; yet, how are men to be taught except by discussion? But the fact is, and the reviewers know it, that the cause of opposition is the Established Church. This very article proves to me that the Catholics have lost an advocate by such a statement. But the Whigs are part of the Government, and so is the Established Church, and therefore the Whigs call out for time and opportunities, and the great cause of opposition is pretermitted in the explanation of their Review. Yet this is not the worst of the prospect, for I fear that were Emancipation granted on honourable terms, which is visionary enough, there are evident indications that the restored, or some of them at least, would be among the lowliest of loyal servitors. Yet let us be thankful the veriest

devils are cast down—that wizard Eldon, and that vulgarly cunning Peel—a man of ostentatious humility and austere malice—are out, and the whole batch has been shaken. A change of ministry is equal to two new parliaments; but there may be a change worse than the long parliament. I expect many changes: the Marquis of Anglesea is to be Viceroy, because he was for cutting down the Irish; but he will, no doubt, before he crosses the channel of St. George, beat his sword into a reaping-hook.* I imagine he is sent over that Wellington may get back the ordnance. Since I write this there has been a scuffle about Herrier, and the Tories gained it hollow. The Whigs are evidently adherents and not ministers. I have been long persuaded that the Irish should approach those Dissenters who are approachable. It happens, I don't know how, that the Arians among them are generally favourable to Emancipation, and that anti-Catholicism and Trinitarianism are one and the same. An effort was made, in an aggregate meeting, to win the dissenters by a petition for their relief. It was strangely sudden, but it was a beginning to enlarge the scope of operations. Yet, still it is not national, and though it is good so far, yet a greater point should be worked—the Repeal of the Union. I never could understand why this supereminent curse should be always regarded with a solemn dread by the Irish. Is it that we are pagans and this Union is the fury? Something should be done to direct the whole Irish against this fury of furies.

"We are building a chapel in Tartoraghan: it will be the best country chapel in the county. Indeed I should say *I* am building the chapel, for our Priest broke his leg about a month ago, so that I am Priest and Curate on this occasion.

"Your answer to the antithetical Magee is now making a tour among the Quakers. I lent it to one of them, and it is now moving about. I am highly gratified with your approbation generally of my 'Population.' Yet I must advise you of my intention to challenge you publicly to discuss your *reserves* about the conclusion.

"By-the-by, my Protestant brethren are much ashamed of Pope's inability.—Yours most faithfully, "GEORGE ENSOR."

The latter remark alludes to an important polemical discussion which publicly took place about this time in Dublin, between the Rev. Thomas Maguire, a Catholic Priest, "from the bogs of Leitrim," as he himself said, and the Rev. Richard T. P. Pope, a deeply read theologian, and one of the most distinguished alumni of Trinity College. Father Maguire had been previously quite unknown; but the consummate ability with which he vindi-

* A singularly accurate prediction.—W. J. F.

cated the articles of his creed at once transformed him into a highly remarkable character. The interest created by this theological encounter was immense. Not only the arena was crowded, but the entire of Sackville-street became absolutely blocked with population. Articles of agreement had been duly drawn up, and most amicably entered into. Admiral Oliver acted as the Protestant, and Daniel O'Connell as the Catholic chairman. Mr. Pope brought to the combat great learning, great fluency, and a powerful declamation. The discussion lasted for six days. "Pope was overthrown," opines the late Right Hon. R. L. Sheil, "and Father Tom, as the champion of orthodoxy, became the object of popular adoration." In the course of the discussion, Mr. Maguire challenged his opponent to answer the question of the Socinian, and prove from the principles of private judgment that he is wrong.* The result was that Mr. Pope became also entangled in an awkward controversy with the Rev. W. H. Drummond, D.D., a distinguished member of the Unitarian Communion in Dublin. That this event was hailed by the unemancipated Catholics as a very favourable omen of the time, may be gleaned from the following letter addressed by the venerable Catholic Delegate, Devereux, to Dr. Doyle:

"Brooks's, October, 1827.

"RIGHT REVEREND AND MY DEAR LORD—I have heard of your Lordship's indisposition, and am happy to find by *The Evening Post* that you are recovered. Setting aside the anxieties of your very many friends, you must know, my Lord, that you are public property. The Catholics of Ireland (and I may say of England, too) cannot do without you; you ought then, as in conscience and duty bound, to use every precaution for the preservation of that which all your acquaintance know to be so delicate and to require every care, and in which so many and such interests are concerned.

Matters at present, as to polemics—from the part taken by Dr. Drummond and the Unitarians—seem to me to be in Ireland in a very favourable state for us; that is, provided that we do not mar our prospects by imprudently intermeddling, attempting to make well better, and forgetting the old saying: 'When certain persons fall out, honest men come by their own.' Better surely for us quietly to look on, and see the thousand sects

* This was a favourite point on the Catholic side in the numerous polemical disputations which took place about the same time. The Rev. Dr. M'Sweeney may be said to have brought the Carlow discussion to a conclusion by saying: "I choose to personate a Socinian: how will you convince me, upon your own principles, of the divinity of the Saviour? 'The Father is greater than I.'" Considerable uproar ensued. The chairman was appealed to as to whether Dr. M'Sweeney's opponents had answered the question, and the chairman declined to offer any opinion. (*Report*, p. 126.)

and the Unitarians at it ding-dong; for if we were to enter the lists against him, it would assist his and our opponents. When the Unitarian has cleared the green of them, it will be time enough for us to step in and give him his quietus; but let us not annoy him while he is so successfully doing our preliminary business.

"I have addressed you, my Lord, on this subject, because there is no one who has so much influence with the laity and Clergy throughout Ireland as your Lordship, and that I apprehend it might be essential that this influence should be exercised at the present moment, to prevent any such injudicious attack on Dr. Drummond, the open in whose armour must be so visible and so inviting to our ready tilters.

"To persuade them to keep their lances in the rest must, I admit, be a matter of some difficulty; for Pat, whether he wears a black or a coloured coat, whether he wields the pen or the shilelah, is still the same pugnacious personage, and so loves fight, that if he meets no enemy before him, he would rather fracture the skull of an ally than forego his recreation.

"Now if any one can succeed in repressing this warlike propensity it is your Lordship. Indeed so far am I from conceiving that it would be judicious to attack the Unitarian, to my humble judgment it does appear that there might be great advantage in Dr. Drummond's being publicly noticed and complimented by some of our eminent persons, for the candour with which he has admitted the unrefutable merits of Mr. Maguire's argument, &c., and that Unitarians generally should be well spoken of by us as fair and candid men. This people form a rising and powerful body here, every day increasing in numbers and consequence. They are eaten up with vanity and self-conceit, and none would be more gratified than they by the flummery of a complimentary notice. It would be no difficult matter to get their High Chief, William Smith of Norwich, to allude to such notice in part in praise of our liberality, though we differ from him, and contrasting that with the illiberality of the Establishment, who at heart agree with him.

"I went this day to pay my compliments to Sir Anthony Hart, upon his appointment to the Lord Chancellorship of Ireland. (He had been my counsel.) He repeated what he had declared upon his nomination, that he would take no part in politics or religion. I, of course, congratulated the country, &c., &c. *Entre nous*, Sir Anthony, in his early day, was an Unitarian preacher at Norwich.—I am, my dear Lord, &c.,

"J. E. Devereux."

In a former chapter we have spoken of the tedious, ineffi-

cient, and somewhat calamitous regime of Lord Manners in the Irish Court of Chancery. The great seal having been at last released from his custody by Mr. Canning, it was entrusted to Sir Anthony Hart, a man who, by great integrity and powers of mind, had won his way to a high forensic position.

In the autumn of 1827, Dr. Doyle proceeded "down South." Writing to the Rev. Dr. O'Connor, now Bishop of Saldes, and then Provincial of the Augustinian Convent, Dr. Doyle observes (2nd October):

"I intend leaving this place, God willing, on to-morrow, and hope to see you in Cork before I return. By what route, element, or time I may be carried there is perfectly uncertain even to myself; but, as I promised to preach in your chapel (to assist, thereby, in building it), should I be in Cork this autumn, I will do so, please God, on Sunday the 14th instant, provided the chapel be then prepared, and that you previously wait on the Bishop—to whom I beg you will present my most respectful compliments—and obtain his Lordship's express sanction. The Bishop promised some time since to accompany me to visit the Right Rev. Dr. Coppinger, and his Lordship's friends at Passage; and I will not be enabled therefore to trespass much on your hospitality."

Dr. Doyle at last reached Cork. On the 12th of October, we find the resident Catholic Clergy and Bishop of the diocess entertaining him at a splendid banquet. An appropriate and graceful Latin oration, in honour of their distinguished guest, was delivered by the Rev. Mr. Haly. The Bishop, next day, wrote the following interesting letter to a nun in the county Cork:

"Cork, 13th October, 1827.

"My dear Sister Augustine—The clergyman to whom you entrusted your letter sent it to me on this morning. He had seen me previously, and informed me, as did several other persons, of the improved state of your health. The receipt of your letter afforded me more satisfaction than I could express, on account of the sentiments conveyed in it, and the assurance it afforded me of your being well; for, although our exile here is painful when God wills that it be prolonged, it is a great mercy that He allows to us sufficient strength to do our duties, and promote His views, without becoming an incumbrance to our fellow-servants. I am sure you have no attachment to life, and would willingly resign it that you might, through the mercy of God, enter upon a better life that will never end; but whilst you remain you will not be impatient, nor wish to be removed through any other motive than the pure and interested love of God. I wish, my dear child, as

earnestly perhaps as you do, to see you and converse with you, and I did hope that on coming to this county I might be enabled to visit your Convent; but being now absent from home almost a fortnight, and having to visit my brother in the county Wexford (who is not likely to survive the winter) previous to my return, I find that I could not delay longer in Cork. You will, I am sure, excuse me, and not suppose that my affection for you is at all diminished. Indeed it is often better to deny ourselves those gratifications which are often the companions of charity, but which may very wisely be separated from it, if we desire to be crucified to the world and not to live ourselves but to have Christ live within us. I am very much indebted to you for your constant recollection of me in your prayers, especially as my life is so much filled with cares, some of them of too worldly a kind, and tending to separate me from God—in addition to the many infirmities to which Adam's children are all subject. The mercy of God alone preserves me from daily ruin; and to obtain this mercy your prayers, I trust, will be useful. But, my dear child, pray without fear or diffidence, for 'He who hesitates is like the wave of the sea, which is carried about by the wind, and such a one does not obtain anything of God.' The old enemy, when he cannot induce you to violate the law of God, will (for he transforms himself into an angel of light) endeavour to tempt you with fears and a lively sense of your own unworthiness; but be not deceived by him: we have all sinned and done evil, and are not worthy even to look up to Heaven, but we are, nevertheless, the children of God, the redeemed of Christ, and in the multitude of His tender mercies we may confide, and pray with an unlimited confidence. He is all goodness to us; let us bless Him and adore Him always. May He cleanse our hearts from all guile and malice, that we may see Him ever, as through a glass, in this life, and never be separated from Him.

"Whenever you have an opportunity of writing to me, I will be very glad to hear from you. It is possible we may yet meet in this world, but that is of little moment—'we have not here a lasting city:' if we meet in 'that which is to come,' it is sufficient. I shall remember you to your sisters in Carlow. I leave Cork, please God, on Monday morning. I beg you will present my best respects to your reverend mother and community, and again remind them of praying for, my dear child, your affectionate and humble servant in Christ,

"✠ J. Doyle."

On Sunday the 14th October, 1827, the sermon on behalf of the new Augustinian Church was preached by Dr. Doyle, in presence of a large and respectable congregation. The anxiety to

see J. K. L., which pervaded every sphere of society, was intense; and Protestants as well as Catholics thronged to hear him. The collection amounted to £348.

On the 16th inst. the committee appointed to conduct the management of the sermon met—Dr. O'Connor in the chair—"not merely for the purpose of paying the tribute of their thanks and respect to the preacher, as is usual on such occasions, but with a view to give expression to those sentiments of gratitude and admiration which were excited by an acquaintance with his Lordship's person, dignified deportment, and splendid talents, and by the honour he conferred on the people of the South by his visit among them." As chairman, the Very Rev. Dr. O'Connor transmitted a resolution to the above effect to Dr. Doyle, who thus acknowledged it:

"I have been much gratified by the receipt of your letter. Be pleased to make known to the gentlemen who passed the resolution how sensible I am of the honour they have done me, and how grateful I feel for the kind sentiments which they entertain towards me. Your own old partiality for me, and the innate goodness of your heart, have suggested those expressions of praise and thankfulness which occur in your letter. You have forgotten for a moment the Scriptural admonition—'Do not praise a man in his life-time'—but you have not caused me to forget my own insignificancy and how truly I remain your attached friend,

✠ "J. DOYLE.

"P.S. I perceive that the newspapers mention my having been ill on my return here. You will be glad to know that I am now, thanks to God, quite well."

A letter to his niece, dated 18th October, gives some details of this unpleasant attack of illness. Dr. Doyle found a painful sensation in his head, which he attributed to bile or gout; but there can be little doubt it arose from an overtasked brain. A letter of Southey's, written almost at the same time (7th April, 1827), says: "Any unusual sensations about the head make me feel as if there were a candle in the powder magazine."

"MY DEAR MARY—My hopes of seeing you at this time have been entirely deranged. I left Carlow in the beginning of the month, proceeding through Kilkenny, and Cashel, to Cork, and intending to return by Waterford and Wexford home—but 'man proposes, and God disposes.' In Cork I was taken ill with an affection of my head, which appeared to me of an apoplectic tendency, but, thanks to God, it is only the effect of a derangement of bile, or a slight attack of gout. It induced me, however, to hasten my return

home, where for some days I have been in the hands of the doctors. The disease is removed; but I must give up all business, and remain for a little time at rest, if these folk are to be credited. They would not even allow me to write a letter; but I encroached a little on their prescription, as in the present instance. I do not think I could, for a considerable time, bear the motion of a carriage so far as to Wexford, nor could I ride such a distance; so it is quite uncertain when I may be able to fulfil my intention of visiting you and my other friends in that county. As I ought not to infringe too much on the physician's directions, will you have the goodness to enclose this letter, or an extract from it, to Peter, that he may know why I have not seen him. If your young and amiable guest be still with you, assure her and her dear sister of my affection and sincere interest for them."

Dr. Doyle's ill health was of a far more serious character than, in the fulness of his considerateness for the feelings of Mrs. Coney, he avowed. The physicians completely forbade him the use of pen, ink, and paper; but Dr. Doyle could not resist a slight infringement on the prohibition. His brain, although pierced by pain, continued as vigorous as ever: it could not bear inactivity, and it bounded to be free. "When I would go to visit his Lordship," observes the physician, "he invariably sought to draw me into argument, by some dexterous or personal allusion, and I not unfrequently fell into the trap. I remember he once provoked me a great deal by contending that medicine was an art, not a science. I, of course, differed with him, but he unfolded a wonderful array of logic, which I found it not easy to combat." If a friend visited him during this period of abstinence from writing, he was immediately drawn into some speculative argument or conversation. "He used to think of the strangest things," writes a Priest, "and put the strangest questions. I entered a room, one day, where he and some other Bishops were chatting. 'I have been asking these gentlemen,' said he, 'what sort of stuff could that invisible food have been which the Archangel Raphael brought to the young Tobias.'"

It was during the same period that he one day sauntered into Carlow College, and began disputing with some of the more distinguished students on the subject of innate ideas. Dr. Doyle followed Leibnitz and Des Cartes in support of them, notwithstanding that Locke is generally supposed to have conclusively controverted the doctrine. Dr. Doyle supported that ideas of God, of the human intellect, and of infinity were born with us—impressed upon our minds by our Creator—and which, till revived by our own reflections, lie dormant. Locke has it that the

mind of man has no innate ideas—that the rudiments or first principles of all our knowledge are communicated to us by sensation; and he compares the mind, previous to the operation of external objects upon the senses, to a *tabula rasa*, or sheet of white paper. Dr. Doyle argued that Locke did not, as generally supposed, settle the question, and that Beattie, Usher, and Allemande, had very ably controverted him. Notwithstanding all the arguments of Locke, he doubtless held in substance the doctrine of innate ideas. He recognised the human understanding as formative of ideas which sensation and reflection are in themselves wholly unable to give. It would appear that the doctrine of innate ideas is at present held by most metaphysicians. In 1858 appeared "The Intellectualism of Locke," a work designed to harmonize Locke's views on the subject of innate ideas with the doctrines now generally held by metaphysicians. Dr. Doyle clothed his argument with the Carlow students in the Latin tongue, but finding that it was exciting their minds too strongly, and likely to consume too much time, he relinquished it. But Dr. Doyle was so fond of oral argument, no matter on what side, that it is not easy to know his true opinions by such anecdotal waifs and strays as these.

In society he ate and drank little, and talked much. "His readiness in bringing his learning to bear upon any subject that arose," writes the late Frederick William Conway, "the happiness of his illustrations, and the facility of his language, will not speedily be forgotten by those who had the opportunity of witnessing their exhibition." The present Bishop of Dromore, writing to the author, says: "I had the honour of knowing Dr. Doyle and sharing his hospitality, and never did I meet an individual whose conversational powers I had so much reason to admire." Few Priests ventured to raise their voices above a whisper at any table where Dr. Doyle presided. He talked the whole time in his own grand and rather authoritative voice. Even most of the Bishops, with the exception of Archbishop Kelly, were dumb. They seemed not disposed to hazard a collision of opinion with him. One evening, at a clerical dinner-party in Dublin, a young Curate, since somewhat distinguished, ventured—to the astonishment of the assembled guests—to dispute a point with Dr. Doyle. The question was that which Bossuet on the Catholic side, and Paley on the Protestant, have unfolded so much lore in discussing. Arguments were for some time interchanged with varying success on the subject of the divine right of kings. Dr. Doyle's massive declamation was at length observed to totter. The Curate followed up his advantage. Dr. Doyle appeared for a moment embarrassed, and at last exclaimed, half peevishly, half jocosely, "I should be

sorry, Mr. E——, to see you Coadjutor to the Archbishop of Dublin."

Dr. Doyle soon got tired of attending to the directions of his physician, who, as the Bishop assures his Vicar, "would not even allow him to write a letter." On the 23rd October, 1827, the Charge of Dr. Elrington, Protestant Bishop of Leighlin and Ferns, appeared; and within the next three days Dr. Doyle's reply to it was received in Dublin. The object of this Charge was to instruct the Clergy as to the mode in which they should labour to propagate the "New Reformation" in Ireland. "But I should not notice his Charge," said Dr. Doyle, "had he not incidentally adverted, not only to J. K. L. (which he says is quite notoriously my signature), but also to a small work, 'The Abridgment of the Christian Doctrine,' lately revised and edited by me."

"It is a uniform custom," he continued, "with most of us, Catholics, when we censure or refute our adversaries, to select their strongest positions and arguments, to place them in the most favourable light, and then to measure our strength with them. Those who argue against us generally prefer an opposite course—they pass over in dignified silence, or with the most prudent caution, our facts, our arguments, and our conclusions, whilst they catch up and parade abroad some mutilated sentence, some disjointed reflection, or some quotation introduced by us—often for a purpose the very reverse of that for which it is stated by them to have been employed. Thus they frequently endeavour to defame some man whom they cannot confute, or to disparage the character of a work to which they find it impossible to reply. If these artifices be unsuccessful, they resort to the commonplaces of defamation, or call upon the Government or Legislature to defend and protect them. Thus Dr. Elrington, on various occasions, has thought proper to cavil with some detached sentence of J. K. L., but has never condescended to reply to any entire one of his productions. He misrepresents either the text or the application of some text found in the 'Abridgment of the Christian Doctrine,' but prudently abstains from all attempts to confute the doctrine or the arguments of that inestimable little work, of which some thousand copies have, since its revision by me, been distributed in this diocess—a work which is now in process of being stereotyped, and of which I earnestly wish there was a copy in the hands of every person in Ireland who could read and understand it."

The Letters of J. K. L. may be considered as the chief text of this somewhat extraordinary but very eloquent Charge of Bishop Elrington. At pp. 18 and 19 of it, three lengthy quotations from J. K. L. were introduced. Dr. Elrington warmly impugned the positions of his episcopal rival, and Dr. Doyle as warmly retorted

on Dr. Elrington. "Dr. Elrington may think differently," he said, "but will he not allow to J. K. L., or to me, the right of private judgment, and of promulgating our opinions in this free and happy country." Dr. Doyle, at p. 14 of his reply, vindicates the author of "The Abridgment of the Christian Doctrine." "Having, myself, corrected the translation of the very learned Dr. Turberville (who in his life-time was not upbraided with any crime), I might suffer the attack of Dr. Elrington to waste itself upon his ashes, and not assimilate myself to J. K. L., who has so often charged some of his Majesty's Bishops in Ireland with ignorance of their profession; but I cannot forbear, if not to vindicate the dead, yet to instruct the living on this point of theology which the Lord Bishop of Leighlin and Ferns has mooted." A long and powerful polemical argument follows.

"The greatest talents," said Shiel, "stand in need of a pecuniary excitation." This remark did not apply to Dr. Doyle, who observed to Dr. Elrington, in reply to a taunt, that he lost by all his writings.

In November, 1827, we find Dr. Doyle at St. Martin's, the residence of his step-brother, Father Peter. Writing to his niece on the 7th inst., the Bishop observes: "I write to express the disappointment I feel at not being enabled to see you, though in the extremity of the county. I came here from Borris on yesterday to see this good man after his late illness, the most dangerous he has yet had, but from which he is very much recovered. I have been myself recovering since I wrote to you, and am now, thanks to God, nearly as well as previous to the late attack, though my usual strength is not entirely restored. On to-morrow I return to Carlow, from which I am absent at considerable inconvenience. I must defer the pleasure of seeing you until you venture abroad, when I hope you will come and spend some time with me, as the change of air will be good for you; and in order to prevent you from being lonely (as I am always occupied), you might bring with you our little friend from St. Martin's."

There are three letters before us written by the Bishop on the 23rd November. The first is to the Rev. M. Flanagan, Secretary to the Catholic Book Society; but it contains no views which are not embodied in the extracts we have already given from Dr. Doyle's "address" on the same subject. The second letter, wholly unimportant, is to Father Stewart of Dublin, entrusting to his care the drawing of a handsome episcopal seal which Dr. Doyle desired to have engraved. The motto, he said, was to be "*Fortitudine vincit.*"

The third letter, a most characteristic production, is addressed to a nun:

"23rd November, 1827.

"My dear Mary Peter—I don't know whether the gratitude I feel for the beautiful vestment you sent me, or displeasure for your having procured it, prevail most in my mind. In all truth and sincerity, I dislike presents in all shapes and forms; nor are they ever necessary to testify to me the affection of my friends: *that* is easily known, and it loses most of its value when anxious to show its sincerity by gifts; but I forgive you this extraordinary kindness, because your heart is not satisfied unless it overflows; but I certainly blame Rev. Mother for having permitted you to incur such expense unnecessarily, she knowing my views so well, and even the impropriety of permitting you to indulge your disposition in regard to expenditure. In addition, then, to all your other kindnesses to me, have the goodness to prepare her for one of my best scoldings; and she knows how well I can discharge that duty even towards my oldest friends.

"If you were only reasonably anxious, my dear child, about my health, your good mamma would have satisfied you that it was quite re-established; but as you wish to know it from myself, I can truly assure you it is excellent, and that I take considerable care of it—at least, much more than, in my own opinion, it deserves. I think occasional illness is a very good thing for such a person as I am, who have little time for reflection, and who is perplexed always with a variety of concerns.

"I am rejoiced to hear you are all in such good health, and especially that you are cheerful, and beginning to return to God confidence as well as gratitude for His gifts. I assure you there is scarcely anything more acceptable to our Father in heaven than a boundless confidence on the part of His children; for when we hide our faces from Him, or distrust his mercy, He leaves us to suffer the just punishment of our diffidence in the estrangement in which we place ourselves."

On the 24th November, Dr. Doyle enclosed, to the Rev. Mr. L'Estrange of the Catholic Association, £5 as his subscription to its funds, adding: "Many things occur to me with regard to the state of our public interests which I would be disposed to express, had I not imposed silence on myself until the views of the administration are developed at the opening of Parliament. I think they have given us a sort of pledge to alter substantially the whole frame and tenor of the vestry laws, which in their present state are quite insupportable; nor do I doubt that they will also do everything that is possible towards the adjustment of our great question."

Dr. Doyle went on to say that there was one subject, totally

unconnected with politics, to which he was rejoiced to find Mr. L'Estrange had turned his attention. He alluded to the establishment of a model school, than which nothing was more wanting. He was of opinion, that besides a large apartment where reading and writing and the elements of whole numbers should be taught on the most approved system, there ought to be at least two other apartments, for expounding to pupils the theory and practice of design, abridgments of natural history, elements of mathematics, including algebra, proportion, something of logarithms, geometry, and some plane and spherical trigonometry, even a little of conic sections, and a tincture of chemistry. At present, in our more expensive schools, attention is chiefly devoted to the languages. Our schools of drawing and natural science—such as exist at the Royal Dublin Society—are of little use to the country at large. "Our common schools serve for the instruction of children only; but what is greatly wanted is a supply of masters well instructed in the elements of science—above all, in mathematics—who would develop and form the immense mass of talent always to be found among the middling classes of society in Ireland. There is no benefit which the Catholic Association could confer upon the country, comparable to the establishment, on a broad basis, of a model school. If this were attempted, and the attempt made with sobriety, discretion, and zeal, I have no doubt but it would receive aid from men of all parties, who, differing on many things, are agreed in their love of Ireland. It would be the means of preparing for generations yet to come more individual wealth, knowledge, happiness, power, and fame, than any other measure which could be undertaken with equal ease in Ireland. Had I at my disposal but one five thousand pounds, with a fund, whether by subscription or otherwise, of five hundred a-year, I would erect such a school in this town—for here I could find men competent and willing to conduct it; but the times are past when Catholic Bishops were enabled to promote learning or the works of mercy. In Dublin, however, I am confident that the attempt would be successful. I only intended to write to you a sentence or two, but this subject has a good deal occupied my mind, and I was led imperceptibly to dwell upon it."

In December, 1827, paralysis struck down the Right Rev. Dr. Marum, Bishop of Ossory. An intimacy, which dated from a period even anterior to the elevation of both to the episcopacy, existed between Dr. Doyle and this polished Prelate. The moment Dr. Doyle heard of his dear friend's illness, he hastened, at much personal inconvenience, to Kilkenny, and remained like a ministering angel by his bed-side. The local journal of the day records: "The eminent and justly celebrated J.K.L. arrived last

night, and evinced the greatest sympathy and sorrow at seeing his brother Prelate in such an alarming and hopeless condition." Dr. Marum died on Christmas Day following, and Dr. Doyle presided at the solemn service of the funeral.

Dr. Marum may be said to have witnessed the murder of his brother, and the shock was so terrific, that he rapidly sank under it. Mr. Marum fell a victim to agrarian outrage. His murderers had pursued him for some distance, and he ran for safety to the residence of his brother, the Bishop. When in the act of bounding over the rails in front of the house, an assault from behind deprived him of life. When the Bishop rose at the dawn of day and proceeded to the window, the first sight which presented itself to his eyes was the mangled corpse of his brother, impaled on the rails in front of the hall-door.

Bishop Marum reposed great confidence in Dr. Doyle, and we had hoped to be able to give a selection from their correspondence; but we are informed by Dr. Marum's nephew, M. Marum, Esq., J.P., that all his efforts to discover the late Bishop of Ossory's papers have been unavailing, and he infers that they must have been destroyed. The absence of proper episcopal archives in Ireland is much to be regretted, and the disappearance of such papers as many of the leading Prelates thought fit to preserve is not a little singular. In the course of our inquiries after documental materials, we received some curious and authentic proofs of the carelessness with which many valuable episcopal manuscript collections were posthumously treated. "The fate of Dr. Troy's papers," writes the Archbishop's nephew, "has been involved in mystery. It was conjectured that they were burned, but I can hardly believe it." Dean Meyler tells us that on his return from Rome, forty years ago, he was surprised to find round some soft goods he had ordered in a Dublin shop a portion of Dr. Troy's manuscripts. Dr. Troy's family were very anxious to procure the Archbishop's correspondence with the celebrated Catholic Primate, Dr. O'Reilly, who lived in eventful times, but not a vestige of that Prelate's papers has been preserved. They fell into the hands of an attorney, whose literary taste and talent was confined to drawing up a tolerably grammatical bill of costs, and making some occasional "hand searches." The papers of Dr. Caulfield, Bishop of Ferns, have been also destroyed. Bishop Kinsella of Ossory, with whom Dr. Doyle was very intimate, died in 1846, but the present respected occupant of that see informs us that he never saw Dr. Kinsella's papers, nor is he aware that any person holds them. Some valuable documents were known to be in the possession of the late Archbishop Kelly. His executor tells the singular story, that he himself placed all the Archbishop's papers in a large box,

corded it with his own hand, and deposited it, as he thought, in a most careful place; but when, some time after, he went to examine the literary treasure, he found, to his astonishment, that it had vanished, and from that day to this no trace of its fate could be obtained. The voluminous papers of the late distinguished Primate, Dr. Curtis, were found, in the year 1841, scattered about the hay-loft of premises belonging to a grocer in Drogheda. Many of these papers, now in our possession, we may use at a future time.

The papers of the Right Rev. Dr. Doyle ran a narrow escape of being scattered and lost. One of his executors was the late Right Rev. Dr. Nolan, who, during the three years of his episcopate, employed himself at intervals in returning to the writers some letters of the highest historical interest and importance. Had not this labour been cut short, in 1837, by the death of that pious, learned, but singularly timid Prelate, "The Life, Times, and Correspondence of Dr. Doyle" would probably never have appeared. Dr. Doyle not only most carefully preserved every letter addressed to himself, but recovered many of his own letters, including those to Father Peter Doyle, which still remain at Braganza. During the four years he was dying, he had ample opportunities of destroying his papers, if such had been his desire.

CHAPTER XV.

Bishop Elrington again flings the gauntlet at J. K. L.—Reply—Dr. Doyle exhausted from labour and reading—"The New Reformation"—Dr. Doyle's private life—Simultaneous meetings—Letter from O'Connell—Politics and potatoes—Correspondence with Sir John Sinclair—Bishop O'Connor and J. E. Devereux—An attempted intrigue with Rome—Strolling Friars—A Liberal meeting dispersed by force of arms—Archdeacon T——'s exploits with the cat-o'-nine tails—Correspondence with various parties—"The Satrap of England."

THE biographers of the late Right Rev. Dr. Elrington, last Bishop of Leighlin and Ferns, tell us that the passion of his youth was a life on the ocean wave. He was induced, however, to forego it for a life on the stormy sea of polemics and politics. "In 1792," adds his biographer, "he engaged in a controversy, arising out of a Charge of Dr. Troy, the eminent R. C. Archbishop of Dublin, which he carried on at intervals, until 1804, with great vigour and ability." Lord Cloncurry, in his "Personal Recollections," handles Dr. Elrington roughly for having accomplished the suppression of the Historical Society, and applies to him the epithet "stupid," which, however, does Dr. Elrington less than

justice. Dr. Elrington was a very clever man, and Dr. Doyle found in him a foe of no ordinary obstinacy. Early in the winter of 1827, he proclaimed anew his hostility to Popery in general, and J. K. L. in particular. He published an angry appendix to his Charge, which contained not a few logical retorts upon Dr. Doyle. The newspapers of the 8th December following print a further retaliation from J. K. L:

"I have been occupied in reading Tull's Book on Husbandry, with a view of forming out of it a small treatise for the use of the farmers and their children in this country, when some person brought to me, from one of the public offices, an 'Appendix to the Bishop of Ferns' Charge.' Before I opened it, the first reflection which occurred to me was, 'Will these men never suffer the country to be at rest? Will they not only devour the fruits of the public industry, but interrupt or trouble every man who thinks or labours for the common welfare? A sad, a miserable state of things—a state without a parallel in time or place—in which men who should be the promoters of arts and science, the heralds of peace and union, the teachers of the ignorant, the husbands of the widow, and fathers of the orphan, are driven, even against the impulse of their own heart, by their unhappy position in society, to disturb, to exasperate, to impoverish their fellow-citizens—to mar as well the labours of the benevolent as the designs of Government, and counteract the very operations of nature in the soil and climate of their own unhappy country!'"

Dr. Elrington querulously complained that J. K. L. had failed to recognize his station in the Church. Dr. Doyle repudiated all such intention. He had transcribed the entire title-page of Dr. Elrington's Charge, including his title, "with a number of large letters, having any meaning, or no meaning, but which I found there as set down by himself." It transpired, however, that a bookseller reprinted it and prefixed, without Dr. Doyle's knowledge, a title-page of his own composition.

"In this title-page, it appears, he omitted to set down all the titles, and additions, and alliteration of the Lord Bishop of Leighlin and Ferns. If some vain, empty, new man—as Cicero calls them, *novi homines*—had thus complained, it would not surprise me, for in such men common sense, delicacy, good taste, are absorbed in an all-devouring self-love; but such a complaint to proceed from the Lord Bishop of Ferns only shows 'that a man is twice a child.' I never in my life thought of withholding from his Lordship what he was justly entitled to. Can any person suppose that I alone in these countries do not know that his Majesty the King can confer titles, or annex them to baronies or offices; and that in the Greek and Roman States,

previous to the coming of Christ, certain persons were called 'Bishops;' that it is and must be perfectly within the competency of the Sovereign in a Christian State to create office and officers, and call them 'Bishoprics' and 'Bishops.' I have never refused to acknowledge the right of any Protestant Bishop, or Archbishop, or Primate, within these realms, to the titles legally claimed by them, or used by them; I have not even disputed about the validity of their ordination, as many have done—and whenever I have annexed 'Protestant,' or 'by law established,' to their names or titles, it was for the purpose of preserving a just distinction between them and the Catholic Bishops in the same Sees; for, in Ireland, were it not for the tithes and citations to the Bishop's courts, nine-tenths of the people would never suppose that by the words 'Bishop of Ferns,' for example, was meant Dr. Elrington. . . . . The Lord Bishop of Leighlin and Ferns says I have been angry, and I will not contradict him in words. It is better to refer to my former letter as evidence. I have been accused of wiles, and craft, and deep and dark design. I have been likened to all manner of evil things, and called a satyr, and a Jesuit, and a demagogue, a Papist, and a traitor; I have been even called a Vetoist and a Jansenist—but until now I do not recollect that I have been charged with suffering anger to prevail over my judgment. I have been long exercised in imposing restraint upon my passions, and I hope, through the aid of Heaven, never to become their slave. But if my wrath be ever kindled and burn, it will, I should suppose, light upon something more substantial than the Lord Bishop of Leighlin and Ferns. From this conjecture, and with a heart filled with anguish at seeing myself so uselessly employed, at contemplating even myself driven to the necessity of mixing in religious broils, notwithstanding my natural aversion to them, and the conviction on my mind that they are the greatest curse of Ireland, and the abettors and supporters of them the greatest foes to her peace—notwithstanding this feeling and this conviction I must proceed, in self-defence and in defence of the religion which I profess, to remark, but with the utmost possible brevity, on the Appendix of the learned Bishop."

We shall not attempt to introduce the elaborate and close controversial arguments with which Dr. Doyle followed up this paragraph. At the close of his Letter he proved the full concurrence of Paley, Locke, and Burke, in the opinions already maintained by J.K.L. against the Education and Bible Societies. This able Letter was reprinted by Coyne, and fills thirty-one octavo pages.

In indulging in so much mental exertion, Dr. Doyle acted quite contrary to the express directions of his physician. Bishop

Ullathorne, in a letter to the author, says: "When he exhausted himself with labour and reading, and got quite prostrate, Dr. Kinsella would take him off to his house, take all books and work from him, and leave him quiet to rally himself. And Dr. Doyle has exclaimed: 'Give me something to do. I don't ask for a Father of the Church; but give me something, for the love of God, if it is only the pagan Tacitus.' Everything about Dr. Doyle," adds Bishop Ullathorne, "interested me, for his writings were my delight when a divinity student. I admired their aptness, fulness, solidity, and classic finish, and the scholarship they revealed."

"I have read with delight J.K.L.'s admirable second Letter to Dr. Elrington," writes Mr. Devereux to Dr. Doyle. "He makes him hate himself." And he adds: "I have recommended to Mr. Black of *The Morning Chronicle* the very interesting article which appeared in *The Carlow Post*, entitled 'New Reformation in Carlow.' Now, as a reward to *The Post* for inserting so good an article, I enclose him an interesting *jeu d'esprit*. I send it through you, my lord, because a notorious character, one Bishop Doyle, is therein mentioned. The writer is Mr. William Penn, the great-great-grandson of the celebrated founder of Pennsylvania, but his name need not be mentioned."

The verse cannot be found. The prose article in question describes a recent interchange of public placards between the Catholic and Protestant clergymen of Carlow, regarding the number of converts to both Churches. The Parson denied the Priest's statements, whereupon the Priest invited him to attend at the sacristy on the following Sunday to witness the adhesion of additional Protestant adults to the Catholic Church. Some curious statistics are adduced, and the writer concludes by saying: "The New Reformation is not only not advancing, but is working the ruin of the old; and what Dr. Doyle, at its commencement, predicted of it is already approaching to fulfilment, 'that the experiment, if tried and persevered in, would have the effect of arousing the energies of the Catholic Church in Ireland, and of bringing home to its fold many a strayed sheep.'"

Dr. Doyle's private life was hardly less remarkable than his public one. A Priest who knew him well thus jots down his impressions of the great Prelate in a communication which he has kindly placed at our disposal. "If he shone the glory of the country as a patriot, and the light of the Priesthood as a Bishop, he displayed in all the tenor of his private life the humane, generous, and sanctified Christian man. Great as he appeared as a public man, to those who knew him well his domestic virtues were still more wonderful. The noble simplicity of his manners, the bright candour of all his thoughts, the goodness of his warm heart,

the charity of his benevolent soul—the tender piety, the ardent devotion—his soaring faith—all combined to exhibit him, even in domestic intercourse, a model to his friends and his flock. While forced by the circumstances of the time to forego the peaceful retirement of the cloister, the spirit of his religious engagement never forsook him. Never did he relinquish his early vows, or the fervour of his first devotion. I well know with what pain he mingled in the distractions of the world. Solitude was his delight to the last, and prayer and thought filled up whatever short intervals of leisure he enjoyed. Every day he read the holy Scriptures on his knees, and there and at the foot of the cross he imbibed the lofty zeal that animated all his acts, and the tender unction which flows through all his imperishable writings!"

His strength of piety was very striking. The Very Rev. Canon Dunne—a Priest who, in 1852, was considered not unworthy of an archiepiscopal mitre, though circumstances did not enable him to wear it—writing to the author, says: "Often have I witnessed this renowned Bishop bent in holiest rapture, and entranced in deep contemplation before Christ in the Eucharist. Never can I forget the fervent piety with which he celebrated at the altar. He was frequently bathed in tears, which I saw him endeavouring quietly to wipe away with the sleeve of his alb, as they trickled down his manly cheek. This I particularly observed when attending him on an Easter festival at the Presentation Convent, Carlow."

The simultaneous meetings which were held for the first time in January, 1828, had no inconsiderable effect in promoting the settlement of the Catholic question. We find O'Connell very earnestly addressing Dr. Doyle on the subject; but the idea, we believe, originated with Sheil. "I shall take an early opportunity," observed the latter (22nd September, 1827), "of carrying into effect a project which I before suggested of establishing a communication between a central committee of correspondence and every parish in Ireland. Thus simultaneous meetings through the whole country may be produced. There are difficulties in the way, but difficulties vanish before the spirit of genuine enterprise. A great exertion ought to be, and, by the blessing of God, shall be made. The whole population of Ireland shall be aroused—a fiercer ardour for liberty than ever yet was raised shall be called up, and the tables of the Legislature shall groan beneath the burden of petitions that shall be accumulated upon them. Let our English Legislators learn what they may have to expect from the refusal of all justice to our country. It cannot be too often and too powerfully impressed upon them. Let there be no prostration, no debasement, in the sentiments which those petitions shall breathe; let us demand our equalization as a right, indefeasible

and immutable, and show that when we ask for liberty, we are animated by the emotions of men who are deserving to be free. The tone and the attitude of Ireland should correspond with her increasing importance and power."

O'Connell, addressing Dr. Doyle, writes:

"Merrion-square, 29th December, 1827.

"MY LORD—The public papers will have already informed your Lordship of the resolution to hold a meeting for petition in every parish in Ireland, on Sunday, the 13th of January.

"I should not presume to call your Lordship's particular attention to this measure, or respectfully to solicit your countenance and support in your diocess if I was not most deeply convinced of its extreme importance and utility. The combination of national action—all Catholic Ireland acting as one man—must necessarily have a powerful effect on the minds of the ministry and of the entire of the British nation. A people who can be thus brought to act together and by one impulse, are too powerful to be neglected and too formidable to be long opposed. Convinced—deeply, *firmly* convinced of the importance of this measure, I am equally so of the impossibility of succeeding unless we obtain the countenance and support of the Catholic Prelates of Ireland.

"To you, my Lord, I very respectfully appeal for that support. I hope and respectfully trust that in your diocess no parish will be found deficient in activity and zeal. I intend to publish in the papers the form of a petition for Emancipation, which may be adopted in all places where no individuals may be found able and willing to prepare a proper draft.

"I am sorry to trespass thus on your Lordship's most valuable time, but I am so entirely persuaded of the vital utility of the measure of simultaneous meetings to petition that I venture over again, but in the most respectful manner, to urge on your kind and considerate attention the propriety of assisting in such manner as you may deem best to attain our object.

"I have the honour to be, with profound respect, my Lord, &c.,

"DANIEL O'CONNELL."

Two thousand meetings were convened, and it is computed that upwards of five millions of people attended them. "Thus," observes the biographer of O'Connell, "aspirations were, at the same hour on a Sunday, after the Holy Sacrifice, offered up for liberty of conscience." An organization so grand and perfect had obvious effect upon the government; and it is said that even the King's prejudices began to waver before the power which had been marshalled against them.

We now find a new species of task devolving upon our Prelate.

The Ven. John Sinclair, Archdeacon of Middlesex, writing to the author, the 20th February, 1856, observes: "One of the chief objects to which both the Bishop and my father directed their attention was the discovery of some means of preserving the potato, so that the superfluity of one season might supply the deficiency of another. And they both tried the experiment of converting the whole substance of the potato into meal, in which state it may be preserved for any number of years. Unhappily the meal thus formed, though perfectly wholesome, was not very palatable. It is, however, a very striking circumstance that those experiments should have occurred a few years before the great famine—a famine caused by the failure of the potato crop."

It is also a somewhat "striking circumstance" that Dr. Doyle, in his Fifth Letter on the "State of Ireland," would seem to have foreseen the great famine of 1847 (see p. 420, vol. i.); and in his evidence before Parliament, on the state of the Irish poor (4359), Dr. Doyle observes that in the event of a failure of the potato crop disease and famine would decimate Ireland.

The following letter was, we believe, the commencement of Sir John Sinclair's correspondence with the Bishop:

[*Private.*] "Edinbro', 26th December, 1827.

"Rev. Sir—Dr. Maclean communicated to me your letter to him on the subject of potato flour. His idea of using solely the farina of the potato and throwing away the fibre, and his proposal of living upon the farina, converted into jelly, cannot be approved of; and you have very ably stated the reasons why the plan he proposes is not applicable to Ireland.

"It is now about thirty years since I first proved the practicability of preserving for a long period of time, under all the disadvantages of a lengthened voyage, the entire potato. For that purpose it was cut into thin slices, then thoroughly dried, and either kept in those slices or converted into meal. I have now been induced to revive that plan, and herewith have the pleasure of sending you a specimen of the meal, and a short paper recommending that mode of preserving all that part of the crop, when in its greatest state of perfection, that is not required for immediate consumption. When the potato begins to germinate, it can never be wholesome food. I really see no difficulty in the poorest cottagers, if they raise their own potatoes, adopting that plan. They require nothing but a knife to scrape the potatoes and to cut them into thin slices; a tub, in which they should be frequently washed, to clear them of the dark and unwholesome substance with which potatoes are naturally impregnated; and then, if they could not get a kiln or oven, in which the slices could be dried,

they might contrive to get it done by their own fire on an iron plate.

"The Irish are so ingenious, and so clever a race of people, that I am sure if they approved of the idea they would find means to effect it. I wish much, therefore, that my paper was translated into Irish, and explained by the Catholic Clergy to their people.

"It would be in the highest degree gratifying to me to promote the establishment of a plan, by which the precarious subsistance of so numerous a body of my fellow subjects might be rendered more secure—the diseases to which they are periodically liable, by living on potatoes, when they are either too old or too young, might be prevented, and any risks of future scarcities might in a great measure be obviated.—I have, &c. "JOHN SINCLAIR."

The Bishop complied with Sir John Sinclair's wish, and got the document printed in conjunction with a circular letter of his own, addressed to the Clergy of the diocess of Kildare and Leighlin. He impressed upon them the vast utility of the plan and requested them to explain its details, point out its advantages, and urge, in their conversation and intercourse with the people, its practical adoption.

"For the purpose of making your parishioners intimately acquainted with this plan," he wrote, "you can direct each of your schoolmasters to take copies in writing of Sir John Sinclair's paper, and keep them posted up for some time in their school-houses; and the children who attend school may be made to take copies of the entire, or of the most useful parts of it, and convey them to their respective homes. Thus an acquaintance with this most useful invention will be rendered general and familiar.

"In writing to you I need not advert to the miseries which our poor people suffer from a want of wholesome and sufficient food. Their multiplied diseases, and the numberless premature deaths which follow, are principally the result of that afflicting cause; nor is there any kind of food used by human beings, in any country under heaven, more insipid, less nutritious, more unwholesome than potatoes when unripe or fermented; in other words, when growing—as they generally are, whether in pits or houses, from May to the end of summer. But it is not enough to witness and lament over the miseries of our poor; nor do we discharge all our duties to them by sharing in their afflictions and ministering to their spiritual wants; whether in life or in death, we in some sort belong to them, and are bound in all things, and in everything which concerns their happiness, to labour for their advantage. Other men may devise and execute plans of general im-

provement, but the domestic comfort, the fire-side and family happiness of a people cannot possibly be effected unless by their own exertions and diligent co-operation. But how can those exertions of a harassed, desponding, impoverished, and heart-broken people be called forth, unless by us who possess all their confidence, and who are sharers in all that rejoices or afflicts them? We must, dear Rev. Sir, rebuke their errors, combat their prejudices, inspire and sustain their hopes, and infuse into them that zeal for their own improvement, and that confidence in their own exertions, without which they will never be able to advance in the scale of society, or better their own condition. We are not by nature a careless people, but we have been rendered reckless by misfortune. It is time that we forget the past, and look only to the future; and it is our duty to point out to those over whom we are placed as guides, even those small, those minute things in industry, in domestic economy, from which the comfort and happiness of families in a great degree arise.

"The poor and simple peasant will think it strange that nearly three-fourths of his potato is more useless than so much water from the spring; but, without making the potato pass through a chemical process in his presence in order to convince him of this truth, he will admit it upon your word and mine. He knows by experience the wretched sustenance which a green and soft potato affords; he recollects the waste, the havoc committed on his little garden by digging the produce of it in August or September, but with this recollection and regret upon his mind, he will and must dig it up the next year, and every year of his life, unless he is induced by you to imitate the industry of the ant or the bee, and lay up a store in the favourable season against the evil day."

The present Sir George Sinclair, Bart., of Thurso Castle, is the son of Dr. Doyle's truly estimable correspondent. The author of "Lives of Modern Statesmen" says: "There was a much cleverer boy than either Peel or Byron at Harrow. Sir George Sinclair was their schoolfellow, and was considered a prodigy of talent. Byron tells us that he made exercises for half the school, verses at will, and themes without it." "A frequent and interesting correspondence," writes Sir George to Mr. Fitzpatrick, "was carried on between my late revered father and that very estimable Prelate, Dr. Doyle, not only upon subjects of an economical and agricultural character, but also in reference to the question of the R. Catholic claims; and I myself saw many of the Bishop's letters, with which my father was always much gratified. Posterity cannot fail to take a lively interest in the character and opinions of so remarkable a man as Dr. Doyle."

Later, in 1828, we find Sir John again addressing the Bishop:

"As you insist on the Scots being descended from Irish progenitors, I have endeavoured in the enclosed paper to give some idea of the character of the Irish, explaining the circumstances to which the valuable qualities they possess may be ascribed. I hope that you will take an early opportunity of considering the enclosed, and will favour me with your remarks upon it. If you have no material objection to its contents, I should be glad to have the paper printed in the Irish journals.

"I am now busy preparing another paper on Catholic Emancipation. I am in hopes that it is in my power to throw *some new light* upon it, which may tend to promote a settlement of the question in a manner that ought to be satisfactory to all parties. Anything is better than a civil war, which must be the result unless the question is settled in an amicable manner by mutual concessions.

"I rely much on the good sense, patriotism, and religious spirit of the Catholic Clergy of Ireland; for though there must be some intemperate individuals among them, as in all numerous bodies, yet I trust that the majority are sound and real Christians, and more ready to preach moderation and brotherly kindness than anarchy, desolation, and bloodshed. Our friendly correspondence on those subjects cannot possibly do any harm, and may be the source of much advantage to both countries."

Dr. Doyle duly examined Sir John Sinclair's plan, and thus unfolded his views in regard to it:

"Carlow, 4th December, 1828.

"DEAR SIR—I have communicated your plan for the settlement of the Catholic question to some of the most intelligent among my friends. I have myself also considered it; but the novelty of the plan itself, and the want of precedents in any way analogous to it, leave me unable to form a decided opinion on the merits of it.

"How could Members of Parliament or Judges be independent under the operation of an annual law? There may be also other offices where the tenure of the occupant should be certain. Perhaps these difficulties might be surmounted, but I doubt whether these alone would offer themselves. I am of opinion that Government could satisfy the sensible portion of the community even now by a general and final adjustment, and might disregard the violent of all parties; for even in Ireland the great, the vast majority of Catholics and Protestants would, after some declamation to save their honour, willingly acquiesce in any reasonable legislative enactment; and that the same results would follow in Great Britain, it is, I think, not difficult to divine. The great evil to be

dreaded is the leaving the question open; for so left it will, as certainly as our existence, produce the total ruin of this country, and possibly even of England.

"I am rejoiced to find that your experiments continue to produce new and useful discoveries. Had we but internal peace and our currency secure, we might begin a new race of improvement. Perhaps a good Providence will so provide for us.

"With sentiments of the most perfect esteem, and gratitude for your continued solicitude for my countrymen—I have, &c.,

"✠ J. DOYLE."

A few words regarding Sir John Sinclair, that most zealous and useful patriot, may not be irrelevant. Educated at the Universities of Glasgow and Oxford, he was called to the Scottish bar in 1775, and five years later became Member for his native county. From this date until his death, half-a-century afterwards, he constantly appeared before the public as an author, and there was hardly any topic in the whole range of political, economical, statistical, or even medical science, which did not engage his inquiring mind. No useful public measure ever needed the advocacy of Sir John Sinclair's pen; and while in Parliament his votes were always on the right side. In the celebrated conflict on the Regency question, in 1789, Sir John joined the Opposition, and although a warm private friend of Pitt's, frequently denounced, at a subsequent period, many of that great man's most favourite measures, including the land and income taxes. Sir John Sinclair's works fill at least eighty volumes. When death deprived the country of this good man's labours, at the patriarchal age of eighty-one, he had made considerable progress in a "Political Code," and some religious dissertations. Sir John Sinclair's passion for agricultural improvement was life-long, and to him the country is indebted for the organization of a society devoted to the advancement of skilful husbandry. The high estimation in which Sir John Sinclair held Dr. Doyle is traceable in the trivial fact that Sir John gave, as a literary curiosity, in his last work, a facsimile of the Bishop's signature. It occurs on the same page with fac-similes of the handwriting of William Wilberforce and Sir Walter Scott.

The reader has already seen that Dr. Doyle's interest in the lowly religious Order to which, in the first impulse of his youthful piety, he had attached himself, continued throughout his subsequent career undiminished. In January, 1828, we find the Bishop addressing the Augustinian Provincial on behalf of a young Regular who had had some differences with his Prior:

"My dear and Very Rev. Friend—I trouble you, at the request of the Rev. Mr. ——, one of our brethren, who called on me some time ago, apparently much dissatisfied and distressed. He wished, for a variety of reasons, to be permitted by you to seek a livelihood out of the Order, and I told him that if you permitted him to accept of a retired situation in England, I would procure it for him. Since then he wrote to inform me that he had solicited such permission of you, but that you did not reply to his letter, and he prays I would beg of you to favour him with an answer. As he does not ask more than merely a reply to his letter, I have no difficulty in requesting of you to write to him. I do not, however, in any way suggest to you the kind of reply—whether favourable or otherwise to his views; but I do not wish to conceal from you that the Prior treats him with severity—a quality very congenial to his self-satisfied disposition, but entirely unsuited to ——'s timid and almost scrupulous nature.

"Perhaps I ought, on account of my friendship for you and my interest in all that concerns you, to inform you, but in the strictest confidence, that in Canning's lifetime a proposition regarding the Regulars in this country was submitted at Rome, and that this late Ministry, I believe, followed it up—nor is it likely to be abandoned by that now in power. I need not add that the views respecting them are not of a fostering kind, and that if they be not upheld by the Bishops in this country, they are not likely to continue many years even as they are. To secure this protection when it may be required, I am sure nothing would conduce more than to put an end to strolling Friars, and form them into communities of at least three persons, and to oblige them to observe regular discipline, so far as is consistent with the laws of the country—that is, in everything except dress; but, still more, to prevent the degradation (for such it is in Ireland) of clergymen begging *osteatim* for their own support, and directing them to maintain themselves as much as possible by the receipts of their chapels, the offerings on account of their ministry, the frugal use of their little funds, and, above all, by employing themselves in conducting schools and other liberal occupations."

Mr. Devereux would seem to have been Dr. Doyle's informant. On the 1st of December, 1827, the former writes from London: "I have heard nothing since about the intrigue going on. I repeat, that if the former administration had remained an attack would have been made, if any plausible plea or sanction could be obtained from Rome—first, against our Regulars; next, our nunneries; thirdly, Maynooth, which so sorely sticks in the gizzard of our enemies—but I don't believe the present administration have so much ab-

surdity of feeling, or, if they had, sufficient nerve to carry any such attempt into effect. We are, however, not the more obliged to any British Catholics here who patronise such intrigues."

The Very Rev. Mr. O'Connor, now Bishop of Saldes, gratefully acknowledged Dr. Doyle's friendly hint:

"Brunswick-street, Cork, 28th January, 1828.

"My Lord—I have just been favoured with your kind communication of the 25th, and while I hasten to express my gratitude for the friendship and interest evinced for me in the piece of useful information therein imparted, I feel I should be wanting to that sense of your Lordship's kindness, were I not to assure you of my regret that your invaluable time should have been so much and so unnecessarily intruded on by the restlessness of one of our young brethren. I did receive a letter from Mr. —— some days since, stating that 'it was impossible for him, under existing circumstances, to remain any longer at ——; that he begged my permission to withdraw himself from Rev. Mr. ——'s jurisdiction; that he consulted with your Lordship on the propriety of doing so, and that you not only agreed with him in opinion, but even told him it would be worse than folly to remain; and that you had the kindness to provide him with a situation, which, with my permission, he would accept, until some vacancy occurred in the Order where he could be the cause of more edification than scandal.' When I received this letter I was, I confess, very much surprised, not having heard a word of any disagreement in that community. I was surprised, too, that if he had any cause of complaint he would not have made it known to me, as his religious obligation demanded, and see whether I would redress him before he troubled your Lordship. I could very easily have replied to his letter immediately, but finding it impossible, under the circumstances of the Province, to comply with his request of retiring, *pro tempore*, from the Order, and, at the same time, feeling the great weight of your Lordship's name and opinion in the matter, I was so much embarrassed that I put off my answer for a few days, that he might reconsider the matter, that my refusal might become less unpleasant to him, and (as is my custom) that I might not be too quick in taking young men at their words, where perhaps their temporal and eternal happiness is at stake, especially as I found it necessary to make this rule, that any of our brethren who went out should not return to a convent of the province in my time. I permitted already three to go out on the mission, and this is more than I could spare with common justice to the Order. I am therefore obliged conscientiously to refuse him; but as he does not feel happy in ——, I will endeavour to provide for his happiness in some other Convent.

"On the subject of your Lordship's confidential communication I have but little to say, though much to feel. I have, however, again and again to thank you for it, and I console myself with the reflection that in the hour of trial we shall have at least one advocate, whose name, character, and influence will not be wanted to our cause. That cause, I should hope, is the cause of religion and of God. We engaged in it under the most solemn obligations as such, and we have only to entertain the humble hope that the substance may not be confounded with the mode. Our mode of subsistence is not the most agreeable to flesh and blood, or to our natural pride, but perhaps it is not the less pleasing in the sight of the Almighty. We would all very naturally wish to improve our condition when it could be done with a safe conscience. There are none of us, I am sure, so perfect as to be attached to the *osteatim* mode of subsistence, so as not to be willing to yield it up for some more certain and less humiliating one, provided it were not at the expense of our extinction. If such should unhappily be the case we must only bow to the just decree of God punishing us for our sins. I know of no abuse of that nature among us. Religion always prevailed in Ireland notwithstanding this mode of subsistence. I believe some such mode would be useful, in future times, to preserve the recollection of evangelical poverty among the Clergy. All our brethren are the friends and promoters of education and instruction among the people. We all feel grateful for your counsel. We confide in your protection. I am, my Lord, &c.,

"DANIEL O'CONNOR."

"Dublin, 8th February, 1828.

"MY DEAR AND VERY REV. FRIEND—I am glad I wrote to you of Mr. ——, as you were thereby enabled to see what certainly I did not suppose you could ever doubt—that I would not sanction, still less enable or assist any one to withdraw himself from the just authority established over him. Mr. —— is not strong-minded, and I hope his misstatement is rather the effect of confusion in his mind than of a wilful purpose to deceive. During his time in our College his conduct was most exemplary; but he is not able to sustain himself under harsh treatment, and his timidity only augments his embarrassments.

"All the hopes you entertain, of my efforts to serve the Regulars upon any or all occasions which may arise, are well-founded. I shall never fail to exert my best energies in their favour; and with my brethren of the prelacy I can truly and with pleasure assure you, that I expect to meet only with feelings and sentiments in the Regulars' regard which correspond to my own.

What I mentioned to you is not known to *any one Prelate* in Ireland—to the extent at least to which I have been informed of it; and, from the changes incident to our times, such plans as were on foot may alter or cease altogether. My sentiments, however, with regard to the observance of religious discipline, and the abolition of the bad custom of placing individual Friars in isolated, or in any places, are not mine only; and the abuses arising from a want of improvement in those respects will not be corrected, nor the feelings arising from them allayed, by all you or I can say of the past or present merits of religious orders. Whatever I wrote to you on these subjects, or on that of the mode of support, arose solely from my anxiety to find the religious orders in Ireland, should a day of danger to them arrive, in such a position as would enable me to plead for them with effect, and not find myself embarrassed by anything which should offend public opinion or furnish argument for my adversaries. You will, I hope, never do me the injustice of considering me other than the zealous friend of the institute to which I have the honour to belong.

"Yours most truly and affectionately,

"✠ J. Doyle."

Dr. Doyle greatly disliked the system of strolling Friars. If, however, their vows imperatively called upon them to beg *osteatim*, he desired that they should not wander to any considerable distance from their Convents, and he wished them to be, in all cases, home by nightfall. He disapproved of their sleeping in farmers' houses along the route, or partaking, to the smallest extent, of that exhilarating refreshment which the Irish peasantry were rarely without, and which it would be almost an insult to their hospitality to refuse. Should the Friars find themselves at any time too far from their Convent to return before dark, Dr. Doyle gave it as his opinion that they ought always, in such cases, to sleep beneath the roof of the nearest Parish Priest, and not in the houses of the peasant laity.

In 1827, a certain Archdeacon of the Established Church, the member of a powerful family, with an Earl and an Archbishop at its head, which had zealously devoted itself to the proselytism of the Irish peasantry, published a notice that none of the tenants over whom he had control had any favour to expect, who did not send their children to his school, and procure certificates from two evangelical ladies mentioned in the notice. The tenants who obeyed this mandate were liberally rewarded, while those who disregarded it underwent retribution at his hands; labourers were dismissed, and the houses of others thrown down. Catharine

Heney swore that having, in obedience to the Catholic Pastor, refused to send her five children to the Archdeacon's school, she was ejected from her cabin, and when razed to the ground, was obliged to seek refuge in a pig-stye, where she lay upon heaps of filth in a fever, surrounded by the wretched offspring for whom she was no longer able to procure the necessaries of life. This affidavit was sustained by a vast number of similar depositions. The struggle between might and right continued for some time—the Parson menacing all who manifested a conscientious contumacy with the terrors of this world, while the Priest, on the other hand, threatened retribution in the next. The gentry took part in the contest, and a meeting was held at Loughrea with a view to put a check as far as possible on the Archdeacon's terrible zeal. The Bible Society convened another meeting at Ballinasloe; Mr. M'Donnell, a Catholic barrister, attended it, and in the course of the proceedings moved an amendment which the chairman, Lord Dunlo, put from the chair. The meeting lasted for three days, during the first two of which the Archdeacon did not actively interfere; but on the third morning the aspect of affairs underwent a material change. "The moment the doors were opened," observes Sheil, "the Archdeacon placed himself at the entrance, and under his direction a number of Protestants of the lowest class with, as it is alleged, arms under their great coats, were specially admitted, and stationed by the Doctor's orders in the assembly. He felt the importance of carrying the day, and an effort was deemed advisable to put Mr. M'Donnell down. For this purpose the room was filled with police, and the Archdeacon stood with an attitude, looked with an air, and spoke with an intonation of command." Mr. M'Donnell was informed that he had no right to open his lips. The chairman proposed a series of resolutions favourable to the objects of the society, and left the chair. Mr. M'Donnell moved that the Hon. Gonville Ffrench, a magistrate, and the son of a Peer, should take it. Mr. Ffrench advanced, but the Archdeacon, turning to the police, exclaimed, "Do your duty." The police rushed upon the people; another body which had been stationed outside as a reserve corps, charged upstairs with swords drawn and bayonets fixed. "They drove the Catholics before them," remarks Sheil, "and mingled invectives against their religion with their ferocious exclamations." The people fled: the open windows afforded shelter to many of them, and women precipitated themselves upon the adjoining roofs. It was not the Archdeacon's fault that a general carnage did not ensue. The Roman Catholics assembled four days afterwards, and at that meeting Mr. M'Donnell pronounced a withering invective upon the Archdeacon. He reminded his hearers that

the Doctor had been a soldier, and in the barrack-yard of Cork had presided over the torturing of a woman named Winifred Hynes; that although a divine, he was not the best qualified person to superintend the morals of the district in which he professed to have the cure of souls; that he was by nature cruel and ruthless; and that, in the absence of the common executioner, when the sentence of whipping was to be executed in the town of Loughrea upon two culprits, the Archdeacon proposed that he should take the lash into those hands which had so often distributed the sacramental bread, and whip the malefactors through the principal streets of the town! The Archdeacon, smarting in turn under the torture of Mr. M'Donnell's scourge, sought to file a criminal information against his castigator, who now made the Archdeacon's case if possible worse, by causing to be read in court innumerable affidavits, the first of which detailed how Winifred Hynes, having stolen a brass candlestick, was ordered by the Archdeacon, then adjutant of the Galway militia, to be brought out, and in presence of the regiment she was tied up hands and feet to the triangle, preparatory to receiving fifty lashes. The woman vehemently resisted the effort to remove her clothing. "The said adjutant," records the affidavit, went up to the drum-major, cursed and damned him for not tearing off her clothes, and in a great passion, giving him a blow with a stick, ordered him to tear and cut them off, "which was done." Her quivering flesh was then scourged mercilessly. "That during the said horrible exhibition," proceeds the affidavit, "Mr. Davis went up to the said adjutant, and told him, in the hearing of deponent, that Peter Hynes, the husband, was absolutely fainting in the ranks, at seeing his wife exposed in such a manner, and begged of said adjutant to allow Hynes to retire to his room, upon which he replied that he might go where he pleased, and he did not care if the devil had him." Similar affidavits were read proving the immoral character of the Archdeacon, not only in the army, but since his adhesion to a more ascetic profession. These miscellaneous amours were set forth with minuteness, but we will be readily excused for not entering into them. With regard to the Archdeacon's exploits with the cat-o'-nine-tails in the public streets of Galway, they were circumstantially described in an affidavit of the sheriff who officially witnessed the performance. Notwithstanding these affidavits, the court made the conditional rule absolute, and afterwards sentenced Mr. M'Donnell to twelve months' imprisonment. The government, however, creditably interfered, and liberated Mr. M'Donnell several months before the expiration of his sentence. Shortly after Mr. M'Donnell's incarceration in Kilmainham he received from Dr. Doyle the fol-

lowing letter, which was handed to us by the recipient a few months previous to his death:

"Carlow, 26th February, 1828.

"My dear Sir—A late and distressing occurrence in my own family prevented me till now from renewing to you the assurances of those strong sentiments of respect, and even admiration, with which your whole demeanour, from the commencement to the close of that case which has terminated in your confinement, inspired me. I cannot condole with you, for though you must feel the privations you suffer, it is impossible that sorrow or grief should have access to such a mind as yours, because you are compelled to pay that tribute which innocence and justice have been yielding to guilt and oppression, often in all times and countries, but almost always in Ireland. I am far from thinking that the publication of truth is always innocent; but I am equally clear and certain that when a man once infamous—whether by conduct notoriously criminal, or by the just sentence of the law—assails any person or persons, such person or persons have an incontestible right to employ in their own defence or justification such infamy of their assailant as was before public in a legal sense.

"The doctrine of libel was settled in Catholic times on the immutable laws of truth and justice; but since then religion has been rejected, corrupt judges have perverted the law to screen the guilt of power, and to favour the oppressor of the weak; or ignorant judges, not acquainted with or unable to comprehend the great principles of morality involved in the law of libel, apply it by hazard, or agreeably to their own feelings or interests.

"In writing to you I do not know what I could state more becoming myself or agreeable to your feelings, than my full conviction that every part of your conduct, as it appeared before the public, was, in my judgment, entirely free from all moral transgression; and that if you suffer, it is not for wrong committed by you, but by those who, whatever they may endure otherwise, are exempt from fines and imprisonment in this life. I have, &c.,

"✠ J. Doyle."

The "late and distressing occurrence in his own family," to which Dr. Doyle alludes, was the death of his half-brother, Captain Thomas Doyle. In a note to his niece referring to it, we catch a glimpse of the austerity with which the Bishop observed the Lenten abstinence, notwithstanding that the vigour of his constitution was daily drooping: "I am getting fat with ling and potatoes; and though poor Tom's death shocked and afflicted me exceedingly, the cares and distractions in which I live prevent

me from thinking or suffering from anything that happens. I apprehend that my own death is not far distant. I was very near it last autumn."

These perpetual cares are also alluded to in his correspondence with the nuns of his diocess:

"Carlow, 24th February, 1828.

"My very dear Child—I am generally so beset with cares that a letter such as yours affords me the greatest satisfaction, and you may always write to me under the impression of doing a kindness to one greatly interested for your happiness. I am quite happy at knowing from yourself, and also from Rev. Mother, that you are approved of by our dear sisters as deserving of their society in this world, and, I hope, of the glory which awaits them in the next. If I supposed that the delay of your reception would retard the coming of that glory for an instant, nothing could prevent me from being present with you on the early day you mention. But as your desires of union with our Lord will increase as the fulfilment of them will be deferred in this life, and as in all things I only wish for your sanctification, you will not think it unkind of me to defer your reception to the Sunday following, when, please God, I will be with you. In the interval I would wish my dear child Ellen to write me an account of all her dispositions: let the community decide as to her fitness to be received; and on considering both, I will determine whether her postulation ought to be prolonged, or whether she may be admitted with you to 'the holy habit of religion.'

"My dear child, I wish I could convey to you all the hopes I have of your ardent desires to be united to our blessed Lord, who is the Word of God, the Wisdom of our Father, our Redeemer, our Judge, and the only full and perfect source of our happiness in the kingdom purchased by His blood; and that during this holy time of Lent all your aspirations may be the fruit of charity, rather even than any compunction for a misspent time. Charity covers a multitude of sins; and if you exercise your heart and soul in the love of God our Saviour, penance will seem to you what it really is—rather the resource of the unfortunate than the inheritance of the chosen children of the Lord. Yet I am satisfied that you and Ellen observe the fast and abstinence as it is understood by the Rev. Mother, but not to any greater extent.

"You should make the general confession you mention to either the ordinary or extraordinary confessor, unless you prefer doing it to myself during my visit to M——h on the Friday previous to your reception. But in this, my dearest child, consult your own feelings only, for it is the mercy of God to indulge us

in this respect, and we should fulfil His views by availing ourselves of what he has permitted."

Meanwhile his correspondence with the leading liberal politicians of the day continued with vigour. From a long letter in the autograph of the late George Ensor, conferring with Dr. Doyle on the aspect of Catholic politics, and on the organization of a monster liberal meeting in Ulster, we quote a racy paragraph. The letter is dated 28th April, 1828:

"You allude to my not being at the Castle festivities. It is a glorious pastime for Irishmen, when their country is *in extremis*, to sport with the satrap of England, to jostle among gentry with bags and swords on a collar day; and how honoured to have the privilege of the *entreé*—that is, to be smuggled as maskers by a back door into the satrap's presence. As to the Protestants being so captivated, I do not wonder; but that the Catholic Irish can swallow hook, line, and rod exhibits their deglutition equal to the far-famed craters. They seem to wonder that Anglesea's sword is sheathed. When York was warlike, this fellow carried arms: the royal prate is conciliation, and he grounds them! and the surprised Irish leap into his arms, and sob their unutterable gratulations in his bosom. These things almost make me despair. I used to pray for Ireland, but I have given that up—for, however I might begin, I ended with curses—the baseness of man turning me for the instant from the goodness of God. I have been stung by what you say of your unsuccessful efforts respecting education. Your proceeding was masterly; by proposing a far superior scheme of instruction, you discredited them as you honoured yourself and people. What can the principal Catholics of Dublin fear or hope? Have they got too rich? I fear the staple of Dublin patriotism is talk—much is said which, to occupy time, is elaborately unsaid."

Dr. Doyle's correspondence with Messrs. Ensor, Cassidy, Talbot, and O'Ferrall continued voluminously throughout the following years. The Bishop felt, with Wilberforce, that country gentlemen are the nerves and ligatures of the political body.

CHAPTER XXVI.

The first stone laid of Carlow Cathedral—Lord Downshire—W. M. Thackeray on Dr. Doyle—Letters to Rev. Dr. Donovan, Mariana, and the Duke of Wellington—The force of equity the only force which can subdue the people of Ireland—"Securities"—Dreaded encroachments of the Holy See—Attempted "degradation" of the Catholic Priesthood—The Veto and Domestic Nomination again—Dr. Doyle's project for establishing a Patriarchate in Ireland—The Primatial rights upheld—Letter on the Clare election—Letter to Ellen H——g—Banquet at Carlow—Dr. Wolff again—Dr. Doyle "a consummate fox"—He longs to retire from the political arena—Letter to his niece—Care corrodes his heart—He visits Paris with Dr. Murray—He is mistaken for a Jesuit in Brussels, and hooted accordingly—Formidable agitation in Ireland—Alarm of the Viceroy—Letter to Sir H. Parnell—"Dreadful" situation of the King—*The Times* on Dr. Doyle—The Irish College in Paris—Contemplated concordat—Pennenden Heath meeting—Mr. Hunt's account of Dr. Doyle—Awful excitement—Letters—Lord Darnley.

On Easter Monday, 1828, Dr. Doyle, attired in his episcopal robes, laid the first stone of the new Cathedral at Carlow. He impressively invoked the protection of Providence on the temple about to be erected to His worship; and closed the solemn proceedings by a benediction to the assembled multitude. Peter Burrowes and other distinguished Irishmen, who took a warm interest in the good work, were present.

This splendid edifice was projected and attempted by Dr. Doyle under circumstances which would have discouraged any ordinary person. Thatched cabins had long been used for the celebration of the divine mysteries, and many persons looked to a comfortably slated brick-and-mortar church as a step in the march of progress more desirable than practicable. Catholicism still lay bound in penal fetters. Dr. Doyle had no funds collected to defray the expenses of building. His own scanty means and those of the clergy had been encroached upon to the uttermost in providing food and clothing for the famishing people, and in erecting school-houses for the education of the peasant youth. The Bishop knew, however, that he who once begins a work has half accomplished it, and trusting, in the first place, to Him in whose honour the Cathedral was raised, and, in the next, to the fidelity of that flock of whom he was the pastor, Dr. Doyle, full of hope and manly resolution, planted the first stone as we have described. From the moment that he wielded his crosier in benediction over it, this splendid temple shot up almost by magic; its gothic arches pointing heavenward, and showing what individual enterprise can do. Dr. Doyle survived but six years from this date, and yet he had the happiness of officiating, on innumerable occasions, within the new

Cathedral. Monsignore Meagher, in preaching Dr. Doyle's funeral panegyric in Carlow Cathedral, exclaimed: "How often on that altar have I beheld this great High Priest, lofty and dignified as Simeon of old, when he stood in the sanctuary, clothed with brightness, and surrounded by the glorious sons of Aaron." The celebrity of Carlow Cathedral is not merely local. Its beauties have been extolled even on the Continent, as the following extract from the *Biographie Universelle* shows: "Il eut le bonheur de vivre assez long-temps pour voir terminer cet edifice si ardemment desiré. La Cathedrale de Carlow est sans contredit le plus beau monument ecclesiastique qui ait etè elevé en Irlande dans le xixe Siecle. Depuis plusieurs années il rassemblait par tous les moyens qui sont a la disposition d'un dignitaire de l'eglise, les fonds necessaires pour cette belle fondation, et l'on peut dire que sans son influence personelle, sans l'estime et l'admiration qu'il inspirait, la Cathedrale serait encore dans les epures de l'architecte."

Dr. Doyle sought contributions for the good work in every direction. The Marquis of Downshire's reply is before us: "I have received your letter," he writes, "relative to a subscription to the chapel in Carlow, in consequence of my possessing some houses in the town of Carlow; and intending to comply with your request, I have, since last week, been carrying a check for ten pounds in my pocket for the purpose, which I now enclose. The amount is a small one, but I have too many calls upon me to forget that I ought to be just before I am generous. I am staying in Dublin, and, should business bring you up, I shall have much pleasure in having some conversation with you."

In 1841, William Makepeace Thackeray visited Ireland, and recorded his impressions of the country and people in "The Irish Sketch Book." Few men or things escaped the touches of his caustic pencil; but the moment he entered on the scene and site of Dr. Doyle's labours, a cordial outburst of admiration broke from the great satirist: "The Catholics point to the structure with considerable pride," he wrote. "It was the first, I believe, of the many handsome cathedrals for their worship which have been built of late years in this country by the noble contributions of the poor man's penny, and by the untiring energies and sacrifices of the clergy. Bishop Doyle, the founder of the church, has the place of honour within it; nor, perhaps, did any Christian pastor ever merit the affection of his flock more than that great and high-minded man. He was the best champion the Catholic Church and cause ever had in Ireland; in learning, and admirable kindness, and virtue, the best example to the clergy of his religion; and if the country is now filled with schools, where the humblest peasant in it can have the benefit of a liberal and wholesome education, it

owes this great boon mainly to his noble exertions and to the spirit which they awakened."

The Roman Catechism, of which an English translation was for the first time published by the Rev. Dr. Donovan in 1829, was composed and promulgated by a decree of the Council of Trent, with a command to all Bishops "to take care that it be faithfully translated into the vernacular language, and expounded to the people by all Pastors." The Fathers of the Council had examined with patient industry, and defined with careful accuracy the dogmas of faith which were then denied or disputed; but the internal economy of the Church, the instruction of ignorance, the amelioration of discipline, and the reformation of morals, also solicited and engaged their attention. Dr. Donovan submitted the manuscript of this much desired work to Dr. Doyle, who, having examined it carefully, thus communicated his views to the translator:

"Carlow, 8th March, 1828.

"My dear Rev. Sir—It is difficult to estimate justly the importance and value of the work which you have just translated. The 'Catechism of the Council of Trent' is the most methodical, the most scientific, the most full and accurate exposition of the Christian creed and morality which has ever been published in an abridged state. But though it be a summary only of our heavenly code, the doctrines set forth in it, the authorities condensed in it, the proofs adduced in it, and the arguments, as well convincing as persuasive, which it presents to the reader, in a style unexampled for purity and precision, are more proportioned to the extent and importance of its subject than to its size or bulk. Be not surprised that I seek to exalt the merits of this work; for, besides the ordinary use which is made of it by all who have care of souls, and are anxious to discharge their duty, it has been to me, for years past, like a dear friend or inseparable companion. Next after the Divine Revelation, I have learned perhaps more from it than from all the books I have ever perused. My judgment in religious matters has been cast in it, as it were in a mould—my decisions in matters of controversy and morals have been framed on it—and much of the public instruction I have ever communicated has been little more than the unfolding of its doctrines, its authorities, and proofs.

"You know how much I was gratified by your having undertaken the translation of this inestimable work; this gratification has been heightened by the perusal of your manuscript—which, though it is only such as I had reason to expect from your extensive knowledge—your classical and refined acquaintance with the ancient and modern languages—is yet, in truth, the best translation into English of a Latin work which I have ever read."

The reader has probably not forgotten the warm interest which Dr. Doyle took in Mariana, Catherine, and Sarah F——, who so zealously conformed from the Established to the Catholic Church. Catherine died in 1824; and the following letter refers to Sarah, who fell a victim to consumption at the early age of eighteen. "She was equally good," writes the surviving sister, "talented, and beautiful, and intended to devote herself to religion."

"Carlow, 25th April, 1828.

"My very dear Friend—Your letter, which I received this morning, affected me so much as to make me regret that I should be still liable to those sensibilities which time, reflection, and a just knowledge of things ought perhaps entirely to subdue; but though we are made new creatures when adopted by Christ, and brought by God into the kingdom of His beloved Son, this adoption and translation, whilst we remain here below, leave us encompassed with all manner of infirmity. I cannot think on the apprehended removal of dear Sarah, even from a place of misery to a state of bliss, without being troubled; and though for her the destination is the effect of the divine predilection, yet our nature recoils from it, as if the end of her being among us were not yet accomplished. But 'all the ways of God are mercy and truth,' and if those be blessed who devote a long life to painful exercises, and succeed by such means in becoming pure and holy, how much more blessed are they who are preserved from evil, or who, by labouring much in a short time, deserve at an early period an eternal recompense? Such, I earnestly hope, is the state of our dear Sarah. I could not say how much I admired her when I saw her in Dublin. So much piety and resignation and zeal for her sanctification, united with those other qualities of mind and heart which assimilated her exceedingly to her whom she loved so much, made me feel an interest for her beyond what I could experience for almost any other person. It is, however, far better that she be no longer an exile from heaven; and it is indeed a great mercy, though not singular in your family, that she should be made to conform her will to the designs of God, so as to remain in this world or pass out of it, without experiencing conflicts which are generally endured by those who are so young. You, my dear friend, have more to suffer, remaining like a trunk from which the branches are torn; but strength is given proportioned to the trial we have to endure; and though, like you, I find myself remaining nearly alone of a numerous family, I do not perceive the privation to produce in me any other feeling than one of loneliness, and a sort of occasional dejection which is rather pleasing than painful. I wish my prayers were worthy of accept-

ance, and I would strive to employ them for dear Sarah; but I leave prayer in a great degree to those who can perform it with ease and recollection, hoping that God will hear them for me, knowing I am myself very little deserving of attention. I shall write to our good friend Miss G——, who I am sure will warmly sympathize with you, and there are few who can pray with more fervour and perseverance than she, especially when the voice of friendship reaches her heart. I shall be greatly indebted to you to let Sarah know how much and how sincerely I am interested for her. May I also request you will inform me, whenever you think proper to do so, of the state of her health, and believe me, &c.,

"✠ J. DOYLE."

On the 19th June, 1828, Dr. Doyle addressed a public letter to the Duke of Wellington, with a view to promote the great cause of Catholic Emancipation. It was read with avidity by the public, and paved the way to the memorable Clare election.

"I have been at different times," he writes, "engaged in the consideration or discussion of the Catholic claims. I have bestowed on them all the attention and study of which I am capable, and should I now be so fortunate as to render the slightest assistance to your Grace by the further application of that study and attention, I should both gratify my own wishes and contribute something to the public good. It is true that your Grace is supposed by many to have entered fully into the views of those who have doomed the Catholics to perpetual exclusion, notwithstanding that you have thought proper, as head of the government, to abstain from harsh language towards so large a body of the king's subjects, and even to let in a glimmering, resembling the light of hope, upon the gloom which envelopes them. There are others who think that your Grace, like all the statesmen who have gone before you, would be regulated in your policy more by necessity than by preconceived opinions; and that whilst, in compliance perhaps with your own sense of duty, or, if not, with the wishes of those on whose support you depend, you would willingly postpone the Catholic question to an indefinite period; yet that you are disposed to watch the course of events, and even to enter into an alliance with your Catholic countrymen, should your foreign allies cease to be your friends. Fear is the beginning of wisdom, and though the Irish were not to be feared, the state of England and of her foreign relations may produce a salutary dread even in your mind; and out of that fear may spring those wise and healing measures which it is our most anxious desire you should adopt. Having before us then the state of Europe, and not of Europe only—knowing as we do the difficulties which beset us at home,

we may, though not endowed with more than ordinary foresight, discover that at no very distant period your Grace may be seriously and sincerely disposed to settle finally and amicably the claims of the Catholics. My object therefore is to offer beforehand my feeble assistance to your Grace, so that if the time should come 'when something may be done,' you may avail yourself of it; but should that time not arrive—should peace be re-established on the Continent—our trade and manufactures flourish—our income exceed our expenditure, and England enjoy, as heretofore, both peace and plenty—then the reflections which I am now about submitting to your Grace may lie with the parchment of our petitions, buried in oblivion."

Dr. Doyle went on to say that the Catholics and their opponents were weary of the combat, and anxious to bring it to an honourable and safe conclusion. "Let wisdom then supersede violence, and amicable discussion take the place of force. To you, my Lord Duke, it belongs to proclaim a cessation—not in any ambiguous language, which only serves to excite to new exertion, but in terms plain, distinct, and intelligible. You cannot say to the sea of our troubles, 'Be still'—nor to the tempest which rages in Ireland, 'Do not blow.' We are a nation grown up to manhood, and the only force which can subdue us, without ruin to the state, is the force of equity."

The Bishop then proceeded to notice some securities to which no canonical objection could be urged. Dr. Doyle entered on this subject, *not* because he considered them necessary—"For danger to the Constitution," he said, "is as likely to proceed from Mecca as from the Vatican"—but because some such arrangement would "serve to allay the apprehensions of those whom your Grace is perhaps obliged to satisfy."

Dr. Doyle observed that the dangers which the opponents of the Catholic Claims seemed most anxious to guard against were, "the encroachments of the See of Rome, or from the influence which the Irish Catholic Clergy are supposed to possess over the laity of their communion." Dr. Doyle argued that in respect to the latter influence it was not desirable either to remove or diminish it, as it irresistibly tends to preserve order, to inculcate submission to the law, and obedience to every constituted authority. He declared that if the laws were made equal, and the government administered impartially, such clerical influence as was liable then to abuse would disappear altogether. "If, after this mode of proceeding should have been adopted, the Catholic Clergy were found to exercise an improper influence, the government, supported by the good sense of the people, and assisted by the Catholic Bishops, could make and enforce such regulations as must effectually con-

fine the Priesthood to the discharge of their own professional duties." But as to the desire then entertained in some quarters, of neutralizing this influence by the employment of gifts or pensions in purchasing the Irish Catholic Priesthood from amongst the people to whom, by blood and profession, they belonged, Dr. Doyle declared that all such schemes were vain. "The Catholic Clergy never will partake of any provision of whatsoever description, which will render them liable to even a suspicion of being detached from the people; and the Established Church never can find her security in the moral degradation of any Priesthood." As to "encroachments of the See of Rome," Dr. Doyle reminded his Grace that they were almost obsolete. They chiefly consisted in collations to ecclesiastical benefices—whether the subjects were natives or strangers—and in the legal exemption from the civil jurisdiction claimed by the Clergy for both their persons and property, of which privileges the Pope was the official and legally recognised guardian. The statute of Elizabeth, however, abolishing the Papal supremacy and jurisdiction within this realm, and establishing in its place that of the Sovereign, put an end to these encroachments, and to all the matters of provision and appeal growing out of them.

"It may appear to your Grace, as it does to many others, that the Catholic Church in Ireland ought to be paralysed by inducing the Pope to co-operate in placing the appointment of her Bishops in the hands of the King, whilst the arrangement entered into for that purpose would be designated 'a security against papal power or encroachment.' But this would be a proceeding inconsistent with good faith, equity, or any of those principles whereby freemen should be governed, or their hearts united in affection to the throne, leaving out of view the anomaly of a Protestant government calling in the aid of the Pope to assist them in pulling down the liberties, whether civil or religious, of their own subjects. I would say to those who cherish such views: 'Be generous to the Irish—spare the constitution—do not indulge your jealousy of us to the enslavement of our priesthood—the King does not require the patronage of our Church—he cannot understand our interests, nor be a Protestant and be anxious to promote them. Leave us a free people—let us exert all our energies, and if you confide in our oaths, which have never been violated, or in our honour, which has never been tarnished, you will not have hereafter to repent of your own generosity, or to complain of our ingratitude. You may, by imposing bonds upon us, remove the alarm felt by some timid churchmen, but you will give a death-blow to freedom in Ireland, and inflict upon our common Christianity the deepest wound. The Catholics of Ireland excite apprehension! They do, and justly,

for they are numerous, powerful, and discontented; but let them be admitted fully and freely to all the blessings of the constitution, and if their hearts be of flesh; if they have children, and love them; if they have property, and value it; if they have law and privilege, and prize them; if they have a country, and almost adore it—they will be among the best, the most loyal, the most devoted subjects in the realm.' "

Dr. Doyle admitted that the principle of domestic nomination would be exceedingly desirable if established in Ireland. The Catholics of Ireland would, no doubt, be liable to inconvenience as long as the Pope held in his hands the unqualified right of appointing Bishops; and Dr. Doyle observed that it would be desirable to have the right of electing Bishops vested in those who have the most direct and immediate interest in their appointment, by an arrangement calculated to exclude that foreign influence or encroachment of which the Duke seemed so much in dread. This arrangement would provide at once for the interest of the Irish Catholics, and satisfy those Protestants "who are still so misinformed" as to entertain apprehension of the Papal power. "Were the Government to act frankly and cordially with the Catholic Clergy and people, and, availing themselves of the support thus to be obtained, propose to the Pope an arrangement which should render the Catholic Church in Ireland more national, and the appointment of its Prelates entirely domestic, there is little doubt that such a proposal, properly urged, would be acceded to." Dr. Doyle considered that the Pope might, under the peculiar circumstances of the time, vest in some one of the Irish Catholic Prelates such power in matters of conscience and ecclesiastical discipline as was then exercised by some congregations of Cardinals in Rome, and had often previously been delegated to legates of the Holy See. The Bishop did not make use of the word "Patriarch" in this letter, but it is as clear as his own vigorous style of composition that an ecclesiastical potentate of this character was in his mind. In the year 1825, when the Bishops had met in Dublin to discuss the prostrate condition of the Catholic cause, Dr. Doyle, as soon as they had retired, applied all the energies of his mind to the construction of a plan for allaying the objection to "foreign influence and encroachment" which the then premier, Lord Liverpool, had perpetually in his mouth. The result of his deliberations was a determination to memorialize the Pope to grant a distinct Patriarchate to Ireland. Dr. Doyle submitted these views to his brother Prelates, but he could not find sufficient unanimity amongst them to warrant him in attempting to carry out the design. Since the riots of 1780, the outcry against the Pope had never been so vehement as at the period of which we write. "No

Popery" was chalked on every wall; the dangers of "foreign influence" formed the daily theme of a hostile press and platform, and an uninterrupted stream of anti-Papal diatribe poured from the mouths of pulpit orators and senators. Dr. Doyle desired to lessen, for a few years, the communications between Ireland and Rome which were then perpetually going to and fro, generally on such trivial matters as dispensations, local differences, cases of conscience, marriages within the forbidden degrees of kindred, and the like; and he considered that if a Patriarch were granted to the Irish Church—a title tantamount to "the Pope of Ireland"—the hurricane of jealous wrath against Rome would be allayed, and the premier cease to urge "foreign influence and encroachment" as the great objection to settling the Catholic claims. England has ever been sensitively jealous of all foreign influence. The tempest of indignation which recently swept through Great Britain at the nomination, by a "foreign power," of the Catholic episcopacy in England, would, no doubt, have never taken place had the appointments been made by a resident dignitary, and a subject of the British Crown. These and other difficulties Dr. Doyle would seem to have foreseen. We have heard some superficially informed Catholics taunt him with canonical laxity for desiring to memorialize the Holy See on the subject of a Patriarchate, but it is known to every theologian that he might with perfect propriety pursue this course. Several questions of importance affecting Irish Catholic interests remained in an unsettled state at this time. Travelling was then slow, and immense delays generally occurred in corresponding with Rome. Dr. Doyle desired that the Patriarchate should exist only so long as peculiar circumstances lasted. The office might be discontinued at any time, in the same way as the Patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria were reduced under the jurisdiction of the universal Patriarch of Constantinople. Some of these Patriarchs are schismatical, but there are others perfectly orthodox, and one has frequently been closeted at Rome with the present venerable Pontiff. There are several encyclical letters of the Pope, at present before us, addressed "to his venerable brethren the Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops, and Bishops of the Catholic Church," which proves, if any proof were wanting, that the office of Patriarch is perfectly orthodox, and highly approved by the Holy See.

There were other circumstances which rendered the idea of a Patriarchate far less startling to Dr. Doyle than it proved to his brother Bishops. His master at the University of Coimbra was the gifted Patricio, afterwards Archbishop of Evora, and Cardinal-Patriarch of Lisbon. Dr. Doyle became much attached to this good man, whose name was, in itself, a grateful sound to the poor

exiles from the land of Patrick. The Patriarch was, moreover, an Augustinian Friar, and as such belonged to the same order of Religious as Dr. Doyle. Dr. Doyle may have considered that in Ireland—which is the great outwork of the Catholic Church in the north-west of Europe—a general with large powers was required, the more so as the privilege had long been allowed in Portugal, where no opponents of the Church or internal difficulties existed. St. Theodosius, in enumerating three Patriarchates, averred that they constituted, with that of Rome, the strength of the Church.* St. Gregory also adverted to them in favourable terms;† and it cannot be forgotten that those of Antioch and Alexandria were founded by him to whom Christ said: "Thou art Peter, and on this Rock I will build my Church."

Some persons have supposed that because Dr. Doyle suggested a Patriarchate for Ireland, under the peculiar circumstances of the time, he was wanting in devotion to the Pontifical authority. This inference is quite erroneous. Touching the prerogatives of Rome, J. K. L. assured his controversial opponent, the Rev. William Phelan, that he would find them in all ages strong and immovable as the base on which Ireland rests, and that it would be a work of less difficulty to turn her adrift on the Atlantic, than to unsettle these prerogatives in the order established by Christ. And in reply to Dr. Phelan's assertion that down to the twelfth century the Catholic Church of Ireland had been completely under self-government, Dr. Doyle said: "The Catholic Church of Ireland, or of England, or of France, signifies only that portion of the Universal Church which is found in these countries respectively; and should they, or any one of them, or any portion of one of them, separate itself from the Head, which is the centre of unity and bond of connexion to the entire, it ceases from that moment to belong to the Catholic Church! It is a branch which has been broken or lopped off—a tower that has fallen from the mighty edifice which Christ has constructed on the earth."‡

For further illustrations, the reader is requested to refer back to vol. i., p. 304.

It is indeed a strained assumption to maintain that Dr. Doyle's project of a Patriarchate for Ireland was not conformable to Catholic orthodoxy. When the Church sees an opinion dangerous she says so; when "*proxima hæresi*" she proclaims it; when "*erronea*" she makes a note regarding "the proposition," adding "*contra bonos mores*." We are not aware that the Church

* Fleury's Eccl. Hist. xlvii. 1. † Ibid. 8, xxxv. 108.

‡ "Defence by J.K.L. of the Vindication of the Civil and Religious principles of the Irish Catholics."—Dublin, Coyne, 1824, p. 113.

has recorded any remarks of this description relative to the writings of Dr. Doyle.

We have heard this gifted Bishop flippantly accused of having ambitioned for himself the office of Patriarch, but there is some reason to believe that the person he had in view was Dr. Kelly, formerly Professor of Dogmatic Theology in Maynooth, and, from 1828 until his death, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of all Ireland. Dr. Kelly was a deeply read theologian, and always maintained with jealous vigilance the rights of the Primatial chair.*

Some divines of the present day may wonder at the views on these and other questions to which Dr. Doyle gave expression, but it should be remembered that there is nothing so changeful as theological opinions. They always borrow the hue of contemporaneous events and are sown by association also. A highly distinguished professor of theology assures us, that when a student he held views which he believes at this hour to be utterly unfounded, and he has since given ten years as a professor to the refutation of opinions which his own preceptor taught him five-and-twenty years ago. "I have heard," he adds, "a most able man—a first-rate thinker—strongly condemn certain opinions, and I knew the great majority of teachers to have warmly agreed with him at the time; yet these same opinions are now held universally, and not a man would dream of gainsaying them in the same halls where I heard them condemned! Nay, I know a first-rate theologian, a professor and a dignitary, who, during the very period of his teaching, held opinions as opposite as any logical terms could define or delineate them."

There is nothing, therefore, to be concluded against a theologian, who, thirty years ago, may have held generally unacceptable views, as long as these views are not heterodox. The same theologian might hold the very opposite to-day. As long as the Church leaves a certain liberty, sound theologians do not pretend

* Until the last few years a very sharp controversy existed as to whether the Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of all Ireland, was superior in authority to the Archbishop of Dublin, Primate of Ireland. The dispute began many centuries ago, but in 1674 it reached a climax in the publication of the "*Primatus Dubliniensis*" of Archbishop Talbot of Dublin, in reply to Dr. Plunkett's "*Jus Primatiale.*" In 1728, the controversy was again revived by the Most Rev. Hugh MacMahon, Archbishop of Armagh, who published a very learned work, "*Jus Primatiale Armachanum,*" because Archbishop Byrne of Dublin had, as he thought, outstripped his authority. The Rev. J. Clinch retorted, on the part of Dr. Byrne, that St. Patrick, although the Patron, had never been the Primate of Ireland, and that the Archbishop of Dublin was the first invested with the pall by Paparo. The question is still in abeyance. The Very Rev. Dean Meyler has shown us a MS. oath which the Canons of Dublin are obliged to take on their nomination, to the effect that they will never, under any circumstances, appeal from the decisions of the Archbishop of Dublin to the Archbishop of Armagh. All the old writers speak of Armagh as the Rome of Erin.

to be despotic. If they possess true wisdom they must know that it is not wise to be wiser than the Holy Ghost.

The autobiographical memoirs of Sir Robert Peel conclusively show, if any evidence were wanting, that the Clare election was the event of all others which hurried the Catholic question to a successful issue: "It was foreseen by the most intelligent," observes Sir Robert (p. 106), "that the Clare election would be the turning point in the Catholic question." Lord Eldon also showed his usual accuracy of foresight in a private letter written at the time: "This business must bring the Roman Catholic question to a crisis and a conclusion. The nature of that conclusion I do not think likely to be favourable to Protestantism." "It is clear," comments Sir Robert Peel, "that Lord Eldon was fully alive to the real character and magnitude of the event."

There was another master mind which viewed the Clare election as an engine of vast power in hurrying to a settlement the Catholic question. On the 27th June, 1828, Dr. Doyle addressed O'Connell a short but pithy public letter. He wrote:

"My dear Sir—It is when difficulties press on us that we should increase our exertions, and exhibit in our conduct that decision which is the harbinger of success. I am unable and unwilling to calculate the consequences which must result from your contest with Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, but I am satisfied these consequences will be as useful as they must be important, if the lovers of civil and religious liberty in Clare do their duty to the sacred cause to which you have devoted anew your time, your talents, your fortune, and your life.

"Farewell, my dear friend, may the God of truth and justice protect and prosper you."

O'Connell's exclamation after reading this letter was a remarkable one: "If I had spent twenty-eight centuries, instead of twenty-eight years, in the service of my country, the sentiments expressed in that letter would more than amply reward me. One spirit animates us all, and we have the prayers of that truly pious Prelate for our success. The approbation of Dr. Doyle will bring to our cause the united voice of Ireland. I trust it will be the *vox populi—vox Dei.*"

Dr. Doyle's letter appeared in the morning papers of the next day. On the 28th we find Lord Anglesey enclosing it to Mr. Peel. "I fear the Clare election will end ill," writes his Excellency. "Dr. Doyle's letter to Mr. O'Connell is most mischievous. I, however, still hope that most of the other Bishops set their faces against his proceedings." And so they certainly would seem to

have done. The Viceroy, writing to Mr. Peel, the 23rd June, 1828, observes: "O'Connell finds himself so much opposed by some of the most respectable of the Bishops, and by many of the lower clergy also, that he is quite wild." A little deeper in the same letter we find: "The following extract of a letter from one of the most respectable Bishops to a person in my confidence, will show that there is a good feeling among the higher clergy." The letter is dated from Maynooth College, and goes on to say—"The proposed measure regarding Clare is thought here to be most unwise, and, besides, not likely to succeed." The issue of this memorable struggle is well known. "The Priesthood and people heartily united," says a writer, "and, moved as one man by the magnificent appeal of the patriot Prelate J. K. L., stood together, and could not be divided." Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, the unsuccessful candidate, announced his defeat in the following terms to Mr. Peel.

"My dear Peel—The election, thank God, is over, and I do feel happy in its being terminated, notwithstanding its result. I have polled all the gentry and all the £50 freeholders—the gentry to a man. Of others I have polled a few tenants of —— only, my own, and not much besides what adhered to me in that way. All the great interests broke down, and the desertion has been universal. Such a scene as we have had! Such a tremendous prospect as it opens to us!"

Sir Robert Peel, years after, admitted that he was perfectly overwhelmed by it: "The Clare election supplied the manifest proof of an abnormal and unhealthy condition of the public mind in Ireland—the manifest proof that the sense of a common grievance and the sympathies of a common interest were beginning to loosen the ties which connect different classes of men in friendly relations to each other—to weaken the force of local and personal attachments, and to unite scattered elements of society into a homogeneous and disciplined mass, yielding willing obedience to the assumed authority of superior intelligence hostile to the law and to the government which administered it."

Meanwhile the scruples of nuns pursued our good Bishop without intermission. If two duties of equal worthiness pressed on a sister at the same moment, and that it seemed impossible to execute the two together, an expression of episcopal casuistry was at once solicited on the dilemma:

Carlow, 5th July, 1828.

My dear Ellen—I am glad to find that your attention to my suggestion has been productive of so much advantage. . . . You have improved greatly in writing since I last had the pleasure

of hearing from you, and a little further attention to it will enable you to become entire mistress of that interesting art. I wish you had enjoyed, at our late interview, the leisure you desired, to have all your questions answered satisfactorily; but you are so condescending to all about you as to postpone your own wishes for theirs, and deprive me of the pleasure I should feel in doing all in my power to put your mind at ease. Whenever you are in doubt as to which of two duties pressing on you at the same time you ought to perform, you will commit no fault by whatever choice you make whilst you feel disposed to do that which is most proper to be done—for even if you mistake, the mistake will not be at all blamable. When I recommended to you to be exact in the observance of the rule, I did not intend you should take notice of a few minutes of time or of such trifles—for a little more or less in any matters, when not the fruit of gross neglect or contempt, is of no moment whatever. So with regard to eating on the evening of fast days, you may take bread if you feel at all weak or hungry; but if strong, and no great desire to eat, you may omit it. Fasting is to be avoided generally by you, until you come to your full growth and age. When desired to rest by an elder sister, even in the midst of occupation, you may do so, and resume your employment at another time; for your ceasing to work, or leaving a matter undone for some while, will not be a loss to any one. When you complain of fatigue, or find yourself wearied, you are not blamable for the consequences; and it is of little moment whether you leave things unfinished for the morning, or trespass somewhat on the time of recreation; but in all these the reverend mother or Mr. —— will be able to direct you, and put your mind at ease."

A few days later we find him writing to a young lady who had determined to enter a convent:

"The day on which you wish to unite yourself with the good community in the service of the Almighty God, who has so abundantly favoured you with his grace of predilection, is, I apprehend, too near for you to avail yourself of it as you desire. The octave day of the Nativity, or the Sunday following it—which is the festival of the Seven Dolours of the Blessed Virgin, instituted by our late holy Pope to commemorate his gratitude to her by whose intercession he believed that he, and the Church of God with him, were delivered from persecution—might answer your views equally well; but, whichever day you select, you have hereby my fullest approbation of the purpose with which, I trust, God has inspired you, and which you desire to fulfil. What you say of Kildare arises from your not knowing what I should have told you, that in

these diocesses henceforth we will have no noviciate except at Maryborough, and that whosoever professes there will be liable to be removed to any other convent within the diocess, at the will of the Bishop for the time being."

In July, 1827, the annual academus was held at Carlow College. The examinations, presided over by Dr. Doyle, lasted for twelve days. "At the close of this interesting ceremonial," observes a paper of the day, "Dr. Doyle expressed the confident hope he entertained of seeing the pupils as much distinguished by their learning and virtues in the world, as they had already been in college, and concluded by giving them some admirable admonitions on their duties in this life as Christians and members of society."

A banquet was prepared of which eighty of the visitors partook. "In the college dining hall," continues the local newspaper, "there was, in one sense, abundance of religious differences; for we noticed many persons belonging to, at least, four different sects, yet there was not the most distant appearance of any religious bitterness. We never saw so many men, differing widely both in politics and religion, and who, nevertheless, were so perfectly happy in the society of each other. Did we not know them, we might have thought that they were all of the Established Church, or all Presbyterians, or all Catholics, or all Quakers. Indeed we may say they *were* all Quakers, for they all belonged, during that day, to the Society of Friends." It is pleasant to find that notwithstanding the strong truths, political and religious, which Dr. Doyle so often found it his duty to express, the most practical proofs of respect were constantly offered to his acceptance by men of all creeds and parties. The Rev. Dr. Joseph Wolff was perhaps an exception to the rule. He did not forget Dr. Doyle's trenchant reply to the epistle he wrote at Knaresboro.' On the 10th August, 1827, the missionary wrote a letter of advice from "Gibraltar, on his way to Jerusalem," to the Society for Promoting the Reformation among Roman Catholics, in which he said: "Lastly, try not so much to get many as *pious patrons*, for I assure you that Dr. Doyle is such a complete and consummate fox that you will most certainly be humbugged right and left, if you have not truly godly men!"

In the following remarkable letter to John Chester, Esq., Dr. Doyle bitterly regrets that he should have been so often obliged to quit the sanctuary for the political arena. He had a noble example, however, in Pope John I., who pleaded before Justin the Emperor for a relaxation of the Penal Code which oppressed the Arians:

"Carlow, 11th August, 1828.

"DEAR SIR—I was honoured, on Saturday last, by the receipt of your very kind letter, enclosing a resolution of thanks to me, passed at a meeting of the Catholic Association on the 2nd inst. I wish I had merited this mark of public favour, so liberally conferred on me by so large and so respectable a body of my fellow-countrymen. The thanks of a whole people, or of those who any way represent them, is a reward commensurate for the greatest services; and to an Irishman, thoroughly devoted to his country, perhaps the thanks of the Catholic Association should be more estimable than those of any other body in the world; but for me, who am conscious of my own infirmity and inutility, and whose pursuits are feeble and constrained when they diverge into politics, the thanks of my own fellow-sufferers serve only to remind me of the calamities which press on our dear country. They compel me to ask why have we a Catholic Association, not indeed usurping empire, yet ruling without laws to guide it, without precedents to regulate it, without power or authority to enforce its injunctions; and why am I compelled often to quit the sanctuary, and participate in the proceedings of those who are an anomaly in the state? God is my witness how much I deplore this state of things, even while I concur in its maintenance, and contribute, however feebly, to its support. But necessity is our charter, and we must continue till it cease. Injustice prevails, and is prolonged against us; and we are bound by that law which is written on our hearts to struggle—to agitate—to strive against its pressure. Our duty is to sustain the hopes of the people, to combine their energies, and direct them to one single and attainable point. Let us not aim at what is above our reach or beyond our competency, or occupy ourselves about business which is not properly our own. Let us burst the Penal Code, and enter into the enjoyment of existing privileges and rights. Then will the Catholic Association cease; then can I and those of my calling return to the work of the ministry, and to that alone; then you, Sir, and your fellow-labourers, merged into the great mass of the nation, with the glorious principles of 1688 as a beacon before you, may deliberate about Irish interests, and endeavour, not as Catholics, but as British subjects, to promote them. This is the only result for which I have hitherto laboured, or will labour hereafter. I am grateful, exceedingly grateful to the Catholic Association; and did I cease to support it to the utmost of my power, whilst those laws which it seeks to have repealed have destroyed more lives by their operation in Ireland, even during the last eight years, than have fallen in Greece under the Turkish scimitar, I would be a rebel to my own conscience, and the accomplice of those who afflict the oppressed.

I have, &c., "✠ J. DOYLE."

On the 15th August we find the Bishop writing an admirable letter to his niece in Wexford:

"My dear Mary—Since J. W—— handed me your letter I have had little leisure to reply to it, but as I am about leaving home on my visitation, and will not return for six weeks, I must discharge my debt to you—though it is now late at night, and this has been with me a day of great labour. It is no wonder that your constitution should be altered by so many and so severe attacks, and it may be that Providence will renew your youth now that you are taught how to use it well. All things, without doubt, work together for the good of the elect, and it often happens that nothing less than continued and severe illness would preserve them in the fear of God and the observance of His commands: unless we sigh after our eternal abode we will not enter into it, and when all things are agreeable to us here below we rather fear than wish for an exchange. I think therefore, my dear Mary, considering the temporal blessings which have attended you, that if you had not been chastened by the pressure of the cross, you might have become worldly in your disposition, tepid in the exercise of religion, and too little desirous of eternal life. I am sure, however great my affection for you—and there is scarcely any person whom I more love—that what I esteem most in you is that religious disposition, that patience and forgiveness towards others, and that cordial charity to the poor with which our good God has always inspired you. You will not cease to thank Him and to promote His will on earth whilst you remain here, and whether you and I often meet on this side the grave is of little consequence.

"Our mutual interest and affection for each other will not be diminished, and the grace of Christ and the virtue of His holy religion will enable us to serve each other by our mutual prayers. I intend to keep my promise of seeing you at the time I mentioned, if we be still alive. My health is often very good, and sometimes not so; my incessant cares and labours are wearing my constitution—but that gives me no concern. I have lived long enough if I were but prepared to die; but the day or the hour of our departure is known only to God; our business is to be always prepared. Pierse is really a very good boy; I am very fond of him, and hope he will be virtuous. As to his talents, they are sufficient; I scarcely wish to have them better. Great talents are often a great evil; those which have been given to me have led me into many useless labours and desires; they are like riches, which render the way to Heaven narrow as the eye of a needle. Go see Peter, and remember me to all friends, especially to your mother and John; and believe me, my dear Mary, most affectionately yours.

"✠ J. Doyle."

"Pierse" was a nephew of the Bishop's. He inherited much family talent and virtue, but died shortly after his ordination as Priest.

The health of the venerable pastor of St. Martin's, Father Peter Doyle, broke down irrecoverably during this autumn. The Bishop thus feelingly notices the circumstance in another letter to his niece, on the 30th of August, 1828:

"I am not surprised at Peter's attack, but I feel melancholy and sad through anticipating that I am not to see him again in this life; for I know not the cause, but since Patrick's death my heart has been so attached to him that I fear his death as if my own were sympathetically joined with it; not that I desire him to live—for it would be better he should die than remain as he is—but his removal leaves me desolate in this world, as (though I love all my family tenderly) he is the only one of them—indeed the only person living—to whom all my thoughts and feelings for years past have been communicated; and, placed as I am in the midst of a turbulent world, encompassed by dangers and difficulties without number, it is an unspeakable loss to be deprived of the last and dearest of all those brothers who shared my own flesh and blood. But the will of God be done, and I wish He may preserve you, at least, who are so dear to me. There is no use in thinking of Peter's disposition of property—he has nothing to leave to anybody. I regret that but little; we can all live without legacies. If he had anything, he should give it to the poor. He served every one of us, according to his means, but especially by his character, his hospitality, his affection, whilst his mind remained. May the Lord sanctify his soul! His will is made, whatever it is; but he has nothing to dispose of except that £100, which will not suffice to pay —— and his own funeral expenses. John D—— wrote to me. Tell him I am well pleased and pray God to bless him. I shall not be in Carlow till November next.

"P.S.—I tell you alone—and *you will not tell any one*—I am to set out for Paris the week after next, with Dr. Murray: we are sent by the Bishops to regulate our College there. We have no political business, though the world will say we have when we are gone. Remember me to all with you. Tell your mother I am quite displeased with her for injuring her leg. She has taken care of it for so many years, and it has served her so faithfully, that she ought not now be unkind to it."

Meanwhile the agitation of the masses increased to a formidable extent. The Viceroy, writing to Lord Francis Leveson Gower, the 2nd of July, 1828, observes: "Such is the extraordinary power of the association, or rather of the agitators, of whom

there are many of high ability, of ardent mind, of great daring (and if there was no association these men are now too well known not to maintain their power under the existing order of exclusion), that I am quite certain they could lead on the people to open rebellion at a moment's notice; and their organization is such that, in the hands of desperate and intelligent leaders, they would be extremely formidable. . . . I believe their success inevitable—that no power under heaven can arrest its progress. There may be rebellion—you may put to death thousands—you may suppress it; but it will only be to put off the day of compromise."

On the 31st of August, the Bishop acknowledges a letter of alarm from Sir Henry Parnell on the state of the country:

"My dear Sir—I am very apprehensive that I will not be enabled to see you whilst you are in this neighbourhood, as I leave home on Tuesday morning to visit some parishes, and on my return at the end of the week must start for Dublin to join Dr. Murray, when we both proceed to Paris to settle the affairs of the Irish College there, which for several years past have been, and still are, considerably deranged.

"I would have written to you on the receipt of your important and most kind letter from Holyhead, but I was uncertain whether you continued there, and hoped, almost daily, to have an opportunity of speaking with you at large on the subject of our affairs in this country.

"I have endeavoured a good deal to prevent our people from despairing of the force of public opinion, and combining with a desperate party in England. I have no doubt that they have modified their views, and are yet tractable, but every hour exposes us to the danger of anarchy. Indeed the violence of party is manifest to all, and the whole force both of ministry and of opposition are required to allay the existing ferment and remove the cause of it. But it *can* be done, and a final adjustment, whatever clamour may accompany its progress, can be carried, and will settle the country. At least this is my opinion, and I will omit doing nothing which may be in my power for the purpose of aiding such adjustment. I hope the King has yielded, as is now stated, I know not on what authority, in *The Dublin Evening Post*. If not, peace may or may not be preserved. Such another trial as that of Clare exposes us to the danger of a civil war, in which every being in the country should take a part, and which might not be quelled in two years, nor until the whole kingdom would be a desert. I am unwilling to write what I would wish to speak with you, but I am and have been for some time filled with apprehensions; nor need I say to you how or to what extent I am acquainted

with the true state of the country. Should you favor me with a letter, I will be here on Sunday next, in Dublin on Monday. On Tuesday I go to England, from whence, after a few days, I proceed to Paris. My address there will be *College des Irlandais, Rue des Irlandais.*

"I have, &c.,
"✠ J. DOYLE."

It was not the fact that the King had, as yet, yielded on the Catholic question. The "Life of Lord Eldon," by Mr. Twiss, records some interesting conversations between George IV. and the Chancellor on this subject. His Majesty is reported by Lord Eldon to have said that "he was miserable and wretched, and that his situation was dreadful"—that "if he gave his assent to the Roman Catholic Relief Bill, he would go to the baths abroad, and from them to Hanover; that he would return no more to England; and that his subjects might get a Catholic King in the Duke of Clarence."

The Times, 15th September, 1828, has some pungent lines from the King of Hanover to the Earl of Enniskillen, in which Dr. Doyle's name occurs:

"Cornish granite no more tries the springs of our coaches,
No longer our streets glimmer darkly in oil;
Roman cement on true British brick-work encroaches—
Romish principles spread with O'Connell and Doyle."

A letter of the Bishop's, dated 7th September, tells his progress, and shows the goodness of his heart. To a nun who had just concluded her noviciate he writes: "I have only returned to Carlow a few hours ago, from visiting several parishes in this county, and I leave to-night for London and Paris. I wished truly to assist at your profession, and had it not taken place previous to the receipt of this, I would have had it deferred till my return, to gratify you and myself. Your apprehensions are unfounded, for your views will never become a snare to your conscience. Make, if you have not made it, your confession to any of the Priests who attend the Convent; but be not solicitous about your life, or sins, or future state—for God, who is all-powerful and all-good, has care of you. Tell Sister Teresa I am quite in love with the convent of M——; that I am most anxious to visit it, and hope shortly to assure her and you, and each of the sisters, how devotedly I continue your always affectionate servant in Christ."

Dr. Doyle, accompanied by his archiepiscopal friend Dr. Murray, proceeded first to Leamington, from whence we find him addressing the following letter to the late Mrs. Eliza [Clare] M——, a nun of the Presentation Convent, Carlow:

"Leamington, 19th September, 1828.

"My dear Clare—You will be surprised, probably, to find by this letter, which I send to Ireland by the Archbishop of Tuam, that I am still here, but I have been prevailed on by Dr. Murray, whose health has been delicate, to delay our departure until he would have taken the medicinal waters of this place for some time. He is now greatly improved in health, thank God; and we set out on to-morrow morning for London, whence we proceed, without further delay, to Paris; but our route thither is still undetermined. I fear Dr. Murray will resolve to journey through the Netherlands, nor can I with propriety oppose his wishes, though I am mightily anxious to fulfill my mission and return; the loss of time and money which attends travelling being but badly compensated to me by the pleasure which the view of strange countries affords. However whilst I am abroad, I am endeavouring to turn all my time to account. I have taken the spa waters here since my arrival, and if my health had not been as good as possible it would be improved by them. Drs. Murray and Kelly, &c., had taken a beautiful house here previous to my arrival, and they, with Mr. and Mrs. O'Brien, form a delightful society. The town is filled with Irish, and though at home we might not know each other, here we live as brethren. The English families—indeed all the people of this town are the most obliging, polite, and kind I ever met with, and compel me, however reluctantly, to think favourably of the English. The country which surrounds the town is the most fertile, rich, beautiful, and improved that can be well imagined. No poverty appears any where; no wretchedness, nor excess, nor disorder of any kind; were they blessed with true religion, the blessings of the reign of the Messias, as predicted by Isaias, would seem to be accomplished among them. We visited the town of Warwick, distant about a mile, on Tuesday last. The Castle of Guy, Earl of Warwick, is the finest gothic residence now in England—perhaps in the world; the building, the paintings, the pleasure grounds, gardens, and remains of antiquity which present themselves could scarcely be described; but to convey any idea of them I should fill several sheets. A chapel of the Virgin is joined to the parish Church, and preserved with little alteration; it had been beautified and enriched in Catholic times, and would fill you, did you see it, with delight and sorrow; but so it hath pleased God! There was a Bible meeting holding in the town-hall when we were there, but a group of ladies and a few old men, and fewer parsons composed it; the people did not seem to know of it. I could not discover among any class of the people here a dislike to Catholics or to our religion. I believe the Legislature could now make England Catholic, as easily as on the acces-

sion of Queen Mary. I think all day and dream all night about home—about our Chapel, and how and when we will complete it. I see in every church here some improvement of excellence in the furnishing of the interior, which I should like to adopt. There are few or no Catholics resident here. Lord Dormer and the Hon. Mr. Clifford reside a few miles distant. A new chapel is building here of a good size, and will be opened next month. Remember me most affectionately to all the Nuns, to the College gentlemen, and to my own inmates, and believe me my dear Eliza, &c.,

"✠ J. DOYLE."

On the 23rd the Prelates proceeded to Paris. Dr. Doyle, during the previous Sunday, had celebrated mass in the Spanish ambassador's chapel: great anxiety existed to see the distinguished Prelate, and the congregation was unusually large. A rumour is recorded in the papers of the day that the two Bishops had come to England on a political mission to the Duke of Wellington. The report, however, was wholly void of foundation. Dr. Doyle proceeded with his Most Rev. colleague to Paris, for the purpose of settling some disputed points relating to the administration of the Irish College there. Disaffection to the Presidency of Dr. Magrath had sprung into existence. Dr. Doyle suggested the Rev. Mr. M'Sweeny, who had distinguished himself at the Carlow discussion, as a fit and proper person to succeed Dr. Magrath. Mr. M'Sweeny was accordingly appointed, and the popularity which that learned and amiable divine enjoyed for twenty years after, in his capacity of President, attests the judgment which Dr. Doyle evinced in the selection. We glean from a document before us that Drs. Doyle and Murray had other business at Paris than to smooth the temporary difficulty which had clogged the administration in the Irish College. It would seem that an incidental object in visiting Paris was to obtain an interview with the Nuncio of the Holy See, in their capacity of delegates from the Catholic hierarchy of Ireland. In 1825, a plan for effecting a Concordat between the British Government and Pope Pius VII. was mooted. The project, however, having met with some opposition, was relinquished, and, in lieu of it, the Bishops were requested to inform Government how far the Catholics could conscientiously go, if promised Emancipation, in giving security to the Protestant Church. The Bishops are said to have replied that, in return for the restoration of their rights, nothing beyond their oaths ought to be exacted from the Catholics. A copy of an oath was then transmitted to the Prelates, with a request that the Government might be informed whether the Catholic Church would sanction it. The Bishops replied that His Holiness the

Pope, as visible Head of their Church, should be consulted before they durst give any decided answer. Communication with the Holy See was accordingly opened, and the Papal Nuncio in Paris having been furnished with the opinion of the Pope and Cardinals in conclave, a visit to that dignitary became desirable. Dr. Doyle and his Metropolitan, shortly before their departure, dined with the British ambassador, Lord Stewart de Rothesay.

From Paris they proceeded to Brussels, and here an amusing adventure befel Dr. Doyle. Having visited the Hotel de Ville, the Burgundian Library, and the Palais de Justice, he was rambling through the lower town in search of some rare volumes which he was desirous of buying, when suddenly a crowd of washed and unwashed persons collected around him, vociferating in fifty different keys, "*A bas le Jesuit! a bas le Jesuit!*" The Bishop felt at first disposed to treat this outcry with sovereign scorn, but it increased to such an extent, and at last became so troublesome, that he was obliged, together with Mr. John O'Brien, who accompanied him, to take refuge in a shop. "Well," said Dr. Doyle, as soon as he found himself in security, "what a provoking reception in any case! but to cry *A bas le Jesuit* at one who has been pronounced unfavourable to the Jesuits is really too bad." He attributed the outcry to a hat with a projecting leaf which he wore; but the appearance of any strange Priest in Brussels at that moment was a circumstance sufficiently striking to fill "*les bràves Belges*" with alarm. After the prohibition of the Society of Jesus by the Bull of Pope Ganganelli, the 21st July, 1773, the Jesuits were suppressed in nearly every state. But at the Restoration they reintroduced themselves into France, upon which a great outcry was raised. This panic spread to Belgium, and hence the salutation with which Dr. Doyle was greeted. In 1830, the Jesuits were formally expelled from France. Mr. O'Brien accompanied Dr. Doyle to Antwerp, and from thence to Canterbury, where they parted.

Dr. Doyle reached England in time to attend, if he felt so disposed, the celebrated meeting of the men of Kent at Pennenden Heath. This assembly, which took place, the 24th October, 1828, had been convened by the high sheriff with a view to express hostility to the Catholic cause; but a large number of influential leaders on the other side made it their business to attend and create, as far as possible, a counterpoise by their voice and presence. Amongst the latter were Sheil, Cobbett, Hunt, French, Darrell, and, of the liberal nobility, Lords Darnley and Radnor. Cobbett circulated an erroneous report that Dr. Doyle attended the meeting at Pennenden Heath. He had certainly visited the ground on which the assemblage had been held, but his visit occurred prior to the meeting. He had also been within some miles of the meeting

on the day it took place, but he finally decided on not attending it. There was found among the Bishop's papers, after his death, a voluminous MS. entitled "A Dissertation on Popery, addressed to the Protestants of England, more particularly to the men of Kent," from which we quote his cordial appreciation of the agricultural opulence, and general luxuriance of that fine county.

"Men of Kent, beloved brethren in Christ Jesus, in travelling through your far-famed county in September last, on my way to France, I was greatly delighted with everything upon which my eye rested. At one side appeared the Thames, one of the noblest rivers in the universe, covered with ships, and bearing on its waters, as they flowed to or from the ocean, the produce of every clime and the fruits of every kind of industry; your towns and arsenals spread upon its banks, bespoke at once the wealth, the power, the resources of the British people; whilst the adjoining heaths or chalk-hills, converted into fertile fields or hop yards, proclaimed the perfection of your agriculture, and the tribute which sterility herself was made to pay to labour, to industry, and art. I saw your fields, your fences, your dwellings, and your mansions, wearing the signs of order, comfort, or magnificence—whilst your levelled hills and your exalted valleys, your teams, your waggons, and your carriages, indicated the wonderful progress you had made in all that conduces to the prosperity or happiness of social life. But you, 'the men of Kent,' were the objects with which my soul was delighted; your vigour, your strength, your free air and manly gait, your candid aspect, or noble countenance, impressed my mind with those feelings of respect and of regard—of interest, and even affection for you, which were increased and strengthened as I proceeded through your county. With my thoughts and feelings thus occupied, I arrived at Canterbury, a town filled with venerable remains and awful recollections. I stopped, and, heedless of all things else, almost rushed to view your cathedral—the place in England where Christ was first effectually announced—where His cross was first erected—where miracles, and the virtues of His saints, still more miraculous than their works, first proclaimed that he was God, and that Kent and England were united to his empire. But lo! I beheld, in the place I so much longed to see, an empty cloister and a mouldering pile, having the appearance of what was once the 'house of prayer' and the temple of the Most High, but which now might bear upon its porch the inscription which Paul descried at Athens, 'To the unknown God.' It is a wide and spacious waste, cold and untenanted. Its pillars were raised aloft, its arches were seated in strength, its spire sought the heavens—but these were works of former days; it now had no altar, no sacrifice, no priesthood; its

aisles were silent as the monuments of the sainted prelates over whom they seemed to bend and weep; and the only remaining symbol of Christianity not yet extinct which I discovered was a chapel in the cloister, where the verger, who accompanied me for hire, observed that 'service was at certain times performed.* To detail the thoughts which crowded on my mind—to convey to paper the emotions which swelled my breast, would not be possible; but I cried out involuntarily, 'My God! and are these the fruits of this Reformation? Is this the ground which Augustine sanctified and Alfred honoured? Is this the metropolitan see of England—the cathedral of Canterbury—the once renowned seminary of saints and martyrs—the glory of Kent? Where is the Bishop who should here reside, and spread about him benedictions? Where are the canons and the dignitaries, the priests and the altars, the vestments and the ministers, the incense, the lights, the glory which bespeak the majesty and announce the presence of Almighty God? But, above all, where is the loud song or the secret canticle of praise? the deep and awful murmur of the crowd, or the silent whisper of retirement and devotion? Are all these fled from thy temple, and is it no longer thy delight, O God, to be with the children of men?' But I stopped the current of these reflections, and proceeded to inquire as to the state of religion amongst you; and I came to the conclusion that you, O men of Kent, with all those qualities which ennoble you—with an unbounded zeal for the divine honour, a thirst for knowledge not to be assuaged, a disposition to piety too strong to yield to any obstacle—that with a magnanimity proportioned to every sacrifice, and a candour worthy of your ancient fame, you had, like the rest of your countrymen, become the victims of those frauds and violence by which the religion first preached to you, and which saved your sainted forefathers, was taken away, and the desolation exemplified in your cathedral imposed upon you under the fictitious title of a reformed faith. Even upon that day, and in the midst of the once hallowed walls of your cathedral, and upon the stone where the sainted Becket shed his blood, I offered up to God my most humble prayer that He would again look upon you with an eye of mercy, and send down His light and His truth, whereby to dispel the errors and darkness in which you have been so long involved; that He would not remember the iniquities of your former guides and rulers, nor avenge upon you the sins of other men."

In returning home from the Continent, Dr. Doyle was introduced to Mr. Hunt, the celebrated radical reformer, on board the Calais steam-packet. Mr. Hunt, in a letter now before us, dated 4th November, 1828, gives the following account of his interview with the Bishop:

"I met Dr. Doyle on board the steam-packet at Calais, and came in company with him from thence to Dover. Having recognised each other, an introduction followed, and an interesting conversation ensued, which continued the whole passage, with the exception of a very short time, when the Doctor was suffering from sea-sickness. The subject of the Kent meeting was very early introduced, and I stated that I came home for the express purpose of attending it, and inquired if the Doctor was going thither. He replied that he should like very much to be there, and ultimately decided that instead of remaining at Dover that night, which he first intended, he should proceed to Canterbury, to be within reach of Pennenden Heath in the morning. I got to Canterbury early, having ascertained that it would be impossible to procure horses in the morning. I went to the inn where the coach was to stop coming from Dover, and met the Doctor, and informed him of this fact, and he immediately decided to proceed on that night in the coach to Chatham or Rochester, where he should be within ten miles of the meeting, and, as I was given to understand, with the express intention of going thither early in the morning, but as a spectator and listener only—decidedly not to take any part in the proceedings. I found Dr. Doyle a most liberal and intelligent man, and I was delighted with the information that he gave me as to men and measures in Ireland. So much for the interview between the English Radical and the patriotic Catholic Bishop, who, I believe, were very well pleased with each other. I felt no dread that the Doctor would roast me, and he did not discover the slightest fear that I should swallow him alive!"

Dr. Doyle found Ireland, on his return, in a state of fearful popular fermentation. A portion of his own diocess was like a slumbering volcano. Lord Anglesey wrote to Mr. Peel, beseeching of him to take the state of the country into serious consideration. On the 8th September, 1828, his Excellency writes: "It seems agreed on all sides that the public feeling was never at so high a pitch of excitement as at present. The language of both parties is violent in the extreme, and both appear ripe for action. The organization of the Catholics is very complete. They carry banners; they form and march by word of command, and in good order."

Dr. Doyle found it expedient to rein in some ebullitions of popular feeling in his diocess. The following letter is addressed to the late Very Rev. N. O'Connor, Rural Dean, Maryborough:

"Carlow, 29th October, 1828.

"VERY REV. DEAR SIR—I have just now been informed that you have had a meeting in Maryborough early in this month, which was then adjourned to Monday next, to consider the propriety of

establishing in the Queen's County what are called Liberal Clubs. I am incompetent to judge of the merits of such clubs throughout Ireland generally, but I am fully satisfied that in the counties with which I am best acquainted, and most intimately connected, the institution of such clubs would not be advisable. There is too much of exasperation and menace, too much of hatred and violence, prevailing in some parts of Ireland. We are comparatively at peace, if not in harmony, with our fellow-subjects: let us, for the love of God and of our common country, avoid everything which tends to create jealousy, distrust, or fear in our neighbour; let us do all in our power to preserve the peace we possess, and to convince ourselves, as well as other men, that, before all and above all, we prize the testimony of a good conscience, and the last and most sacred injunction of our Redeemer, to love one another, without distinction of Jew or Gentile, Greek or barbarian. I need not add that the political and social interests of the Catholics of the Queen's County are in perfect conformity with the great and first and last commandment of their Redeemer."

The vigilance displayed by Dr. Doyle in superintending the extensive field of his jurisdiction, and the success with which he uniformly preserved it from the stigma of outrage, were certainly very remarkable. It appears from Parliamentary returns in the year 1827, that there was no county so free from crime as that in which Dr. Doyle resided. In that county the proportion of committals in one year, as compared with the population, was one out of 1475; whereas in the essentially Protestant county of Fermanagh the proportion was one out of 375. There are some Irish police reports, dated 1828, printed by Sir R. Peel in his Memoirs (p. 35), with a statement annexed to every county in Ireland of the number of murders and outrages of which they were in many instances the theatre. Kildare is the last in the list, and the remark, "Nothing to notice," is appended to it. Carlow, Kilkenny, and the Queen's County were equally exonerated.

Another large element in the popular discontent which prevailed to so formidable an extent, was the great distress of the masses. "The country is still more impoverished," wrote Lord Anglesey at this period, "and the minds of the people are, if possible, still more alienated, and ruinous expense is entailed on the empire." The Earl of Darnley, hereditary High Steward of Gravesend, with a view to bring the distressed state of Ireland before Parliament, wrote to Dr. Doyle for some data on the subject. Lord Darnley was an able and honest politician. "He is, however, considered," wrote Sheil, in 1828, "to be very proud without being arrogant." The manner in which his Lordship

fails to recognise the title of courtesy to which the Bishop was entitled, may be regarded, perhaps, as an instance of this haughty feeling:

"Cobham Hall, 17th November, 1828.

"DEAR SIR—I regret much that I had not the pleasure of seeing you during my late very short excursion to Ireland, more especially as the principal motive of my journey was to obtain some information relative to the state of the distressed population of the country, which it is my intention to bring shortly under the consideration of Parliament. As I know no one who has the power to afford more useful information than yourself, as well as the inclination to promote (if it be possible) so desirable an object, I am sure I need not apologize to you, when I request that you will take the trouble to communicate, by letter, anything you may think useful towards its attainment. Facts that can be substantiated will be particularly desirable, to prove at least that the poor of Ireland are in such a state as no wise government can neglect, or refuse at least to take into consideration.

"I cannot conclude without congratulating you on a Lord Lieutenant who, I am sure, will do you as much justice as the present unfortunate state of the laws will allow.—I am, &c.,

"DARNLEY."

But there was another subject of still greater importance to Ireland, which was occupying the mind of a great thinker. Mr. Brougham having been consulted on the Education question by Mr. W. Lamb, afterwards Lord Melbourne, gave it as his opinion, that Catholics and Protestants ought to be educated separately. Another remarkable fact transpires in the following letter. The late Most Rev. Dr. Murray has been hitherto regarded as a strong and unwavering advocate for the mixed system of education. From this document it appears, that neither his Grace nor other very high authorities thought so very well of it. It is to be regretted that the Government should have hesitated to take Mr. Brougham's counsel, but expediency prevailed, and the "Mixed System" was accepted as an experiment.

The late Archbishop Murray was so proverbially reserved in his conversation and correspondence, that it is quite pleasant to find him communicative on any subject; and we therefore give the letter—though unimportant in some particulars—unabridged.

"MY DEAR LORD—The enclosed letter regards a subject of so much importance, that I am going to put your Lordship to the expense of postage for it. You will perceive that it is the copy of a letter which Mr. Eneas M'Donnell addressed to Mr. Brougham, at the desire of the latter. *Entre nous*, Mr. Brougham has been

consulted by Mr. Lamb on the Education question, and gave it as his opinion not long ago, that the only practicable way of educating Catholics and Protestants, would be to educate them separately. This I learned in a communication which I had lately with Mr. Lamb on the subject. I told him, that though we did not object to the joint education, we would certainly prefer Mr. Brougham's plan. I fear, however, we shall not obtain so much as that. He however admitted the principle, that the whole of the religious instruction of the children should be placed under the control of their respective pastors. He seemed desirous to refer the report of the Commissioners to a Committee of the House of Commons. To this I objected, as we should be thereby thrown back another year without aid, and the obnoxious societies would still have the distribution of the public grants. He concluded by saying, that he would communicate with Lord Lansdowne on the subject. I am going to write to Lord Lansdowne particularly against the continuance of the grants to the Kildare-place Society, and I pray your Lordship to do the same.

"Mr. M'Donnell's letter was written to Mr. Brougham in consequence of a previous conversation, in which the latter expressed some apprehensions that the report of the Commissioners pledged the Government to the adoption of a system of Scriptural education. Mr. M'Donnell was consequently desired to put his notions of the matter upon paper. I pray you to send the letter back to me by the same conveyance, as I have no copy of it, and you perceive I am directed to communicate it to Dr. Kelly.

"I have not seen Mr. Cahill, except in the pulpit, where I would wish to see him often. If you have no other convenient opportunity of getting the copies of the Trent Decree within a few days, Coyne can send them by the coach. I quite approve of the one publication of bans for three, the dispensation in writing, and the application of the funds which may be thus produced; and though I was at first afraid that £1 would be too great a charge to be generally adopted in the event of a dispensation from the bans being sought, I am beginning to think that were any smaller sum sufficient, the publication of the bans would go wholly into disuse, as it has done elsewhere. Give me your fixed notions on the subject, and I will endeavour to adopt them, and propose them to the other Prelates who are concerned.

"I am delighted with the drubbing Elrington got, and I would very much wish to see, from the same pen, something like what your Lordship has in contemplation. The Catholic rule of faith, put forward briefly and nervously as the only certain or even rational one, would, I think, be at present of great use. This may have been often done before, but it cannot be done too often.

To be read extensively, it should appear in a new form; and, perhaps, if not mixed up with other matter so much the better. I would be glad, however, that your Lordship would not, on any account, omit to execute your plan of turning into ridicule the *New* Reformation, to the points of which Mr. Lamb acknowledges that many people still attach much value. I would not unnecessarily disturb the slumbers of the *old* lady, until after the next session.—Yours, &c.,

"✠ D. MURRAY."

There has been another letter of the Archbishop's just placed at our disposal, which, although not in perfect chronological order of arrangement, we venture to insert. It was written immediately previous to the evidence given before Parliament by Dr. Murray, Dr. Curtis, and Dr. Doyle. The examination of Dr. Curtis occupies but fifty lines of the Report, and fails to convey a very favourable impression of the old Primate's mental power.

"Dublin, 1st March, 1825.

"MY DEAR LORD—I am still on Irish soil, and I hope may be allowed to continue so for some time longer. Lord Harrowby's answer has arrived, mentioning that my attendance will not be required before Easter. The answer to your Lordship will probably be to the same effect. Dr. Curtis having mentioned in his letter something about his age and slender acquaintance with this country (though not with an intention that this should be attended to), has been informed that his presence in London will be dispensed with. Still, with this letter in his pocket, he has come up to Dublin, and wants to hurry me off to London. This, I think, would not be perfectly right, notwithstanding a pressing letter from Mr. O'Connell, received by me the day your Lordship came to town, and requiring the attendance of as many of the Prelates as possible in London, but most particularly of Dr. Doyle. It is not unlikely that Sir H. Parnell will get the committee of the Commons to summon your Lordship, if it be known that the other committee has put you off until after Easter. The doom of the Association is fixed; our presence in London could not delay its fall; and I fear that for the present we could not either be of much use to the general question. Still Dr. Curtis thinks that the people who, he says, are anxious for the journey of the Prelates to London, ought to be gratified. The poor old man was almost forced out of Drogheda for that purpose, and he seems ashamed to return without having proceeded to his ultimate destination. If Sir F. Burdett should succeed in obtaining a committee, then, perhaps, there might be some sense in going to watch the progress of the bill. I fear, however, there is not at present much chance of this, and we should look rather awkward were we to

arrive in the capital just in time to hear that now nothing can be done for us. I think, however, your Lordship may prepare for a trip, as there is a very strong probability that you will be summoned to give the promised notes on J. K. L.

"It will give me high satisfaction to learn that your Lordship's amendment continues progressive.

"I remain, my dear Lord,

"Yours most devotedly,

"✠ D. MURRAY."

Dr. Murray adds a postscript. Alluding to the three Protestant Archbishops, his Grace says: "Drs. Magee of Dublin, and Laurence of Cashel, are said to be summoned to attend the committee of the House of Lords, and I think also the far-famed Archbishop of Tuam." The latter allusion is to Dr. Le Poer Trench, whose life has been since written by the Rev. D'Arcy Sirr.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Dr. Philpotts enters the lists with Dr. Doyle—The reply and exposure—The Coronation Oath—Extracts—The Revolution of 1688—Comprehension, the true spirit of the Constitution—Seeming conversion of Dr. Philpotts to Dr. Doyle's way of thinking—J. K. L.'s Letter reprinted by the Catholic Association, and distributed among the Members of both Houses—Lord Bexley's attack—Interesting Letter to Dr. Donovan—Maynooth silent under calumny—Anecdote—An Apostate Priest—A Parody—The Bishop's Letter to his niece—Impressions of his Visit to the Continent—Unpublished fragment—Letter on an Agricultural Model School—Correspondence with Nuns—The Duke of Wellington's curious Letter—Its secret history—Squibs—A Catholic Relief Bill submitted to Dr. Doyle—His MS. notes to "Lingard's History of England."

IT was at this period that Dr. Henry Philpotts, now Bishop of Exeter, ran full tilt against Dr. Doyle, in "A Letter to an English Layman on the Coronation Oath." The Letter occupied 330 pages, and embraced a most miscellaneous range of subjects, from an exuberant attack on *The Edinburgh Review* (p. 3) to a disquisition on "The Nag's Head Fable" (p. 328). Dr. Philpotts laboured to prove that Dr. Doyle who, in 1822, had "employed all the energy and eloquence of no ordinary mind to bring back the misguided multitude to a sense of their wickedness" (p. 190), had of late completely lost himself, and now pursued "the course of stimulating, even to madness, all the worst passions of his people" (p. 194). If Dr. Philpotts conceded "the superior energy and talents of this individual," the words "scurrilous," "insulting," "feeble," and "insolent" were in the next breath

applied to him. But the prime object of Dr. Philpotts' book was to retard Catholic Emancipation, which then seemed so imminent, by raising scruples in the King's mind regarding his Coronation Oath.

J. K. L. was promptly in the field with a well-reasoned reply, which arrested general attention. "No man's signature was looked for so eagerly amongst the English Catholics, in my younger days, as that of J. K. L.," writes Bishop Ullathorne, "and the debates and journals of the period show their effect upon the Catholic world."

Dr. Doyle headed his letter with the appropriate citation from *Luke* (xix. 22): "Out of thy own mouth I judge thee;" and then went on to say that he should probably never have seen Dr. Philpotts' book—J. K. L. should have been spared the trouble of writing those observations, and Dr. Philpotts the gratification of perusing them, had not an English peer directed his attention to the work, and suggested whether he might think it right to expose the sophistry and correct the misrepresentation therein contained. Dr. Doyle adopted the suggestion and procured Dr. Philpotts' volume. The cause of the indifference with which he had previously viewed it was, that in 1825 he had met with two books, one of them written by Dr. Philpotts and the other by Mr. Townsend, "but both filled with such opprobious language, such foul misrepresentation, and so totally devoid of good manners and the common courtesies of a civilized age, that I resolved never again to read anything that bore the signature of either." Dr. Doyle regretted that a minister of any Church should deserve what Dr. Philpotts had merited; but when men act as he had done, they are, according to an Apostle, to be reproved severely, and in the presence of others. He regretted that Dr. Philpotts should have thrown away so much time and labour in endeavouring "to conjure up in England the fiend-like spirit of religious bigotry, that base, wicked, and abominable cry of 'No Popery,' on which, alas! too many rest their hopes of defending a cause which justice and truth and argument have abandoned." But it was his analysis of Dr. Philpotts' interpretation of the Coronation Oath which has imparted a permanent value to this pamphlet. At p. 37, J. K. L. writes: "Now, Sir, after stating in the very preceding page that the object of the Coronation Oath is to recognize, affirm, and sanction the contract between the King and the people, and after quoting from Sir William Temple the above passage laying down the three things essentially necessary to the re-settling of the government—of which two relate to the freedom of parliament, to the moral ability of the law and the purity of its administration, and the other to that oath which recognizes, affirms,

and sanctions the whole and entire contract between the King and the people—you have the hardihood to tell the readers of your book, 'that it was not the *civil* but the *religious* liberties of the people which it was especially designed to strengthen!' *O alma fides apta pennis!* where is this good faith, so venerated by Pagans, to be found now? Is it to be found among the opponents of the Catholics?

"A partizan and a pleader for right or wrong are amongst the most odious of characters on earth; and were I to endeavour to suppress or keep out of view the great purposes of the revolution, and single out some one of them, as if it alone or principally was then considered, and do so for the purpose not of proving its intrinsic value and utility, but for the purpose of exciting vulgar passions to be wielded against the spirit of that very revolution itself, that thereby I might strike more deeply a stricken people or advance my own fortune; I would say of myself with Job: 'Let the day perish on which I was born, and the night on which it was announced a man has been conceived!'"

J. K. L. having taken to pieces Dr. Philpotts' interpretation of the Coronation Oath, upbraided him with holding views which threw into deep shade whatever had been written on equivocation and mental reservation.

Dr. Philpotts would seem to have suspected Dr. Doyle of a lurking wish to dismantle the Established Church, and to strip her of all her rights and privileges. At this J. K. L. expressed himself much amused. "Having myself not land, nor tithe, nor stall, nor prebend in the Church, I may be permitted, like the penniless traveller mentioned by Horace, to be amused at what infuses terror into other men." He declared his utter unconcern about her possessions, rights, and privileges. The utmost extent of his wishes was, that the Irish Church Establishment should be employed as the law had directed, *i.e.*, in the support of her clergy and her churches, and in the maintenance of the famishing poor. Returning to the Coronation Oath, J. K. L. said: "Your chapter on '*The King as Legislator*,' and your other equally erudite essay, headed '*The King, as Legislator, is bound by his Coronation Oath*,' could with great propriety be reviewed here. But as I believe no human being ever denied that the British Sovereign was a legislator, or ever asserted that the obligation of the Coronation Oath at any time departs from him, I know not what I could add to your lucubrations on this subject. If I were embarked in the same ship with you—if I had the same objects in view, and were actuated by the same motives in pursuing them, I might undertake to dress in a new garb those venerable *antiques* which you have laid before us. Were I a book-maker, who

wrote for money or for fame, I might also be tempted to surprise the public, and serve my own purposes, by composing a volume to prove the justice and propriety of the heading of all the statutes annually passed in Parliament, and demonstrating that the mutiny act, and the money bills, and the several acts for enclosing commons and making railroads, with every other imaginable act, all become law, only and because his Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, is pleased to enact the same. Such a work, however suitable a companion to your chapter on 'The King as Legislator,' would not contribute to elucidate what is obscure—to expose to light what is hidden in mystery—to make certain what is doubtful—or advance any department of learning or science. I shall therefore relinquish the thought of writing nonsense, even though it should illustrate your wisdom."

The enemies to Emancipation had talked much of the wisdom of our ancestors. "To imagine," said J. K. L., "that God is adjured to witness an engagement that such a state of things should be perpetuated—that a spirit of peace and conciliation should at no time succeed to one of hatred and violence—that men then jealous and divided should bind their posterity never to forgive or to unite—that the Legislature should be incapacitated to promote the public good, and the King bound to heaven to resist what would foster concord among his subjects and impart strength to his empire—are notions at once so impolitic, so uncharitable, and so impious, as to ensure their own rejection by every honest and enlightened mind. . . . .

"The speeches which you quote may serve to fill an apartment in the British Museum, or a niche in the armoury in the Tower; they may amuse posterity, like the sword of the Earl of Warwick or the bows and arrows used in the Crusades. But the Revolution itself will always stand like a beacon, showing the glorious principles on which the national freedom is based. From that event, such men as Fox, and Grattan, and Burke, and Plunket, and Mackintosh, will always be able to prove that the spirit of the constitution is comprehension, not exclusion—that every exclusive and penal act emanating from it provided against temporary and passing dangers, but left free and unshackled the power of returning to better measures in better times."

Dr. Doyle taunted the future Bishop of Exeter with having undertaken his unworthy toil for the purpose of obtaining personal promotion in the Church. He concluded by observing that it would be a waste of time—a beating of the air—to comment on what Dr. Philpotts thought proper to write of Mr. Jeffrey, Mr.

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Butler, Dr. Milner, Pitt and Burke, the Union and Lord Kenyon, Langrishe and *The Edinburgh Review*, the Nag's Head and Charles I., Dr. MacHale and the forty-shilling freeholders, Dr. Sleven's disingenuousness and the note-book of Parson Phelan, and the twelve Prelates, including Dr. Doyle, who had conspired to draw up plans for the Catholic Association, by which to overthrow the Established Church, unplace Parliament, and set the Thames on fire! "These, Sir, are not subjects of discussion; they are only ingredients used by the witch of bigotry to fill that cauldron with which she intoxicates the weak, the ignorant, and the besotted of the English people." Dr. Doyle said that he was not arguing as to what might be expedient to be done in the matter of the Popery laws; "but a churchman myself, though prescribed, and by birth a freeman, though now enthralled, I feel indignant that you, of a similar profession, and a happier subject of the same state, should compromise candour, abuse talent, sustain oppression, oppose liberty, and even call innocence and heaven to your aid, in your efforts against the rights of Parliament and those of your oppressed fellow-men."

Dr. Philpotts said a great deal in his book about the royal supremacy (see pp. 51, 119, 133, &c.) Dr. Doyle replied at considerable length: "Your argument employed to justify the proceeding of Henry VIII., as taken from a recital of the laws of Edward the Confessor, where the King is called *Vicarius summi regis*, and that he is appointed King to this purpose, '*ut regnum terrenum et populum Domini et super omnia sanctam veneratur ecclesiam ejus, et regat et ab injuriosis defendat*'—this argument of yours, Sir, does not prove the royal supremacy (and you know it does not) in any other sense than that in which such supremacy has always been and still is admitted by the Catholic Church to reside in Catholic princes—namely, a supremacy whereby they, as heads of the state, are entitled and required to protect the Church and enforce her laws, wheresoever these laws are adopted and recognised by the state, as had been the case not only in England but in every monarchy in Europe. But this supremacy did not and could not include that power to rule the Church which St. Paul at Ephesus declared to have been given, not to kings, but to bishops." Dr. Doyle would seem to have converted Dr. Philpotts to his views; for, in 1850, on the occasion of the outcry against the Pope for appointing Bishops to English sees, a document from Dr. Philpotts, rather hostile to the royal supremacy, was received by the public with no small surprise. The document and correspondence in which Dr. Philpotts' views are unfolded, occupy several columns; but their gist may be gathered from the following remarks of *The Freeman's Journal*, of 7th December, 1850:

"This very denial of the Queen's spiritual supremacy by the Pope, which has brought upon him all the odium of the fanatics, is now endorsed and insisted on by one of the 'Queen's own' Bishops—'Henry of Exeter.' The great Dr. Philpotts not only refuses to acknowledge the Queen's supremacy, but in a most remarkable document, which we publish in another column, addressed to her Majesty in the form of a special petition, he avows his sacrilegious renunciation of the Queen's spiritual authority, and identifies himself, in so far, with the sentiments and opinions of the Roman Pontiff."

Dr. Doyle's letter contained a masterly exposition of the Coronation Oath, and exhibited another specimen of the learning and ability of the author in handling a subject in which a deep knowledge of the laws, constitutional, statutable, civil, and ecclesiastical, was necessarily involved. A critic of the day writes: "If the question touching the King's oath were to be decided by a demonstration, almost mathematically accurate, of its force and limitations, J. K. L. has decided it."

At the Catholic Association, 2nd of December, 1828, "Mr. Conway gave notice of a motion, that Dr. Doyle's answer to Dr. Philpotts should be printed, in order that copies of it might be placed in the hands of the English people, and distributed amongst Members of Parliament. It was indisputably the ablest reply ever given to the assertions of the bigots regarding the Coronation Oath." O'Connell, a week later, moved, that one thousand copies of "Dr. Doyle's justly celebrated letter" should be printed. It fills forty-four pages, and was published in December, 1828, by Coyne of Dublin.

The present was a critical moment in the progress of the Catholic question. It had many formidable and influential opponents; and Dr. Doyle perceived that some calumnies, which had been left unrefuted, were working mischievously against the settlement of the question. The following letter, addressed at this juncture to the Rev. Dr. Donovan, one of the Professors at Maynooth, illustrates Dr. Doyle's patriotic vigilance and efficient energy:

"Carlow, 4th December, 1828.

"My dear Rev. Sir—The friends of the Catholics and the Catholics themselves in England, Ireland, and Scotland, are complaining of the submission of Maynooth to the charges alleged against the Catholic Religion and the College by name, by Leslie Foster, in *The Quarterly Review*, and lately by Lord Bexley. Is it possible that an establishment which should be the shield of our defence, will be found the only point through which a fatal blow is inflicted upon our reputation and interests? Douay and

Rheims, in bad times, defended religion against powerful antagonists. In those days colleges and individuals have done their duty, with the sad exception of your house—so far as a defence, not of the general interests, but of those interests assailed in the persons of your President and Professors themselves are concerned. I am ashamed and vexed—*Hoc nobis objici posse et non potuisse refelli.* The duty of vindicating yourselves from the alleged charges devolves naturally on the President, but if he be unable, through illness or any cause, to do what all agree in considering of urgent necessity, is there in the house no *esprit de corps*, no feeling for the honour of the establishment, no zeal of God to prompt some member of it to do what is needful? There is in the evidence much that need not be there, but there is in it also abundance of what is sufficient to rebut the special and general charges against it. Dr. Anglade is old and a foreigner, unable to express his sentiments fully, and liable to be taken aside by leading questions, as had already happened to him, but Mr. Kenny repairs Dr. Anglade's greatest *faux pas*. I beg you will see Dr. Crotty and get something done. I heard that when the late *Quarterly Review* appeared, Mr. Blake collected materials for a reply; I am sure he would, if applied to, gladly place them in Dr. Crotty's hands, and to suit them to the present purpose could not be difficult for him, and if for him certainly not for you.

"Write to me and say whether I can give to those deeply interested any assurance that something will be done by some member of the College, for if it were to be done by any other, *that* would only accumulate censure upon your heads.—Truly and affectionately yours,

"✠ J. DOYLE.

"P.S.—I can safely assure you, that the charges against the College are working more mischief than any occurence of the present time, and God knows that is saying quite enough."

The Professors of Maynooth remained, notwithstanding, silent. Dr. Doyle could not help thinking it strange, that when he publicly alluded, in 1824, to the sympathy of the Priesthood with the suffering people, the Professors should have come forward to critizize the allegation in a public manifesto, but now thought fit to remain stolidly indifferent, while charges of a direct and damaging character were made against Maynooth. A leading Professor quaintly excused his silence. "Women," he said, "are never admitted or even named in Maynooth; Lord Bexley is an old woman, and we will not notice him."

The attack of Lord Bexley to which Dr. Doyle alludes was a public letter addressed to the freeholders of Kent, in which he

charged Maynooth with teaching that the Pope possesses and exercises that dispensing power, in reference to allegiance, which Catholics had already abjured upon their oaths. All the leading officers and professors of Maynooth were examined a short time previously, and they unhesitatingly rejected the right of the Pope to interfere, directly or indirectly, in matters of a temporal nature, and repudiated the notion that any ecclesiastical authority whatever could dispense with or absolve them from any oath or obligation by which they contracted or ratified a duty to their King or their neighbour. The Rev. Mr. Crowley, then a beneficed clergyman of the Establishment, but formerly a professor at Maynooth, was examined, at the same time, on the other side, and after parrying a question or two was at length constrained to confirm the evidence of the Catholic Priests who had been examined. "*Q.* What did you believe, at that time, with respect to oaths; did you believe that the Pope had the power to absolve you from an oath of allegiance, taken to the Crown? *A.* I did not. I took the oath of allegiance when I returned to the College of Maynooth the second time; and I declared, when I took that oath, that I did not believe that any power upon earth had any power to absolve me from it. *Q.* Did you so believe at that time? *A.* I did. *Q.* Was that the prevailing opinion at that time in College, so far as you were acquainted with it? *A.* I believe it was."

Lord Bexley's drivellings were mercilessly satirized by *The Times* of the day. A parody on the celebrated witch-scene in *Macbeth* deserves notice. The scene is laid at Pennenden Heath:

> "1*st Brunswicker*—Thrice hath scribbling Kenyon scrawl'd.
> 2*nd Brunswicker*—Once hath fool Newcastle bawl'd.
> 3*rd Brunswicker*—Bexley snores—'tis time, 'tis time."

The Brunswickers dance round a cauldron, flinging in various infernal ingredients. The third is made to say:

> "Now the charm begins to brew:
> Sisters, sisters, add thereto
> Scraps of Letherbridge's old speeches,
> Mixed with leather from his breeches—
> Rinsings of old Bexley's brains.
>
> . . .
>
> There the hell broth we've enchanted—
> Now but one thing more is wanted,
> Squeeze o'er all that orange juice
> Cumberland keeps cork'd for use."
>
> "*All*— Dribble, dribble, nonsense scribble;
> Bexley, talk, and Kenyon, scribble!"

From a letter to his niece we learn that other anxieties besides those to which the unsettled state of the Catholic Question gave birth, occupied the Bishop's ever active mind. There are persons

who might be disposed to erase some trifling and homely remarks which occur in the letter, but they show the amiability of his disposition, and we accordingly let them stand.

"Carlow, 6th December, 1828.

"My dear Mary—If I had half as much leisure as you enjoy I should have written to inform you, ere now, of my safe arrival in good health, thanks to God, after my excursion through England, France, and the Netherlands; and why then have you not, with all your good nature, written to let me know how you and all our friends about you are. My thoughts, till lately, were entirely occupied about our new chapel, which is now resting for the winter; it being twenty feet high, and having cost us nearly £1,600 sterling; about £3,000 will yet be necessary to roof it in, and Providence must be very careful of it, or its advancement will be slow. I hope you will keep your Wexford friends in mind of my claims upon them; the married and the unmarried are alike debtors to every good work, but I must place the latter first, including Miss C——, who deserves to be fined for permitting her sister to precede her; and I don't know whether you or my young cousin, who, I am told is detained a pilgrim at the Lady's Island, should be foremost among the married ladies 'who are not wearied in doing good,' and whose goodness I hope will all be directed for one season in my favour. I have nothing else to inform you of from this country, with which you are so little acquainted, for it can be no *news* to you to hear that I am occupied just as usual, reading, writing, praying, preaching, scolding, and very frequently laughing, sometimes at my own follies and more frequently at the follies of others. As in common with the rest of mankind, I see what is faulty or ridiculous in others more easily and clearly than I discover it in myself. I have, however, time enough to feel anxious about *you*, and to desire to hear from you—of your own, and John's, and your mother's health, of Ally and her family, of Richard D——, who promised to come up to see me about this time (tell him so); and of my young friend, John, and his amiable consort, whom I desire to see, for I have not a distinct recollection of her, though I saw her at Tramore a few years since, but as I did not then suppose she should at any time be connected with me, I did not so much attend to her as to my old friend Miss C——, to whom, as well as to the young pair, and all my other friends, I beg to be most kindly remembered. My journey to the Continent proved of great use to my health, though whilst I remained at Paris I was extremely busy; and from the style in which I was obliged to travel and appear, I was overwhelmed with expense. I was quite amused at the reports which prevailed of Dr. Murray and myself going to settle the

Catholic Question, and still more at the absurdities which my good friend and countyman, D——, would pawn upon me; and not he alone, but other blockheads of Wexford, almost as stupid as the people of Nineveh, who did not know their right hand from their left. But such people amuse me, as Sir Harcourt Lees does!"

We find among the Bishop's papers a fuller record of the impression produced by his visit to France and the Low Countries than that communicated to Mary Coney. "The Netherlands and the north-west of France, the only portion of that happy country which I saw," writes Dr. Doyle, "appear like a well cultivated garden, teeming with every luxury which the earth in a genial climate can produce. The towns and cities swarming with inhabitants—their buildings improving, or being extended—comfort or abundance everywhere apparent, and the poor, either collected in charitable institutions, or exhibiting even in their relative poverty no signs of squalid misery, of shameless nakedness, or extreme distress. In all their cities, and they are many, a magistracy and police are found not apparently to terrify or punish, but to preserve order and protect the good. Places of public recreation or amusement encompass or embellish every city, and schools of public instruction, galleries of paintings, museums, literary institutions are intermixed with the seats of justice, the temples of divine worship, or the asylums of the sick, the indigent, the orphan, or of the invalid resting from the toil of defending his country. How often, whilst my heart swelled with feelings not to be described, did I turn to Ireland, and ruminate upon her misfortunes? How often did I wish that the Almighty had placed her in some position where she could enjoy those blessings which his providence seems to have destined for all the nations of the earth. How much and how bitterly did I lament her sufferings—how earnestly did I pray that He who holds in his hands the destinies of nations and hearts of men would bring them to a close. . . . . We may indeed plant what only a future generation can gather," the Bishop goes on to say, "but then the earth would lie lightly on our remains could we secure for those who will tread it some portion of that happiness which other nations enjoy. Nor are we permitted to relax in our efforts for our country's good, even when those whom nature or compact appointed to protect her interests, either desert her altogether or virtually abdicate those duties towards her which in justice and sound policy they are bound to fulfil."

This was the guiding principle of his life, and the animating sentiment which pervaded all his political writings. Next to his God, his country was the idol of his worship; next to their salva-

tion, the earthly honour and prosperity of her sons were his sleeping and his waking dream. To her he dedicated the energies of his mighty intellect; for her he developed the grandeur, and beauty, and truth of his magnanimous soul. For her he deemed no sacrifice too great which honour could brook, and he sympathised in all her wrongs, till every pang she suffered became personal to himself, and stung him to the heart's core. In the day of sorrow he met her, and on the precipice of danger he embraced her. He took his fearless stand by her side, and, attracted by his example, accessions of irresistible power to her cause daily poured in. He sent, by his inspiring voice, redoubled vigour into her defenders' hearts. Nor did he cease to aid them by the counsels of his matchless wisdom till, through mazes of difficulty and hazard, she was conducted at last to security and repose.*

Dr. Doyle, about this time, addressed a letter to J. R. Barry, Esq., Inspector-General of Fisheries, and Improver of Land, in reply to an outline of a plan for the establishment of an agricultural model school, which Mr. Barry had communicated to him. He considered his plan the most excellent that could well be devised; but he apprehended that its very excellence would prove an obstacle to its establishment and practical utility. Every institution should be adapted to the country with all its peculiar anomalies and circumstances. He did not think that the moral or social

* His fragmentary manuscripts breathe the same tone, and clearly show what thought was uppermost. We select from the mass of his papers the following, hitherto unpublished, paragraph: "From the time of the invasion by the English to the commencement, it might be said, of Elizabeth's reign, war almost without intermission had been carried on between the two islands. The distinction of English and Irish then prevailed, and the strife between them was savage and relentless. There were many deserters from both sides, and the result was a gradual but slow intermixture of the inhabitants. Religion was not made a distinctive mark of the hostile powers until the lieutenancy of Essex, and from that period till the present, the designations of English and Irish were, in a great degree, absorbed in those of Catholic and Protestant. Not a single reign has elapsed, during three centuries, in which the Irish or the Catholics have not been made to feel the weight of that power which still oppresses them, and whilst their fidelity to their kings has remained unsullied, they have been deceived, insulted, abused, plundered by the very men who exercised over them an unspeakable tyranny in the name of the King. For nearly two hundred years, efforts were made from time to time to extirpate the entire of the Irish people. There are men still living who have deliberated upon that appalling project. Even this year, or I have been misinformed, it is not one alone—though one may be more prominent than others—but many persons high in station who would willingly engage in that work of blood. Fear, interest, or a feeling of humanity, have hitherto suspended the sword which pressed upon our necks; and the patience, the loyalty, the intrinsic work of our body, as attested by some of the greatest men of both countries, have often not only freed us from danger, but procured for us substantial reliefs. We have ourselves disarmed violence of her weapons: we have proved ourselves worthy of just and equal treatment: the voice of Europe and of the New World has re-echoed our complaints, while the injustice and cruelty of those who oppose our freedom seek to screen themselves in fiction, absurdity, and misrepresentation."

condition of Ireland favourable to the plan of a high and low school on the principle of Fillenberg. That philanthropist who dwelt in a country where society is well organized and pervaded by the same spirit, might attempt such a plan, but Dr. Doyle doubted whether it could be effected in any country by a society of gentlemen, and he was almost certain it could not be done in Ireland: "Institutions not dissimilar in many respects to Fillenberg's, have often prevailed partially in some eastern nations: they were introduced by several communities of Monks on their estates in England, and other countries in Europe; and such communities alone could, in my opinion, give to them a permanent existence, and preserve them in a state of good morals, due obedience, comfort, and attention to business. We must have enthusiasm, a sublimated religious feeling, or personal gain, on which to rest foundations of this sort; benevolence, patriotism, or public interest will not, I fear, be ever sufficient to preserve and support them." Dr. Doyle, having fortified his assertion by a number of well authenticated illustrations, went on to express a doubt whether the union of the rich and poor in one establishment, or the commixture of their education and pursuits, would, for the present age, be found practically useful in Ireland. But Dr. Doyle did not confine his remarks to finding fault. He told the "Trustees for the Promotion of Industry" what they ought to do, and thus concluded a suggestive programme: "During the winter months I would assign to study several hours, and only a few hours to labour, and those in the middle of the day. In summer I would devote the fore and afternoon to labour, and the noon time to lecture. During the spring and autumn I would prolong the time of labour, and abridge the time of study. Having had many opportunities through life of observing children and young men at college, or in school, I am fully satisfied that if their studies be but varied they may continue to apply to them, not only without inconvenience, but with advantage for three or four successive hours. Too quick an alternative of labour and study distracts the mind, consumes time, and might produce heedlessness or general inattention. Application to anything, especially by youth, is not spontaneous, it is laborious, and requires time."

The following letter to a young nun, though somewhat unimportant, will be esteemed at least a relief to the harsher language of political contention with which so many of these pages have been necessarily filled:

"Carlow, 9th December, 1828.

"My dear Catharine—I regret you did not gratify your own wishes by writing to me, especially as there were doubts or anxieties on your mind. In future you will easily avoid per-

plexities of that sort by mentioning them to the Chaplain, whose advice you may abide by as safely as by mine; and who would, at all times, be enabled to explain the meaning of any advice I might have offered to you. During the winter, and early part of spring, I should not wish you to rise before the appointed hour, until your constitution is entirely formed and matured. In summer and early in autumn you might anticipate, *occasionally*, the appointed time by a quarter or half an hour. So in taking bread between breakfast and dinner, I wish you to do it, except on fast days; observe the abstinence but not the fast, until you are of age. Nor do I wish there should be any exception to this, unless by the special leave of your confessor, to be obtained each time you would deviate from it. You will do well to approach the holy communion, if you desire to do so, four times in each week, and even oftener in Lent and Advent, if your confessor approve of your doing so. In this matter I wish to leave you free from all restraint.

"When the weather is bad, you should not expose yourself to rain, or be abroad too early or too late; you may walk in the school-rooms after the children are dismissed, but if occasionally, your exercise should be limited to an hour or so, be not troubled, rather seek to prolong it on the following day. As to business, there is none in which you can be engaged so important as taking necessary exercise, so I should wish other business to remain undone, rather than that should be neglected. I suppose it likely that my dear Ellen may also have her anxieties in these matters, and if so, let her know that what I have said to you may be applied also to her. But don't neglect to tell her of the affectionate interest I take in all that concerns her welfare. I hope to see you all soon, and till then I pray God to send you Christmas full of blessings, and to preserve you in His holy love. I am sincerely thankful to you, my dear Catharine, for your affectionate recollection of me, especially in your prayers."

In addressing those guileless creatures he would sometimes assume a playful tone, which made them forget for a moment their gloomy scruples. Thus: "I was favoured with your letter some days since, and it afforded me the most sincere pleasure; not even the Latin phrases which it contained were sufficient to lessen this satisfaction, though I learned among the Portuguese a proverb respecting ladies who quote Latin, and mules who whine in a certain manner, and which, even if you were not on Mount Sion, I would not repeat or write for your perusal."

On the 11th December, 1828, the Duke of Wellington addressed a remarkable letter to his old friend Dr. Curtis, the Catholic

Primate. The Duke assured him that he was sincerely anxious to witness the settlement of the Catholic question, which, by benefiting the state, would confer a benefit on every individual belonging to it; but party violence had pervaded the discussion of it to such a degree, that it was impossible to prevail upon men to consider it dispassionately. "If we could bury it in oblivion for a short time," he added, "and employ that time diligently in the consideration of its difficulties on all sides, for they are very great, I should not despair of seeing a satisfactory remedy."

This letter reached Dr. Curtis while at breakfast with his curates. He handed the letter to one of the Priests to read, and thought no more of it until he saw the entire epistle printed in *The Dublin Evening Post*. It was published contrary to the intention of the writer, and without the recipient's knowledge. The curate astutely considered that the publication of a letter which contained the first pronouncement by the Duke in favour of the settlement of the Catholic claims, could hardly fail to prove advantageous to the cause.

The letter created an immense sensation. It was immortalized in prose and verse. *The Times*, in some amusing lines, thus adverted to it:

"To catch the banker all have sought,
  But still the rogue unhurt is;
While t' other juggler—who'd have thought?
Though slippery long, has just been *caught*,
  By old Archbishop Curtis:
And such the power of Papal crook,
  The crosier scarce had quivered
About his ears, when, lo! the Duke
  Was of a *bull* delivered."

The Duke of Wellington's letter of complaint to Dr. Curtis, that his unreserved expression of opinion should have been allowed to meet the public eye is now before us, and on a future occasion we propose to use it. This advice to bury the Catholic question in oblivion for a short time, and occupy the interval in the consideration of its difficulties, caused infinite perplexity at the time; but the remark is now intelligible, when we know that the Duke had received secret information from an eminent physician still living, that George IV., whose hostility to Emancipation seemed so implacable and unwavering, was then suffering under enlarged valves of the heart, and cataract of the eyes, and that his life could not last beyond two years at the farthest. This information was specially communicated to the author's valued friend, the late D. O. Maddyn, Esq. We observe in *The Times* of the day, the following witty reference to the Duke's rather ambiguous advice to Dr. Curtis:

"Talk no more of your Cheltenham and Harrowgate springs,
'Tis from Lethe we now our potations must draw;
Your Lethe's a cure for—all possible things,
And the doctors have nam'd it the Wellington spa.

"Other physical waters but cure you in part,
One cobbles your gout—t' other mends your digestion;
Some settle your stomach, but this—bless your heart!—
It will settle for ever your Catholic question."

It may, indeed, be said that the Duke's letter, if not his suggestion, "settled for ever the Catholic question." Within the next fortnight, as we are assured by Mr. Fagan, M.P., in his "Life of O'Connell," an Emancipation Bill was prepared and submitted, by direction of the Duke of Wellington, to Dr. Doyle and the other Catholic Bishops for approval.

Dr. Doyle read a good book with great care and gusto. "My plan of reading," he once said to Bishop O'Connor, "is, first, to read for information, and secondly, to read for knowledge." Some of the margins of his books are very freely noted. We select, by way of specimen, from the sixth volume of "Lingard's History of England," which Dr. Doyle studied at this period, a few of his autograph annotations:

When Lingard describes a formidable Board of Representatives which was organized at Edinburgh in 1637, and successfully demanded concessions from Charles I., Dr. Doyle writes along the margin: "The Convention Act, and the Suppression of Unlawful Assemblies Act, prevent this from being imitated." In 1638, the Covenanters became more daring in their demands, and their preparations for war kept pace with those of the Sovereign. Many of the nobility sent their plate to be coined at the mint, and a liberal present of aid was received in the name of the French Monarch from Cardinal Richelieu. On this paragraph, Dr. Doyle writes: "A precedent which it is feared we might follow." In 1641, the Covenanting divines taught that the "knot of the question could only be cut by the axe of prayer;" and fasts were solemnly observed by the godly, that "the Lord might join the breath of his nostrils with the endeavours of weak men, to blow up a wicked and anti-Scriptural Church." This, he considers, "resembles the rant of the Methodists." They passed a resolution that "the legislative and judicial powers of the Bishops in the House of Lords were a hindrance to the discharge of their functions, prejudicial to the commonwealth, and fit to be taken away." "I would vote for that resolution.—J. K. L."

The people of Yorkshire accused Strafford "of illegal proceedings, by some of which he benefited his own fortune." Dr. Doyle writes: "So he did in Ireland to a prodigious amount."

When Lingard describes the exploits of Roger Moore of Ballynagh, in 1641, Dr. Doyle mentions that he is now represented by the family of More O'Ferrall. On the 3rd December in the same year, Lord Gormanstown had an interview with Moore and other rebel leaders. "They replied that they had taken up arms to procure freedom of conscience, to maintain the just prerogatives of the Crown, and to obtain for the people of Ireland the same privileges which were enjoyed by the people of England"—Dr. Doyle writes: "Gormanstown and Moore combine, and justly." Both Houses had voted that "the Convocation had no power to make regulations binding either Clergy or laity, without the consent of Parliament; and that Bishops and Clergymen ought not to hold secular offices or be judges or magistrates." "I wish it were revived," writes Dr. Doyle.

The people of Ireland having drawn the sword against the common enemies of their King, of their rights, and of their religion, declared that "they would never lay down their arms until they had obtained an acknowledgment of the independence of the Irish from the English Parliament, the repeal of all degrading disqualifications on the ground of religion, the free exercise of the Catholic worship, the confirmation of the graces, and the exclusion of all but natives from civil and military offices within the Kingdom." "These rights," observes Dr. Doyle, "are now claimed."

To procure money in 1646, a new loan was raised. "Every subscriber to former loans on the faith of Parliament, who had yet received neither principal or interest, was allowed to subscribe the same sum to the present loan; and in whom both sums with interest were to be secured to him on the grand excise and the sale of the Bishops' lands." "It might be done again," scribbles J. K. L.

When Charles I. was brought to trial, in 1649, he did not uncover, but surveyed the court with an air of superiority which abashed his enemies. While that portion of the charge was read which described him as "tyrant, traitor, and murderer," a smile of contempt quivered on his lips. He was called on to answer, but he demanded by what lawful authority he had been brought thither. He was King of England; he acknowledged no superior on earth; and the crown which he had received from his ancestors he would transmit, unimpaired by any act of his, to his posterity. His case, moreover, was the case of all the people of England; for if force without law could alter the fundamental laws of the kingdom, there was no man who could be secure of his life or liberty for an hour. Dr. Doyle writes: "the only trait in his character which I admire—the fruit of magnanimity, not of anger."

On the scaffold, Charles forgave his enemies, and prayed that they might repent. But for that purpose "they must render to God his due, by settling the Church according to the Scripture." "Nonsense, man," exclaims J. K. L., "for will or can the Sacred Scripture decide its own meaning?"

The impressive dialogue on the scaffold, between Charles and Bishop Juxon, is given at length by Lingard: "The King says, 'I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown.' The Bishop says, 'You exchange an earthly for an eternal crown.'" "I regret," writes Dr. Doyle, "that the Lord did not vouchsafe to you the true faith."

CHAPTER XXVIII.

He proves himself "a debtor alike to the wise and unwise"—His goodness of heart—Free schools—Crisis of the Catholic Question—The extinguisher takes fire—Recall of Lord Anglesey—Letter to O'Connell—The King's speech—Alarm of the Regular Clergy—Correspondence—The Law of *Premunire*—Lord Anglesey's letter to Mr. Blake—Dr. Doyle and William Murphy privately consulted—Letter to Sir John Sinclair—Apprehended Massacre of Catholics—Letter to Lord Cloncurry—Visit to Lyons—"This is a Country worth fighting for"—Letters from O'Connell, Peter Purcell, &c.—Disfranchisement of the Forty-shilling Freeholders—Threatened Persecution—Correspondence—Dr. Doyle effects his influence to procure several amendments in the Relief Bill—Correspondence with Sir H. Parnell—Anecdote of Eneas M'Donnell and the Bishops—Letter to A. R. Blake on the Bill—A duel—Remarkable conversation between Dr. Doyle and Rev. J. Maher—Dr. Doyle's petition to Parliament on behalf of the Jesuits, &c.—Conduct of Lords Sidmouth and Eldon in the Royal Closet—Correspondence—Letter from Lord Clifden—and a present from the Duke of Sussex.

Dr. Doyle's correspondence is very voluminous throughout the memorable year 1829, and for this reason we shall obtrude our own remarks as little as possible on the reader. In glancing over the pile of documents before us, one is at a loss whether to admire most the political sagacity of the writer, or the exalted sanctity and generous friendship of which they are the evidences. The young nun with her scruples, and the experienced statesman with his doubts, Dr. Doyle had constantly to satisfy. He felt that "he was a debtor alike to the wise and to the unwise;" and he was never more prompt in responding to the influential worldling than to the lowly ascetic. On the 8th of January, 1829, he thus addresses a young novice:

"My Dear Ellen—I admire your patience, and am very confident that the delay, for a little time, of your profession will not deprive you of any grace or blessing designed for you by your

Father in heaven. You need not trouble your mind with any inquiries about the propriety of seeking to devote yourself irrevocably to God in a religious state. Your wish to become holy by doing the will of God, so far as your knowledge and power extend, is all that is required on your part; the rest is to be determined by the community; so do not give yourself unnecessary trouble, nor again be solicitious about the difficulties of a religious state, for though you are insufficient of yourself to surmount those difficulties, He who calls you to meet them is thereby pledged to give you all necessary support. Study then, my dear child, to keep your mind and heart tranquil—not busied about many things, however good these things may seem; but abandoned, as it were, to the care of Providence, which will certainly watch over you. What time to be spent kneeling, like all things else prescribed for you by me, is an observance which you will endeavour to keep, but a departure from it is not sinful, because it is not enjoined by me in virtue of obedience, but only as advice."

A few days later we find the Very Rev. Mr. Dunne of Portarlington, assuring Dr. Doyle that he had suffered seriously in mind and body since he commenced chapel and school building. "Still," writes the good pastor, "it will be a great source of consolation to me if I can effect the completion of these objects in a becoming manner before I am called to trial in a future life." These schools were opened in February, 1829.* In replying to Mr. Dunne, the 22nd of January, Dr. Doyle again shows the warmth of his heart:

"I could not tell you how much and how severely I am grieved to hear that your health is impaired. I am well satisfied that your works should follow you or even go before you to our expected home; but I would be selfish enough to wish they were left to accumulate for many years to come ere you are called to receive the reward due to them. I find it difficult enough to proceed with my burthen now that I am opposed by tried men attached to me, and still more attached to the common cause in which we are engaged, and I certainly feel the removal of those in whom I con-

* On the 4th of June, 1830, Dr. Doyle was asked by the select committee on the state of the Irish poor, to describe the system of literary instruction given in these and other schools of his diocess. He replied that the children were taught to spell and read, upon the system of Lancaster, with the improvements lately introduced by Pestalozzi and others: "they are taught also book-keeping, mensuration, geometry, and a portion of algebra; and some of them learn mathematics." He was asked (4610) if the children were received gratuitously, or whether they paid for their education. "In each of the towns," he replied, "there is a free school; in the country parishes the children generally pay, but paupers are sent to the school by the Priest, who pays privately to the master a certain sum for them, and they pass among the other scholars not as paupers but as paying; so we seek to screen from the children the wants of their fellows, lest one class should look down upon the other with something like disregard."

fide as if a portion of my own being were taken away with them. I am far, however, from apprehending that your delicacy of health may not be removed. Your stomach is the seat of your disease, and if you could, next summer, give a vacation to your chapels, schools, and cares, and employ the season at some spa, I think it likely that you would, by regimen, afterwards recover and enjoy excellent health. There is one good of which no illness can deprive us—the hope of a better life; and to direct, as you are doing, one's labours so as to form a basis on which hope may repose, is true wisdom. Among the few things that alleviate our pains, the consolation of friendship is not to be despised, and if that which I feel towards you could, at any moment, take the place of anxiety or trouble in your mind, I would repute myself happy."

Meanwhile, the Catholic agitation had reached a crisis. Lord Anglesey, who had come to Ireland with his hand upon his sword-hilt, prepared to deal death rather than yield one iota to the clamorous demands of an injured and impatient people, suddenly espoused their cause with the ardour of a partisan; and, for having addressed a public letter to Primate Curtis, urging the Catholics to agitate with redoubled energy, he was recalled in an angry missive from the Duke of Wellington. The extinguisher had taken fire, and it was easy to foresee that a flame had been enkindled, which if not checked by prompt concession might terminate in the destruction of the constitution, and the severance of the two islands. On the 19th of January, 1829, we find Dr. Doyle and others convening a meeting of the town and county of Carlow, for the purpose of addressing Lord Anglesey on his recall, and adopting petitions to the Legislature for the removal of the grievances which then proved alike detrimental to the peace and prosperity of Ireland. The address to Lord Anglesey, written by Dr. Doyle, was presented to the ex-viceroy by Dominick Roynane, Esq.

The Catholic question continued to hurry to its crisis. The popular voice had attained a violent pitch of exasperation. Menace had given place to entreaty; and indignant demands were substituted for the faltering language of remonstrance. The cause lost some friends by its new attitude of defiance: but it gained, no doubt, in other ways. To this state of things Dr. Doyle refers in the following letter to O'Connell:

"Carlow, 12th January, 1829.

"My dear Sir—He who speaks often and handles exciting topics, will not fail to commit mistakes and to give offence, nor can a popular assembly, writhing under injustice, be justly condemned even for the excesses into which it may be betrayed.

"We do not claim exemption from error, but the purity of

our principles entitles all we do and say to the most charitable construction, whilst those who oppose and condemn us, even when their language is fair and their proceedings moderate, deserve reproach, because they are not sustained by any sound principle either of justice or policy. I think I can judge without passion—and I can find nothing in the conduct of our opponents respected. Who can respect ignorance or stupidity? Who can defer to bigotry or monopoly? All opposition is founded on ignorance, religious intolerance, or self-interest. When you proceeded to combat this opposition in Clare, I saw to its fullest extent the difficulties and dangers, public and personal, to be encountered; but I thought they ought to be braved, and I cheered you upon your way. You were well fitted for that contest, but that which is now before you is of a different and more delicate character. Courage, perseverance, and address were then necessary, but in addition to these you now require Parliamentary knowledge, great fortitude, and that cool deliberation which cannot be circumvented, but knows how to turn every occurrence to the best account.

"The *suaviter in modo* and *fortiter in re*, so little suited to us *Irish*, would be always useful to you, but in your approaching struggle will be indispensable. You will have to give 'honour to whom honour is due,' whilst you enforce the rights you possess; knowing that they belong to you even as the crown belongs to a king. Were I not of a profession which prescribes to me other duties, I should attend you to the door of the House of Commons and share in your success, for success must attend you; but at home I shall pray unceasingly to Him who holds in His hand the hearts of men, that He may direct and prosper you in all your ways, that He may vouchsafe to give peace in our days, and not suffer His people to be tried beyond what they can bear.—Your's most sincerely,

"✠ J. Doyle."

The King's speech, 5th of February, 1829, recommended both Houses to take into "deliberate consideration the whole condition of Ireland." A bill for the effectuation of Catholic enfranchisement—furnished with "wings" to carry it through—was rumoured to be in progress. These aimed at the suppression of the forty-shilling freeholders and the religious communities of men in Ireland. Dr. Doyle's old friends the Augustinian Friars were naturally much alarmed at the intelligence. The writer of the following letter is now a member of the episcopal bench:

"Brunswick-street, Cork, 13th February, 1829.

"My Lord—The intense anxiety which the events of the last few days have so generally produced in the public mind, and in which I may be reasonably supposed deeply to participate, will, I

am confident, plead my apology for intruding upon your Lordship, at a moment when the Prelates are assembled in Dublin, doubtless to provide for the integrity of religion at this most important crisis of our national affairs. The confidential information which your Lordship had the goodness to impart to me twelve months ago, relative to the dispositions of Government towards the religious orders in this country, considerably depressed my spirits at the time. Encouraged, however, by that renewed instance of your friendship, I gave free expression to the fullness of my feelings, my fears, and my hopes, and was consoled by your Lordship's assurance of the kind feelings of the Prelates, and of your own disposition not only to befriend us, but if necessary to become our advocate. . . . . The religious Orders have the most unbounded confidence in your influence and protection. At this moment our feelings are at their height, 'not knowing what a day may bring forth,' so that it would not only be a great kindness but an act of charity, *confidentially*, to relieve our minds by your opinion and advice, that whatever storm may be gathering may not burst upon us suddenly, or whatever may be the provisions of the Emancipation Bill we may be prepared for the worst. The Cabinet Ministers speak of legislation on a broad and permanent basis; our friends in Parliament hail the principle with joy. This would lead us to hope, that they would not stoop to notice the few religious establishments that are in the country, nor sully the charter of Emancipation, by embodying therein a persecuting clause against a few unoffending individuals whom they had tolerated before Emancipation; but then, on the other hand, when we hear them allude to 'details, and to legislation without compact, and to securities,' and consider the prejudices of the nation, we cannot be without our apprehensions that some sacrifices will be demanded by them to appease the demon of bigotry.—I remain, my Lord, &c., "DANIEL O'CONNOR."

"Dublin, 16th February, 1829.

"VERY REV. AND DEAR SIR—I always derive gratification from your letters. It would be increased if you omitted many expressions of kindness to myself.

"Why do you and your good brethren indulge anxiety to such an extent? Which of us, by thinking, can add a cubit to our stature, or make the hair of our head white or black? Let us confide in God who is preparing relief, I hope, and not affliction for our long-suffering country. It is in Him we should place all our trust and not in princes, or in the sons of men, in whom there is no health or safety.

"Nothing whatever is known to us, or any of us, of the in-

tended 'securities.' I am nearly certain the Government intends not to consult us.

"The application made to the Pope was rejected in *limine*, as he would not treat whilst the law of *premunire* prevented its being done in the form usual between courts. The nature of the measure sought for by Government was not, of course, explained. It is only when Emancipation is granted, if it can be granted, that any arrangement can be made with the Holy See relative to Ireland. I have no apprehension, whatever, that the measure to be introduced into Parliament by Government will notice the religious Orders. Hereafter, danger may impend. I wish you to continue fully assured, that as there is no person more likely to become acquainted with whatever may be in contemplation than I am, so there is no one you could select for the purpose who will be more watchful for your safety. I don't think there is the least danger that any of us will be taken by surprise.

"The prayers of the saints are now more than usually necessary, to incline towards our Church and every branch of it the divine favour. Let us be intent on prayer, and whatever may happen will turn to our good. Remember me affectionately to our brethren in Cork, and believe me, &c.,

"✠ J. Doyle.

"P.S.—You may be assured, that even if I were entombed in the earth, the Bishops of Ireland would be as careful of your interests as you could well desire. They truly deserve your full confidence."

By the law of *premunire*, to which Dr. Doyle alludes, an ambassador from the Holy See was, under pain of severe penalties, prohibited from approaching the court of England. Whenever any negociation between the Pope and Great Britain became necessary, all communication was made through the Baron D'Ompteda, the Hanoverian minister at Rome.

The speech from the throne already referred to, while holding out an immediate prospect of Emancipation, hostilely adverted to the Catholic Association, whose continued existence was "dangerous to the public peace, and inconsistent with the spirit of the constitution." The Marquis of Anglesey, whose ardent devotion to the people and their cause had led to his recall, implored the Catholic leaders, through the late Mr. A. R. Blake, to suspend the meetings of the Association rather than endanger, at so important a crisis, the safety of their cause. Mr. M'Cullagh, in his "Life of Shiel," says, that the latter saw the importance of the course recommended, and that both Dr. Doyle and William Murphy concurred in the expediency of following Lord Anglesey's advice.

The following letter is addressed to the Right Hon. Sir John Sinclair:

"Carlow, 20th February, 1829.

"My dear Sir—We all have indeed great cause to rejoice that it hath pleased Providence to dispose those in power to establish, if it be possible, religious peace in Ireland. Hitherto, no obstacle has been raised, on the part of the Catholics, to the accomplishment of this great and good work. The heads of our Clergy have done all in their power to remove a great cause of fear or distrust, by recommending the dissolution of the Catholic Association; and this proceeding of theirs affords a pledge that they are strongly disposed to assist, rather than impede, the work of peace. They could not do more, unacquainted as they are with the provisions of the intended Act of Parliament; nor is it possible for me to inform you, as I would wish to do, of the course they will pursue, when a full view of the contemplated measure comes before them. I am certain there is no class of men in the United Kingdom who desire more anxiously to remove all impediment out of the way of a final settlement, and that nothing less than a prospect of danger to the religion of which they are the guardians, would move them to do or say anything which might embarrass the Government. On the other hand, the Brunswickers here, though now reduced to a small number, are increasing hourly in violence, and the Catholics in many places apprehend a sudden rising of them to massacre the Papists. I hope these fears are unfounded, but they exist, and nothing can be more deplorable than the exciting language used by the Opposition in Parliament, which, repeated here and commented on, irritates and inflames exceedingly the passions of the vulgar. Let us, however, hope that He who can say to the sea 'be calm,' and to the north wind 'do not blow,' will still these tumults, and enable the Government to perfect what they have so well begun.

"I do not intend going to London this year, though few things would give me more pleasure than to meet you in the midst of the wise and good who abound there, that we might rejoice together, as I hope we could do, at the prospects opening, even thus late, on our too long distracted country.—I have, &c.,

"✠ J. Doyle."

On the 19th February, 1829, Dr. Doyle communicates the expression of his regret to the late Robert Cassidy, Esq., that, in returning from Dublin on that day, he was unable to stop some hours at Monasterevan to speak with him "on our political prospects; though, 'till the bill and the introductory speeches appear, we can only speculate. If they emancipate, all things may go

well." Referring to the late Rev. Daniel Nolan, who had assailed Lord Cloncurry in a letter which became public, the Bishop adds: "Old Nolan, as Lord Cloncurry properly enough calls him, is, and always was, a most unmanageable sort of being. I am not surprised at his misstatement. I hoped when I removed him from Lyons he would cease to give trouble, but his habits were not formed but confirmed when I first knew him. I will oblige Nolan to account to me for his conduct; but, though I reprove him, how can I repair the injury done by him to Lord Cloncurry? I will write either to you or to his Lordship on hearing from Mr. Nolan." The Bishop kept his word. The following is addressed to Lord Cloncurry:

"Carlow, 20th February, 1829.

"My Lord—On yesterday I was favoured with a note from Mr. Cassidy, informing me of the pain resulting to your Lordship from a letter written by Rev. Mr. Nolan to the secretary of the Kildare-place Society. I wrote immediately to Mr. Nolan, who called upon me this morning, and expresses his sincere and deep regret for having written the letter alluded to. He was, at the time of writing it, as he is at present, suffering under a most painful disease, which sometimes affects his temper; and was urged, by feelings of dissatisfaction at some then recent occurrences, to indulge in reflections which he now most sincerely regrets. He blames, in his usual manner, Mr. Jackson, for having produced his letter, after having, through a Mr. Topham, applied for permission to do so, which permission he, Mr. Nolan, did not give; and thus the public injury which your Lordship has received has been aggravated without his concurrence. He acknowledges the exaggerated threat used by him to destroy the Protestant versions of the Bible if circulated among his flock at Lyons; but says that his approbation of the use of the Sacred Scriptures in schools was confined to those used by Catholics, accompanied with explanatory comments, as prescribed by the superiors in the Catholic Church. The injury done your Lordship is not much diminished by these explanations. I lament it most sincerely; and Mr. Nolan would regret it more, if possible, than he does, were his health in a less painful or dangerous state."

Dr. Doyle was shortly afterwards invited to partake of Lord Cloncurry's hospitality at Lyons. Standing on the hill of Lyons, in company with the patriot peer, he cast his eyes around the splendid country which smiled on every side. The golden harvest was nodding in its weighty ripeness, and the umbrageous pastures, dotted with rich fleeces, teemed and glittered with luxuriance. Dr. Doyle burst forth into an eloquent soliloquy, and, alluding to

Cromwell's remark, added: "This *is* a country worth fighting for."

The following letter from O'Connell is creditable to his memory. The late Lord Cloncurry charged him with having wantonly sacrificed, in his avidity to grasp the boon of Emancipation, those same forty-shilling freeholders who had triumphantly returned him to Parliament. The letter, from prudential motives, is franked by R. Shapland Carew:

"19, Bury-street, St. James's, 6th March, 1829.

"MY DEAR AND RESPECTED LORD—I use another's frank that this may be as much private as *you* please. Look—if you will do so at my request—at the wings to the new bill. Give me advice and assistance on this subject. It is a critical moment. I desire to do right. I have already exerted myself against the freehold wing here; but I believe that the bills, as prepared by the Minister, will be carried. The Monastic bill is an absurdity, and I think I will easily *supercede* it. But this is a moment of great value, and advice and assistance are now absolutely essential.

"I shall long to hear from you on these points. At all events let me know your opinion on the state of Ireland at this moment. Tell me anything you think may be useful.

"I long to be in the House to uphold the honour and character of our Country and Creed. But at the present moment I only write for advice.

"I have the honour to be, with great respect, your very faithful and obedient servant,

"DANIEL O'CONNELL."

O'Connell, like Brougham, no doubt, reluctantly assented to the disfranchisement of the forty-shilling freeholders, as "the price—the almost extravagant price—of the inestimable good which would result from the Relief bill." The same post brought the following letter from the late Peter Purcell, Esq. Dr. Doyle's replies to both communications have been inquired for, but could not be found:

London, 6th March, 1829.

"MY DEAR LORD—I can't resist writing to you on the success of the measure. It may, to be sure, be too dearly purchased, but Sir John Newport and others, our most sanguine friends, consider we have too much offered to cavil for what we are to lose. It is bad repayment to the Clare electors, but I believe it will be more felt by the Orangemen in the North. The majority in the Commons is overwhelming, and, thank God, they have no speakers. Lord Milton and some others were not easily

induced to be quiet as to advance of freehold qualification, supposing it would have been £20, but they all agreed to the £10. I have just returned from the House, and I never saw such faces as my Brunswick friends had on. London remains perfectly quiet; and a very good reason for it, the great majority are for us.

"I send you *The Times* of this day, which is the best report we have of last night's debate.

"Although you are denied your clerical rank, you will perceive how distinctly Mr. Peel admits your claim and qualification to it. I hope there will be but one feeling now in Ireland regarding the measure, and that it will be received there as our friends feel here—I may say general gratification. If your Lordship has leisure to give me a line to London how matters go on with you, and that it does not intrude on your leisure moments, I shall feel gratified and thankful. Please direct under cover to me at John Fitzgerald's, M.P., Portland-place.—I am, my dear Lord, &c.

"PETER PURCELL."

Peter Purcell was a man of kind and generous nature; a good landlord, an honest patriot, a liberal and considerate employer, and a practical philanthropist. His enterprise did much in supplying facilities of intercourse to Ireland before steam locomotion came into use. He was the greatest coach proprietor, and, at a later period, one of the largest railway shareholders in the country. The many national projects in which he was engaged, and the liberal spirit in which he sustained the Agricultural and other movements, are evidences that he had a real and unselfish interest in the prosperity of Ireland. Strong good sense, and a natural good humour were prominent features in his idiosyncracy. Until his unhappy quarrel with O'Connell, he was an active member of the Precursor Society. Mr. Thackeray, in his "Irish Sketch Book," refers to Mr. Purcell in glowingly complimentary terms. He died rather prematurely, on the 29th May, 1846.

The Provincial of the Augustinian communities in Ireland, full of alarm at the threatened extinction of his Order, again addresses Dr. Doyle. [The reader is referred to our note, vol. i. p. 157.]

"Brunswick street, Cork, 12th March, 1829.

"MY LORD—Perhaps you would kindly, at your leisure, give me your opinion of Mr. Peel's speech, relative to the future existence of religious Orders in Ireland. I think it is rather confused in its terms and arrangement, while it seems designed to be orderly and explicit. Although he seems to make a distinction between the Jesuits and the other religious Orders, we fear it is but apparent, inasmuch as he says we are not necessary to the

existence of the Catholic religion in the country, and have our Superior at Rome; and therefore that while he says of us only that we should not extend for the future, we fear he means to confound us with the poor Jesuits, and to suffer us to die a natural death. . . . . My own individual opinion is, that as the other religious Orders are not equally objected to, abroad or at home, as the Jesuits, the distinction he makes between them is real and sincere; and that while he intends to prevent their future existence in the country, he only intends that we should not increase the number of our convents or of our communities; at the same time, guarding against the irruption of foreigners amongst us, and not allowing any extraordinary number even of British subjects to be educated abroad, and sent back to the country to supply the religious Order.—I am, &c.

"DANIEL O'CONNOR."

The Bishop informed the Rev. Dr. O'Connor, in reply, that he had only just returned to Carlow after an absence of some days, and found himself "in a cloud of letters. I think your opinions are all correct. I will endeavour to procure an amendment to remove the penalty from the vows to the foreign obedience. If this were done, the rest could be easily adjusted. Keep this secret." On the 19th March, 1829, he wrote to the Provincial at fuller length:

"MY DEAR AND VERY REV. FRIEND—I think that all your proceedings are wise, though I do not concur with you in thinking that the Regulars should not petition Parliament, lest by doing so, they would furnish evidence against themselves, for this reason, that the amount of their convents, revenues, &c., furnished by the Archbishops to the committees of Parliament, by order of the Lords in 1825, being already recorded, furnishes that evidence which you would now vainly endeavour to withhold. It may, or may not, be wise to petition, but it should not be done or omitted for the reason mentioned in your letter. If I were you, I would petition; for are you not British subjects without crime, and guiltless of any forfeiture? Why not, therefore, hold up your heads, and plead your own cause before the country? Is it because you are few and weak that you are to be oppressed? Perhaps that is a good reason for oppressing you, but it is no reason for not lifting your voice and protesting against the oppression. Indeed, I think it might be the better way to let the whole thing pass *sub silentio*, convinced as I am that the law will either be amended or not enforced. But if wiser people think otherwise, and actually petition for you, I would, undoubtedly, assert my own innocence—nor hide a head which I considered guiltless.

"As some of you will call on me in a day or two, you can

bring me a copy of the Dublin Petition. If at that time you desire my assistance in the way of petitioning, I shall give it to you with all my heart, leaving yourselves to judge of its utility. But, as Tom Thumb said, 'Petition or no Petition,' I will ever remain yours most truly and affectionately, "✠ J. DOYLE."

The amendment which Dr. Doyle promised to exert himself in endeavouring to get inserted in the Bill, before it should become law, was promptly placed under the notice of Sir Henry Parnell, in company with several other important modifications.

[*Private.*]

"Carlow, 14th March, 1829.

"MY DEAR SIR—Having been employed during the last week in visiting some parishes in the remote parts of the Queen's County, I was honoured only on this day by the receipt of your very kind and acceptable letter of the 6th instant. The satisfaction which I feel at the prospect of a final settlement of the Catholic question, is proportioned to the apprehensions which you know I entertained of the consequences which should result from a continuation of our strife and animosity in Ireland. I regret sincerely that the bill regulating the franchise was found to be a necessary means of carrying the other, as I am satisfied that a little time and the operation of a better system of government would effectually correct the abuses which that bill removes only by stripping a very worthy class of poor people of what was to them, in a variety of ways, of real and solid value. Such, however, is the anxiety prevailing here for the success of the other measure, that I believe no efforts which may be made to excite opposition to the bill for regulating the franchise will be successful: for my part I shall remain quiescent.

"Will you permit me to notice some particulars of the Relief Bill, and to beg your attention to them when it goes into committee? In the oath, page 2, line 39, might the word 'civil' be prefixed to privilege? I would wish it in order to satisfy the scruples of those who may think that by the tenor of the oath, as it now stands, they would be debarred from *employing argument in support of the Catholic and against the Protestant religion.*

"In page 8, line 31, we are prohibited to wear the habits of our order; and I fear this prohibition may be construed to extend to the case of officiating in church-yards at funerals, because in the 5th Geo. IV., there is no express mention of wearing a clerical dress. Suppose the following words were introduced: 'prohibit the wearing or use of any ecclesiastical or clerical dress by a R. C. Clergyman officiating at the burial of the dead, in cases where the same is not allowed by law, or in any manner.'

"As to the provision, page 8, which prohibits the use or assumption of the titles there mentioned by Catholic Bishops, it is a revival of a penal law already existing, and a law, which to my knowledge has not been transgressed by us, where it could be observed, for there *are numberless cases wherein we cannot possibly exercise our office unless in virtue of the title by which we hold it.* So that I believe no law can make us more or less observant, in this respect, than we already are.

"In page 9, line 8, after the word 'vows,' the following amendment, if adopted, would, in my opinion, be of great value; inasmuch as it would free the Government from the odium attached to the suppression . . . of religious societies of men, who are in no way dangerous, but on the contrary useful—many of them being employed in the ordinary work of the ministry. Still greater numbers of them are poor, pious laymen, who devote themselves to the instruction of poor children, or obtain a livelihood by working at mechanical trades. Of this latter description there are two or three communities in this diocess, who are subject only to me, and know as much of foreign power or influence, or intrigue, as they do of the longitude.

[Dr. Doyle suggested other amendments, which, unless the entire bill were inserted here, would not be appreciated.]

"You will, I hope, pardon this intrusion on your time, but you have been always so indulgent, and I so obtrusive, that until this happy adjustment is completed you will have to bear with me.

"I saw Lord de Vesci at Abbeyleix; I regretted exceedingly I could not stop with him, even for a day, especially as the heir of the late Lord Ossory was with his Lordship. They are all well at Abbeyleix; and his Lordship seemed gratified by the assurances I gave him, that henceforth, if the bill passed, we would be as quiet as lambs.—I have, &c.,

"✠ J. DOYLE."

[*Private.*]

"London, 18th March, 1829.

"MY DEAR LORD—I write a line to acknowledge the receipt of your letter. I shall, or rather I have applied to Mr. Peel, to see me on the subject of your proposed amendments.

"I am glad to find there will be no opposition to the Franchise Bill; there was some danger of the King making such an opposition an excuse for changing his conduct.

"Everything is going on very favourably; although the opponents have greater numbers than was calculated on when I last wrote to you.—Believe me, &c.,

"H. PARNELL."

The late Mr. Eneas MacDonnell was in London at this period, in his capacity of agent to the Catholics of Ireland. He had been in almost daily correspondence with all the Catholic Bishops, with the exception of Dr. Doyle. Mr. MacDonnell was sauntering through Spring Gardens, near St. James's Park, with a dozen episcopal letters, which he had just received, in his hand, when he met George Robert Dawson, M.P. for Derry, bustling along to keep a sharp appointment with the Duke of Wellington. Mr. Dawson noticed the pile of letters, and jocosely asked the agent if he would allow him to bring them to the Horse Guards, where the Duke, Mr. Peel, and Lord Chancellor Lyndhurst, were at that moment sitting in solemn conclave. Mr. MacDonnell promptly acquiesced. "You don't mean to say," proceeded Mr. Dawson, "that I am at liberty to place before the Cabinet your confidential correspondence with the Roman Catholic Bishops." "I am perfectly serious," replied the agent, "the only stipulation I make is that you return them to me before noon to-morrow."

George Robert Dawson was punctual next day with the letters. "You have no conception," he said, "of what good these documents have been productive. The Duke was greatly pleased with them. The dates proved that the Prelates wrote their respective views without consultation amongst themselves." "I am delighted to hear what you say," replied MacDonnell, "and since they were so well received, I cannot do better than place before his Grace a further supply of fourteen, which this morning's post has brought me." Mr. Dawson bundled the letters into his pocket, placed them before the Ministers, and in returning them repeated the expression of his satisfaction at the favourable result of their examination by the Cabinet. The writer of these pages observed to Mr. MacDonnell, as he communicated the above anecdote, that this proceeding no doubt accelerated the settlement of the Catholic question. "Contributed!" he exclaimed, indignanty, "it carried it." Mr. MacDonnell had written to the Bishops to elicit their opinions of the bills then before Parliament, and it was their answers to his request that had been so carefully scrutinized by the Cabinet. Dr. Doyle, with intuitive perception, would seem to have suspected that other eyes besides Mr. MacDonnell's might be gratified by the perusal of his unreserved expression of opinion. The Bishop's reply to Mr. MacDonnell, dated 15th March, 1829, is courteous but laconic: "You have been exceedingly kind, and I am greatly indebted to you, for the several letters and papers with which you have lately honoured me. I am so little competent to give advice, and you, as I suppose, already so well assisted in that respect by the most competent persons, that you will excuse me from offering to you my opinion on the measures now before

Parliament, to which, in truth, I have not had as yet time to devote all the attention they merit."

It is right, perhaps, to add that Mr. MacDonnell, in his letter to Dr. Doyle, said: "I think it necessary to apprise your Lordship that in the event of your taking a hostile view, I will do all that in my power lies to counteract and oppose it."

Dr. Doyle was more communicative to the Right Hon. A. R. Blake, a highly influential personage, who happened to be in London at this juncture, superintending the progress of the bills through Parliament and in committee:

"Carlow, 14th March, 1829.

"My dear Sir—I was honoured with your letter of the 6th only on last night, when I returned here from visiting a district of this diocess. With your letter I received many others, as also copies of the two bills now before Parliament. I have endeavoured, whilst on my visitation, to collect the opinions of the different classes of the people, and finally to form my own, and it is, that we have to choose between insurrection and rebellion at some uncertain period, and the settlement offered by the Government. I prefer the latter, and in thus preferring it, I only fall in with the general sentiment of all classes, and, I might add, of all parties, including a majority of the Brunswickers. I doubt whether even you, were you in Ireland, could excite the country to uphold the franchise at the expense of this proffered Relief Bill. Perhaps all this is well, though I would suffer my limbs to be broken on the rack to save the forty-shilling freeholders—not for the political power they give the Catholics, for that, after their disfranchisement, will continue in its relative position the same nearly as it now is, but on account of the favour and protection it would insure to them after the present agitation will have been forgotten. In this matter I think you have acted as became you, and you should be the last to recognise this duty of a quiescent conduct.

"The provision in the bill relating to titles is in itself idle, for it only revives a penal law which will again fall into disuse; we cannot avoid using our title in the execution of our duties, and we never assumed or used it in public.

"The oath, I think, may be taken, for it requires no pledge which a subject may not give to a Protestant state in return for social protection and civil rights. The 'privilege' which we swear not to employ to 'disturb or weaken the Protestant religion,' is that derived from law, and is not that inherent right which every Christian man possesses, to employ reason and the weapons of the Gospel to enforce truth and oppose or refute error. If, however, the words 'legal or civil' were prefixed to 'privilege,' it would prevent or remove scruples should they occur to any person; but

on this, as upon some other matters which I am about to notice, I have offered my opinions and wishes to Sir Henry Parnell.

"I do hope that the provision intended to extinguish the Religious Orders will not be acted upon, even if the Jesuits were to be sacrificed to the clamours of a party who do not know how harmless they are in this age and country, there is no reason why the other Orders should be involved in their (the Jesuits') fate; but if all the Friars who owe obedience to foreigners were to be finally excluded, there is yet no ground whatever for extending the provisions of the bill to those different societies of Monks in Ireland who are not Clergymen, who are subject to the Bishop of the diocess in which they reside, and to him only, and who employ themselves exclusively in educating the middling or poorer sort of children, or in working at mechanical trades, or in tilling ground. *If the penalty were attached, not to the making or accepting of vows, but to paying obedience in consequence of such vows to a foreigner,* the proposed end would be fully attained, and not only the Monks left untouched, but the Friars also, for these latter might become distinct congregations, subject either to a superior of their own within the kingdom, or to the Bishops of the place, as was the case originally with religious communities.

"If such an amendment cannot now be carried, I am sure it may be introduced hereafter, when the country settles, and men begin to know each other. Confiding in God, who is the God not of dissention but of peace, that He will bring matters to a happy conclusion, I am most truly yours,

"✠ J. Doyle.

"P.S.—You will perceive the necessity of not mentioning my name in any of these matters, unless in a confidential manner."

On the 16th March, 1829, Lord Winchelsea, President of the Brunswick Club, accused the Duke of Wellington, in a public letter, of having been actuated by disgraceful and criminal motives in his policy on the Catholic question. His Grace and Lord Winchelsea had been united by bonds of close friendship, and a line of conduct so unexpected greatly surprised and pained the Duke. "No man has a right," he wrote, "whether in public or in private, by speech, or in writing, or in print, to insult another, by attributing to him motives which disgrace or criminate him. If a gentleman commits such an act indiscreetly in the heat of debate, or in a moment of party violence, he is always ready to make reparation to him whom he may thus have injured. I am convinced that your Lordship will, on reflection, be anxious to relieve yourself from the pain of having thus insulted a man who never injured or offended you." Lord Winchelsea refused any

explanation, and the consequence was that a hostile meeting, but without fatal results, took place between the noble disputants. The Rev. James Maher mentioned the circumstance to Dr. Doyle, adding: "Don't you wonder that the Duke accepted the challenge? With what emotions must not he, who passed unscathed through a hundred fights abroad, have taken his stand to receive the deliberate aim of an old friend and countryman!" "Emotions," exclaimed the Bishop, "no more than if you were about to sit down to breakfast." "Am I to understand," inquired the Priest, archly, "that your Lordship would have accepted the challenge, and received his aim without fear?" "Most assuredly I should—had not Providence taken me out of this wicked world, and delivered me from the pride of my young heart. From my earliest youth, fear has been a feeling utterly unknown to me. I know not what it is, and unless from the knowledge one gathers from common report, I know not what it is like. Impelled by an ambition which I well remember filled me at times in the days of my youth, I would very probably have applied myself to the task of mastering a laborious but exalted profession, and, stimulated by an indomitable spirit within, I'd have worked my way to distinction, and perhaps glory. If forsaken by the good God, and delivered over to the pride and ambition of an untamed heart, I might have carried all before me in this life. Unconscious of ever experiencing the least fear in any ordeal, I should have made myself feared, by challenging to deadly combat every individual who crossed my path, I would have killed somebody, or somebody would have killed me; but God, in his infinite mercy, preserved me from the rock upon which I might have been eternally wrecked." And then, quoting St. Augustine, he added: "Too late have I known thee, O infinite Beauty, too late have I loved thee!" "You seem, at least, to have the fear of God," said the Priest. "Even of God," continued the Bishop, "I am not in sufficient fear. I have probably too much confidence in His mercies; but as He did not give me the faculty of fear, I suppose I am not accountable."

Dr. Doyle, meanwhile, worked with vigour and efficiency in order to neutralize those persecuting clauses of the Bill which aimed at the suppression of religious Orders in Ireland. He drew up a petition to "the Lords spiritual and temporal in Parliament assembled," to which after his own signature was added that of every priest in the diocess of Kildare and Leighlin. The memorialists offered thanks to God, from whom is every good gift, for the prospect of peace and union; but added that they had read with deep affliction such clauses as provided for the gradual extinction of religious Orders by attaching penalties to the making of vows. They submitted that in every country where the Catholic

religion is diffused, the custom of seeking to attain the perfection of a Christian life by the renunciation of property, carnal pleasure, and by the exercise of special obedience, confirmed by vow made to God, has been adopted by considerable numbers of persons; and that any enactment which would render such vows legally criminal, would be restrictive of the liberty with which Christ hath made his people free.

It has been stated that Dr. Doyle entertained a very strong feeling of hostility to the Jesuits. It is pleasant to be able to disprove this assertion by the following extract from his petition: "The establishment of the Jesuits at Clongowes Wood is situated in the diocess of Kildare; and the conduct, character, and pursuits of its members are well known to petitioners. They, therefore, most humbly submit their full and unbiased conviction that the said establishment has rendered, and would, if left undisturbed, continue to render the most signal services to the cause of education; and that the members of it teach no morality which is not sound, inculcate no principles which are not pure, and that their pupils, like themselves, are religious without bigotry or ostentation, and as firmly grounded in loyalty to their Sovereign and attachment to their country as those of any other seminary within His Majesty's dominions." Dr. Doyle, in conclusion, observed, "that the communities which the law threatened with persecution were utterly blameless, and ought, as natural born subjects of the King, to be entitled to the protection of the state." The Bishop forwarded a copy of this document to every Parish Priest in the diocess. Addressing the Very Rev. J. Dunne, he said: "Be pleased to submit the foregoing form of petition to your curates; and if you and they, or any of you approve of the same, you will please to commission me by return of post to have your name or names affixed to it."

The Friars were extremely alarmed for their safety, and anxiously besought Dr. Doyle for aid and advice. The following letter is addressed to the Very, now Right Rev. Dr. O'Connor:

"Carlow, 23rd March, 1829.

"VERY REV. DEAR SIR—It occurs to me that if I can render you any service through my friends in Parliament, I can do it much more effectually by private letter than by an introductory one; and you will, I hope, concur in this opinion when you reflect with me that the introductions you want may be extensively obtained through Mr. O'Connell, who will doubtless be very anxious to attend to a matter so interesting to religion, and in which his friend, the Rev. Mr. L'Estrange, is so deeply concerned. E. M'Donnell is also in London. He knows every person, and is

as devoted a Connaughtman (the country of the Religious) as our friend M'Dermott himself. Then as to the presentation of the petition in the Commons; it should, I think, be entrusted to some member who could bear testimony to the good conduct of the Regulars. I would prefer Sir N. Colethurst, or Hutchinson of Cork; they are friends, but not partisans of the Catholics, and represent a city where Friars are numerous. If not these, then Henry Grattan or Mr. Rice, for the latter reason.

In the Lords, if you could prevail, as I think you could, on the Duke of Sussex or the Bishop of Norwich to take charge of the petition, they are of all others the persons likely to obtain for it a respectful consideration; but on these matters be guided by Mr. O'Connell when you are in London. You may rely on it I will not neglect doing all in my power to serve you best when forwarding our own petition, in the time and mode most fitted to the end in view.—With best compliments to all your holy brethren, I, who am the least of them, remain &c., "✠ J. DOYLE."

Of Dr. Doyle it may be said, that his name, like an impenetrable ægis, spread its saving influence over the religious Orders in Ireland, and protected them from the fatal stroke of legal proscription. Lord Clifden, in presenting the petition to the House of Lords, on the 1st April, 1829, said: "It was signed by one of the best and most honest men in his Majesty's dominions, than whom he believed there was not, either in the House or out of the House, a man who more ardently wished for the peace of Ireland, the security of this kingdom, and the general prosperity of the empire—he meant Dr. James Doyle, the R. C. Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin. He was sorry that such a clause was inserted, for it disfigured one of the most useful and beneficial bills which ever came before Parliament." The Rev. Dr. O'Connor proceeded to London, as Dr. Doyle had suggested, and obtained an interview with the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel, who assured him that the portion of the Act having reference to the Regular Clergy could only be enforced by the Attorney General; a contingency which they believed would never take place.

Meanwhile, Lords Sidmouth and Eldon were labouring in the royal closet to shape to their purpose the vacillating temper of the King. Mr. Twiss, in his "Life of Lord Eldon," prints an interesting narrative of interviews between George IV. and his ex-chancellor. The King bitterly complained of the pressure which had been brought to bear on him by the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Peel, and compared his position to that of a person with a pistol presented to his breast. The Ministers had threatened to resign, and, as no persons seemed willing or competent to succeed

them, he was coerced to exclaim, "Go on." Previous to this reluctant permission, the King had petulantly dismissed his Ministers, and for twenty-four hours after the Relief Bill had been launched there was no administration.

Dr. Doyle's efforts to get "the wings" amended and modified were successful to a considerable extent. There was one amendment, however, suggested by Lord Londonderry, a notorious opponent of the Catholic claims, which, it is hardly necessary to say, did not meet the Bishop's approbation. He alludes to it in the following letter to Sir H. Parnell:

"Carlow, 30th March, 1829.

"My dear Sir—I am greatly obliged to you for the letter and the copy of the bill which you did me the honour of sending to me; and still more for the attention you were pleased to pay to my late tedious communication. Your labours in the Commons will, I hope, have ended before this arrives in London; but the anxiety we all feel must continue till the measure which excites it will have been disposed of in the Lords. If the amendment in the Franchise Bill, as threatened by Lord Londonderry, were to be adopted, I should be strongly tempted to coalesce with the Brunswickers, and labour to defeat both measures. I would, without any doubt, greatly prefer your own opinion of the clause in the oath—and the other matters in the Relief Bill which I noticed—to that of Mr. Blake, or of those who rely on the imperfection of the measure now in progress as a pledge of its future amendment. The phraseology, perhaps, is not such as to be proof against the ingenuity of lawyers; but the meaning and intent of the Act, to which an honest man ought to look more than to the letter, are sufficiently plain. I am quite certain that the words "any privilege to which I am or may become entitled," embrace not only those conceded by the bill, but all and every civil privilege; nor have I any objection to the oath in its right meaning, but it would have been satisfactory to have that right meaning explicitly set forth. I do not think with Mr. Blake on the clause respecting the Catholic custom at funerals; nor do I know of any thing after the Act passes likely to produce collision, but that clause, for the men who of all others are most likely to quarrel—the holy ones of both Churches—are those interested in it. Mr. Blake, wholly intent on the success of the measure, has not time to notice these trivial defects. We have petitioned the Lords in favour of the Regulars. I sent the petition to Lord Clifden, and explained to him all I know about them. Having myself once belonged to them, I know how harmless they are, and feel extremely their threatened extinction.—Ever, my dear sir, &c.,

"✠ J. Doyle."

The Bishop, amid all this stirring excitement, and overwhelming pressure of correspondence with the influential and exalted, had yet time to commune and sympathise with the lowly. Writing to a nun, the 4th of April, 1829, he says:

"My dear Child—I am deeply affected by the account you give me of our dear Catherine. I know not whether I ought to wish her continuance in life, as the end of it would be the commencement of her eternal bliss. Nevertheless, we cannot divest ourselves of pain, viewing her separation from us. I think she will recover; but may God's will, which is her sanctification, be accomplished.

"I feel very sensibly the protracted illness of Reverend Mother; but what increases my regret is the conviction I feel that she has, if not created, at least continued and aggravated her disease by thinking of herself, as 'if by thinking she could add a cubit to her stature.' Do *you*, dear child, when you are disengaged, encourage her to divest herself of care in those things which depend on God, and do not, by a mistaken condescension indulge in conversing with her when duty requires that you should be otherwise occupied. I hope your anxiety about those who are so dear to you will not impair your own health. Mamma will go see you on to-morrow."

The poor girl died within the next few days. Dr. Doyle, full of compassion, writes:

"My very dear Child—Mr. Wall affords me an opportunity of writing to you, of which I gladly avail myself—not more to indulge my own wish than to seek to afford you some relief under the affliction, with which it has pleased our Father who is in heaven to visit you, in separating from you her whom you loved so much. We cannot fail to rejoice in the mercy and predilection shown to our beloved Catherine, whom God has brought to Himself, unhurt by the world; but this gratitude which we owe to Him cannot in you fail to be attended with profound sorrow, nor do I wish you should not feel sensibly the separation which has been made of two minds and two hearts united from infancy by the most tender attachment; what I hope is, my dear Ellen, that being assured, as indeed I am, of the secure and permanent happiness of our dear Catherine, you will think more of it, and of the Lord who conferred it, than on the pleasure you derived from her society and the loss you sustain by her removal. Do not be anxious that God would confer a like favour on yourself, for we ought not to be anxious about anything. He is kind and merciful to us all; but the special favours He confers on some, whilst He requires of

us to labour in His service, ought only to induce us to bless His holy name, to praise Him in His saints, and to apply ourselves with increased diligence to execute the task assigned to ourselves. When St. Peter asked our Lord, what he willed with regard to John, our Saviour said to him: 'What is that to thee? do thou follow me,' that is, 'I have given to you your own task, to fast, to pray, to preach, to labour, to live long in trials and afflictions, and to close your career by an ignominous death; attend to that duty, which is your portion, the reward of your extraordinary faith and love; but as to John, don't concern yourself about him, I will provide for his happiness, as becomes my love for him.' Peter wished that John should be the companion of his own labours, and share with him the glory of serving their common master, but He who came 'to send not peace but the sword,' to separate the son from the father, and the daughter-in-law from the mother-in-law, He would not permit that the merit of His two chosen disciples should be lessened, or their virtue dimmed in its brightness by the indulgence of that affection which grows and encreases in society. Perhaps, my dear Ellen, that our Lord, who regards with infinite love and care the most unworthy of His servants, has taken from you a friend, who would have divided your affections and her own, had she remained—and whilst He provided for *her* happiness, prolonged *your* pilgrimage only that you might labour in his service, and deserve, in the fullness of time, a crown of glory proportioned to your merits and to the riches of his grace. Praise God, my dearly beloved child, with your whole heart; do not envy Catherine, but imitate her simplicity—her meekness—her zeal to do the will of God in obedience. When grief for her loss surprises you, indulge it calmly for a moment, and then offer your heart to God, pierced with grief, and say, 'Thy will be done!' In doing so you will offer to Him a most acceptable sacrifice, and you will be strengthened to renew your labours in His service."

Some more welcome news soon reached Dr. Doyle. It is interesting to find a Protestant Peer addressing him with the courtesies due to episcopal rank; while the present Bishop of Exeter was cavilling with a Catholic journal for applying the words, "his Grace the Most Rev. Dr. Murray"* to that venerable Prelate:

"London, 5th April, 1829.

"My dear Lord—I ought sooner to have acknowledged and thanked you for your letter of the 27th of March. The petition I received and presented on Wednesday last. I said a few words in support of its prayer. I could have said more, but I was dis-

* Dr. Philpotts "On the Coronation Oath," p. 265.

suaded, lest enemies should suspect the unjust and obnoxious clauses were not severe enough, and try to make them more so. I think on reading them attentively, and by talking to others on the subject, that they cannot be made effectual to oppress those who so little deserve to be injured. We have had three long debates on the all-important Bill on Thursday and Friday nights, and yesterday we met at one o'clock in the day punctually, and the debate went on for ten hours. We divided at eleven o'clock, and had a triumphant majority—217 for the bill, 112 against it. We were—147 present, and 70 proxies; they had 79 present, and 33 proxies—of these we had nine Bishops present, and one proxy. They had sixteen Bishops present, and four proxies. . . . I think we may now congratulate ourselves that, after 271 years of injustice and insult, from 1558, the Catholics will, at length, enjoy equal rights with their Protestant fellow-subjects; 'tis a great and happy event. I could say much, but I will not trouble you with what is so obvious; this I will say, however, that I almost doubt if there is one Catholic who rejoices more truly and entirely than I do in this great act of justice and wisdom.

"Believe me, my dear Lord, with real respect and regard, yours very sincerely,

"CLIFDEN.

"P.S.—Lord Grey's speech, if you have leisure, is worth reading. It was certainly one of the best, most eloquent, and powerful I ever heard, after sitting forty-six years in four different houses of parliament. Lord Plunket was admirable, excellent, argumentative, strong; it is also well worth reading. Nothing could be more feeble than your adversaries."

Henry Welbore Ellis, Viscount Clifden, the writer of the foregoing letter, belonged to a family which had discharged the duties of some of the highest official employments, under the Irish Government. His Lordship was born on the 22nd of January, 1761, and married, in 1792, Catherine, eldest daughter of George, Duke of Marlborough. Previously to the death of his father, he for several years represented Kilkenny in the Irish Parliament. From 1793 to 1802, he had a seat in the English House of Commons, for Heytesbury; and was thus, perhaps, the only person who had sat consecutively in four different houses of Parliament. Lord Clifden died, on the 13th of July, 1836. He uniformly took a prominent part on all questions affecting the interests of Ireland. Fisher, in his "National Portrait Gallery," has given a striking likeness of his Lordship, and asserts, what is sufficiently well known, that "his style in speaking is straightforward and to the purpose."

Within the next few days, Dr. Doyle had the honour of receiving, from the royal donor, a copy of the Duke of Sussex's speech on the Catholic question, beautifully bound in green morocco, and spangled with golden shamrocks. Inscribed in gold letters on the cover is "Augustus Frederick, to the Right Rev. Dr. Doyle;" while a fly-leaf records, in the Duke's autograph, his friendly feeling for the Bishop. Dr. Doyle's correspondence with his Royal Highness is, unhappily, not within our reach.

It would appear that, almost up to the last moment, the King's views on the great question were painfully vacillating. Mr. M'Cullagh relates an anecdote of the Premier, who, having been engaged in his study at Stratfieldsaye until an advanced hour of the morning, was disturbed, shortly before daybreak, by the unexpected arrival of Lord Lyndhurst, with the news that his Majesty's sanction had been withdrawn. The Duke at once hurried to Brighton, and tendered his resignation; but when the veteran advisers of the monarch were called upon to form a cabinet of resistance, they shrunk from the desperate attempt as vain. The King at last overcame his scruples and prejudices. Sir Henry Parnell, writing to Dr. Doyle, on the 13th of April, observes: "My dear Lord—I have the exceedingly great gratification of telling you that the royal assent was given this day to the Catholic Relief Bill." Lord Eldon mourned at the intelligence; "after all I had heard in my visits," he bitterly writes, "not a day's delay!"

CHAPTER XXIX.

Joy at the achievement of Emancipation—"Free without a crime or a tear"—Dr. Doyle aids the O'Connell Tribute—His visit to Ulster, and to the remains of Oliver Plunkett—His address to the new ten-pound freeholders on the solemnity and obligation of their oath—Correspondence on the law of Charitable Bequests—Vicariate correspondence—Letter on the formation of a national literary institute—He procures the appointment of Dr. Kinsella as Bishop of Ossory—The consecration—His advice to the young Bishop—He predicts the future episcopal distinction of some young Priests—Death of a favourite pupil—The epitaph—Biographical notice of an eccentric Prelate—Curious episode and correspondence—A rescript from Rome slighted—A sudden death—Angry differences between the Seculars and Regulars—Correspondence—Letter to a Nun—Difficulty of obtaining a Plenary Indulgence—Proposed check upon infanticide—Letter on the approaching death of his brother—Letter to Mariana.

THE feeling of jubilee which prevailed was exuberant and intense; but there was not a particle of vulgar triumph publicly manifested. The illuminations, which in the first glow of exultation had been projected, were with singular delicacy relinquished.

Privately, however, much honest jubilation found expression. An idea may be formed of it from the following eloquent remarks of Monsignore Meagher, which are now first transcribed from the original document: "Gracious Lord, not only intolerance is struck dumb—not alone the ruling passions stand awe-struck and confused—not alone mistaken princes, who had registered in heaven vows of deathless opposition to our claims, have vanished from the earth at thy call—not alone the chains of bondage are shattered, and measures of justice dealt out ample and complete; but, as if by a miracle of that Providence which sets all human calculation at defiance, the very rulers who had spent years in defeating the people's rightful hopes thou didst take into thy hands, and bend them into the instruments whereby these hopes were at length accomplished; and they who never bent to mortal man before—the conquerors by whom legions were vanquished and empires overthrown—bowed at thy command before the might of a united country—united for justice, for freedom, and for thee. Oh! illustrious Doyle, these works are in a chief degree the fruits of thy genius, and eloquence, and toils. *Per quam libera turba sumus;* by whom we are free, and free without either a crime or a tear. Let other nations point to fields of carnage, our's is the purer and better fame."

Dr. Doyle arrogated to himself no merit; he claimed no share in the honour of the victory. On the 25th of April, we find him enclosing £10 to the committee of the O'Connell tribute, and requesting that his name might be added to it. O'Connell's services, he said, to the great and sacred cause of civil and religious liberty were far too great to be adequately requited.

Three days later, we find Dr. Doyle preaching the consecration sermon in the new Catholic Church of Newry. "There were thirteen Bishops present," writes Mr. Hanna, "including Drs. Kelly and Crolly, successively Primates; and I well remember that during the delivery of the sermon, which I considered to be characterised by chastened eloquence, Dr. Crolly never for a moment withdrew his eagle gaze from the features of J. K. L., whilst Dr. Kelly sat with bent head and crossed arms, never casting a glance at the preacher. After the services of the day were over, I saw Dr. Doyle pacing alone through the church-yard, his figure slightly stooped, his head down, and wrapped in thought, and his hands grasped in each other behind his back."

On his way home, he visited the Sienna Convent, Drogheda, chiefly with a view to see the head—still preserved there—of Archbishop Oliver Plunkett, who was decapitated and embowelled in 1681. Dr. Doyle entertained the strongest admiration for the memory and character of the martyred Primate, and, unable to

suppress the emotions which crowded upon him, he threw himself on his knees to venerate the relic, even although the Church forbids such demonstrations except to the ashes of beatified persons. Dr. Doyle felt that if Oliver Plunkett was not canonized, he ought to have been. The author has seen the relic in question. The features are perfect, though withered, and a portion of the face is blackened, but not consumed by a fire into which the head had been thrown after decapitation. The Prioress speaks of the extreme edification which the nuns received from Dr. Doyle's saintly manners and deportment during the remainder of his visit to the Sienna Convent.

He wrote, partly along the route homewards, a pastoral letter on the new ten-pound freeholder's qualification oath, which was read from every altar in the diocess on his return. The object of it was to excite anew, within the humblest freeholders, a lively horror of perjury. He reminded them that the sin was great and grievous, because it offended against the property of God, the interests of society, and the salvation of the soul for which Christ died. "He who commits perjury calls upon Almighty God to witness a lie, and thus dishonours the name and sanctity of the Lord. The perjurer also offends against all the interests of society; for law is maintained, persons and property secured, justice enforced, and crime punished, by bearing testimony to the truth; and he who commits perjury, or swears falsely, defeats, as far as in him lies, all those just and salutary purposes." Dr. Doyle forcibly explained, that the man who professes to declare the truth, and presses the Gospel to his lips while concealing it, pronounces his own sentence, and damns by anticipation his own soul. To save a brother from bondage, to deliver a father from death, to preserve a mother from shame—nay, to avert the ruin of the whole world, it is not lawful to tell a lie; but to lie on oath is a crime too hideous for the mind to conceive, or for language to express.

Dr. Doyle remarked that many of the freeholders in Ireland—some of them through ignorance—had heretofore committed the crime of perjury. "The rich," as the Apostle James expresses it, "the rich oppressed them by might; they drew them before the judgment seats, they blasphemed the good name that is invoked upon them, by tempting them, and suborning them to commit perjury; but these freeholders, however tempted and suborned, yet if they swore falsely, they committed sin, and are reproved by the law of God as transgressors. Take warning, then, beloved brethren, from evils which have occurred, which are notorious, which have been turned against the perpetrators of them, and which the justice of heaven, perhaps, employed to punish even

the innocent with the guilty; for the whole class of freeholders amongst whom these perjuries were committed, have been stripped of their privileges. Only a few days more, and their vices, and their virtues, and their names will be forgotten for ever."

The Hon. H. Parnell, in a communication to the author of this work, expresses a fear that but few letters from Dr. Doyle would be found among the papers of his late father, Lord Congleton, as it was a practice with that peer to destroy all letters unless those of very particular importance. A search having been kindly made at the request of the author, a most voluminous collection of Dr. Doyle's letters turned up. Lord Congleton's high opinion of Dr. Doyle may be inferred from this fact. Among his papers is a letter endorsed "Dr. Doyle's opinion of me." The writer is the late Mr. W. Maher: "I went to Maryborough on Tuesday," he writes, "to visit Dr. Doyle, who held a conference with his Priests there. After the conference, he told us all that we owed you a debt of gratitude we never should forget, and never could repay. He said your labours were incessant; putting questions that you knew would be of use, cross examining our enemies, by your writings and arguments securing many friends. In short, gentlemen, said he, if I possessed the talents of Mr. Brougham, with my own anxiety for our cause, I protest, were I in his place, I do not think I could do more."

Sir H. Parnell did not forget Dr. Doyle's letter to him so far back as the year 1819, on the unsatisfactory state of the law of charitable bequests.

"London, 18th May, 1829.

"My dear Lord—In the committee on the Irish annual grants, I hope I have made some progress in getting the matter of charitable bequests placed on a more satisfactory footing. I got the committee to examine Mr. O'Connell; and the result was, a resolution, unanimously agreed to, to recommend the alteration of the law which establishes the commissioners. The declared intention of the committee, in recommending this alteration, was, that a new commission should be appointed, half of which should be at least laymen and some of them Catholics; and also some of the clerical part to be Catholics.

"I endeavoured to have it recommended that the power of prosecution should be taken away; and I think that if the Catholic Bishops will apply to the Lord Lieutenant after the session of Parliament, and when they can refer to the report of the committee, they will succeed in getting their powers limited to give information to the Attorney-General of concealed legacies. We are to have Mr. O'Connell this evening. I have hopes he will succeed.—Believe me, &c.,

"H. Parnell."

The Bishop promptly replied:

"Carlow, 25th May, 1829.

"My dear Sir—What has been done in the matter of Catholic bequests is of great value, and if acted on in the manner you anticipate will be productive of considerable advantage. I received, lately, five hundred pounds, confided to me for the purpose of promoting education, but which was upon the point of being sent to Rome, after having been rescued by the ingenuity of some lawyers from the commissioners. I might now appropriate this money, so that the fulfilment of this trust depends, as in numberless other cases, on the integrity of an individual. We are now in danger of losing a very valuable holding in the Queen's County, leased to a Parish Priest who died suddenly and intestate a few months past; and though the landlord declares the lease was intended by his father as made in trust, yet we are exposed to lose the holding, though improved by the parishioners. There is another case actually pending, where a legacy left by Mrs. Butler, late of Paris, and designed to build and endow a school in the county, is liable to be litigated by those commissioners. So that if you succeed in reforming the law of 1800, you will remedy one of those practical evils of which we have been so long complaining in vain. This matter, however, is small compared with the annual Parliamentary grants for education and charitable cases in Dublin. They vex and disturb the whole country, and exhibit the Government in every parish in Ireland as hostile to the religion of the bulk of the people.—Ever, &c.,

"✠ J. Doyle."

The foregoing allusion to "education" had hardly dropped from Dr. Doyle's pen, when he received the following note from his Vicar, the late Rev. Dr. Dunne: "I avail myself of the earliest vacant moment, in order to communicate to your Lordship the subject of a conversation I had with Lord P—— the day before yesterday, respecting the parish chapel of E——. In a kind of private and confidential manner (allowing me at the same time to commune with my Bishop and assisting Clergy), he tells me 'tis his wish, if possible, to have the chapel removed to another site, not exceeding half-a-quarter of a mile from the present, which he would build at his own expense, together with a suitable school-house in connexion, and ground to the extent of double what we are possessed of already, or more if wanted for burials. Astounded at such a rare instance of liberality, particularly in this land of prejudice, I scarcely knew how to express my gratitude; but if ever I was capable of making a graceful bow you may be sure I showed off on that occasion. On reading over this letter, I feel inclined to crave your indulgence for the, perhaps, too familiar

manner in which I have written. From former kind interestedness in regard to my state of health, I know it will not give you pleasure to hear that I am not better."

"Carlow, 1st June, 1829.

"My Very Rev. and dear Sir—I was gratified by the receipt of your letter. What regards your health is not the least interesting, though not the most gratifying part of it. I have no doubt the physicians whom you mean to consult will recommend to you a trial of the waters of Cheltenham; and if so, do, I pray you, attend to their advice. We will endeavour to manage our affairs in your absence as well as we can.

"The proposition lately made to you is indeed extraordinary. I wish heartily the disposition which you suppose prompted it had taken a different direction; but, as it is, good may result from it. I would rather have our present chapel than any one to be built in lieu of it, for I fear that when the plan and estimates of one equally spacious and convenient are submitted to the noble Earl he may hesitate, and perhaps in the end leave it to be completed by the people, or fall into bad temper on the subject.

"Pray convince his Lordship that, before you open the subject to the people, it is necessary you should have a formal communication from his Lordship, to be read to them, wherein his benevolent intention towards them should be so expressed as to be obvious to all that a great benefit would result to the public from the contemplated changes; as otherwise it would be in vain to attempt to induce them freely to relinquish a place of worship and burial endeared to them severally, even more than their own homes. Also, that the new building should be entirely completed before the present would be abandoned, and the graves to remain undisturbed."

A few weeks later, he writes to the same Priest:

"I infer from your late letter to the Vicar-General that your health is improved. I am sincerely glad of it, but hope you will continue to attend to its perfect re-establishment. Should you go to England, perhaps you might obtain from the rich and generous friends of Ireland in that country some aid in liquidation of the debts which are due to yourself and your parishioners, on account of your new chapel. I know of few things which would be so gratifying to me as your being enabled to fulfil speedily the engagements which yourself and your excellent poor people have entered, with a view of promoting the solemnity of divine worship, and the improvement of public morality. I pray God to bless and preserve you, and to prosper your efforts in his service."

The formation of a national literary institute for the extension

of science to all classes of Irish youth, had long been a cherished object with Dr. Doyle; but not until the year 1829 were his views fully unfolded on the subject. A short letter of his, recommending the establishment of a model school, had attracted general attention two years previously. He now addressed a pamphlet—specially devoted to the discussion of the question—to Daniel O'Connell: "The many testimonies of approbation, and even assurances of support," he writes, "which I myself received from men of exalted rank, of different religious persuasions, and of still more different political views, could not fail to convince me that in Ireland few things would be regarded more favourably than a well directed effort to establish firmly, and diffuse widely a scientific education. There are few undertakings of any magnitude in which men engage which are not doomed to encounter delays and meet with difficulties; and if the institution, for the establishment of which those interested have already experienced and still calculate on your support, be liable to meet with only such impediments as have till now occurred, its success will realize their most sanguine hopes; and yet, if it can be accomplished, a greater good will, in my opinion, be prepared for Ireland than is likely to result from any other of the numerous projects undertaken of late years for her advantage. A bold peasantry, 'tis true, is a nation's strength and pride; but an educated people will be free, and bold, and opulent. The country possessed by such a people will have within her a fund of virtue, of invention, of energy, and power, which never can be exhausted. Hence we find that all those great men who created empires, organised governments, framed useful laws, and, as it were, founded on a firm basis public morality and divine worship, considered the establishment of literary institutions as the glory of their age, and the most lasting advantage conferred by them upon their people. Free cities and republics identified with their very constitutions the encouragement of the arts, and of those sciences on which the arts themselves depend. And why not? for how can liberty be secure, conquests or discoveries made, commerce extend herself and flourish, or how can religion be enlightened, pure or undefiled, unless science diffuse her lights, and compel men to exchange their animal propensities for the holy pleasures?"

Dr. Doyle complained that Ireland, with eight millions of inhabitants, possessed but one University, and that four, at least, would be required. The religious tests and exclusions of the existing University were, he submitted, a libel upon its very name; for a University to be such, should not confine its advantages to any particular class. She should not—whatever her system of instruction might be—devote herself almost exclusively, as ours

had done, in preparing a limited number of gentlemen for the learned professions, or close, practically, her doors against the middling classes of the people.

So far back as the year 1768, some persons of distinguished position assembled to deliberate on a scheme not dissimilar from that to which Dr. Doyle now directed public attention. They saw how destitute of education the country had been rendered by barbarous wars and still more barbarous laws. They deliberated about founding an institution where science and the arts should be taught; and they adopted for this purpose a plan submitted to them by Joseph Fenn; "a man," observed Dr. Doyle, "not less distinguished by his mathematical and philosophical knowledge, than for his misfortunes. Yes, his misfortunes; for Fenn was a mere Irishman, a Catholic, and a Jesuit! And he, notwithstanding all his deserts, was consequently persecuted till he became deranged, and ended his days in a lunatic asylum. Yes, Fenn, who in pagan Greece or Rome, or in almost any civilized nation, would have deserved a statue from the chisel of a Phidias, was persecuted in Ireland, his own country, which he enriched with his labours, adorned with his knowledge, but on which his privations and sufferings reflect no small disgrace. But the noblemen and gentlemen who assembled in 1768, influenced by the example set them by the law which ignored the existence of the bulk of the people, consulted principally, if not exclusively, for the higher classes; or if they did not, the Dublin Society—which they founded under the direction of Fenn, and agreeably to the plan which he submitted to them—has, like the other institutions of the country, failed to diffuse extensively the advantages of a scientific education. I do not know whether that institution ceased to be popular only when it became connected with the government, and touched its gold; but I know that, since I have been acquainted with Dublin, the advantages resulting from it to the mass of the people have been by no means proportioned to those which such an institution would be expected to afford."

Dr. Doyle argued, that no man can love his neighbour as he loves himself who would not exert all the means within his reach to give to every youth of genius and talent, how humble soever his sphere, or narrow his circumstances, the power of advancing in knowledge, and of increasing, for his own and the public welfare, those gifts of nature which might otherwise remain always buried in obscurity, or become powerful, if at all exerted, only to waste and to derange.

The Bishop was anxious "To work the immense mine of human talent which lies buried in Ireland, to separate the fine ore from the baser metals which encompass it, to bring it forth, and enrich

by it's aid not only this country, but every country on the habitable globe. Our ancestors once peopled Scotland; they afterwards civilised it, and taught it to believe in one only true God. These Scots became a people equally signalised for their virtues and their crimes, but since education, in these latter ages, subdued their fiercer passions, they cultivated literature, so that 'their staple commodity was said to be learning, and their chief export to be learned men." Thus, trade enriched them, their bravery and determination had already made them free. Let us learn from these, our descendants, not how to change the barren moor into a meadow, or fertilise the mountain—for nature has exempted us from this unwholesome toil—but to cultivate our talents, to educate our people, to acquire and secure our freedom, and to possess in peace and security the abundance with which our country teems; let it be our object not to export learning for gain, or send forth the needy scholar to forage India or the Cape for gold, but let us call forth from wheresoever he may be found, the Apostle to carry the lights of religion to him that is in darkness; the philosopher to guide the councils of nations; the men of letters to occupy the seats of learning, as we did formerly throughout Europe, and to confer thereby blessings upon states and empires. We need not, however, ascend to such hopes and views as these, in order to conceive a strong desire of providing for every class of our people the means of acquiring a scientific education. The amount of the sum necessary for this purpose, as well as the number and class of persons to whom the work to be undertaken ought to be confided, are subjects deserving the most serious attention. The persons to be selected for this purpose should obviously be few in number, (for union always, and generally wisdom, is found rather in a few, than in many counsellors;) but they should be men of science, of zeal, of unblemished reputation, and possessing the confidence of the public. To these men I would commit the privilege of deliberating on the subject in question, of estimating the amount of the grant to be made for building, of determining as to the city or town in which the institution should be founded, of procuring a site for the building, of approving of a plan of the same, and engaging with an architect and builder for the erection of it."

Dr. Doyle suggested that the very considerable sum of money remaining in the hands of the ex-Catholic Association might, very properly, be applied to the support of an institution created by the wants and existing only for the support of the country at large. "If then," he continued "all of us who dwell in Ireland, and whose fame, and fortune, and interests, and affections are indissolubly connected with the country of our birth—are truly anxious

to contribute something towards laying the foundation of her future welfare, we should not overlook the means we have of doing so, by opening to all her children the living fountains of knowledge, and rendering those fountains accessible to all. The Heathen said, in the pride of his heart: '*Hæc sat est orare jovem, det vitam, det opes, equam mi annimum ipse parabo.*' 'Let the gods give length of days and wealth, and I will myself amass the riches of the mind;' but let us say: 'If Providence confer on Ireland peace, and industry, and equal laws, we will secure to her, by the diffusion of science, whatever is necessary to render her—to use the words so often quoted by yourself—

> 'Great, glorious, and free,
> The first flower of the earth,
> And first gem of the sea.'

"But let not the group confound us—let us take a single captive and view him in this prison of the soul, incapable almost of counting, by notches, the days of his captivity. Let us view him seated amidst the ruins of one of his ancient cities, on the site of some decayed temple, amazed at the lofty grandeur of its mouldering arches, but ignorant, perhaps, that the very soil existed a century before. But let him only be made acquainted with the history of his country—let her heroes, her saints, and her sages pass in review before his enraptured imagination—let the chiding spirit of one of her orators point out to him the mighty wreck of his country, and the gloomy melancholy will confer more real pleasure than the sceptre of a monarch could bestow: but the effects will not stop here; he will be aroused from his lethargy—he will vindicate his own rights and those of his country, or enrich her with the produce of his labour or his art.

"Such then," he concluded "is a summary of the thoughts which for some time have occupied my mind on the subject of an improved system of education in Ireland. I thought it right to offer them to you, and through you to submit them to the country. Their adoption would give me pleasure, the substitution of other and better views in their place, would afford me still more satisfaction. Should they fail to attract notice, on account of the distracted state of the country, I shall not feel pain or disappointment, for I will still hope that they may be thought of at some future period more favourable to the purpose for the advancement of which they have been written: but whether at present, or at any other time, when my most anxious co-operation could be useful to the friends of education, I will always be happy to lend it, and then, as now, will feel but one regret, that I am prevented, by a want of means and of time, from bestowing something worthy of

public acceptance to the promotion of science, and the advancement of human knowledge."

It should not be inferred from this philosophical and striking pamphlet (which filled fifty octavo pages), that Dr. Doyle was a strong advocate for a system of Education which failed to include the important element of religion. His opinions upon the manner in which religious instruction should pervade and hallow education are clearly set forth in an address to his people, in which he gives directions for the fitting up of schools: "In all those schools religion shall be the first and last occupation of the child—to raise his pure hands to heaven; as it is the first duty assigned him by his Creator, so shall it be the groundwork of all the instruction he may receive. Religion shall not be banished like some dangerous infection from our schools. The child shall not be taught to hide the summary of the law of God, to commune with heaven by stealth, to deceive some petulant inspector, and shield his piety by a lie. No; in our schools religious instruction shall be the basis of education, and this religious instruction will embrace whatever can contribute to mould the heart to virtue, to subdue the passions, to regulate the affections, and prepare the mind of the child for that world full of danger, into which, on leaving school, he is obliged to enter."

The Rev. William Kinsella was a favourite and distinguished pupil of Dr. Doyle. This priest, in June, 1829, received his appointment to the See of Ossory through the influence of Dr. Doyle. We are glad to be able to assert this fact on unexceptionable authority, for Dr. Doyle has been repeatedly pronounced to have had no influence whatever with the Holy See. Writing to the Rev. Peter Doyle, 1st July, 1829, Dr. Doyle says: "I hope to see you, but not before the approach of winter, for the entire summer and autumn are pre-occupied with business. We are sending your acquaintance, Mr. Kinsella, to Ossory. I hope he will be a good Bishop, as the world gives me credit for obtaining his appointment. Mr. Walshe will tell you how hurried I am, and with what difficulty I find leisure to write you these few lines."

A sister of the late Bishop Kinsella observes: "All the priests of Ossory made a strong resistance when informed that their new Bishop would be one of Dr. Doyle's pupils. A meeting of the clergy was held in the diocess, but they dissolved it on learning that all petitioning or remonstrance was vain, as Dr. Doyle's letter in recommendation of my brother had been accepted by the Pope. Dr. Doyle consecrated him in Kilkenny at the early age of 32. 'Well,' he said, after the ceremonial had concluded, 'I have been placing the uneasy mitre on that poor boy's head.'"

In taking a walk with Dr. Kinsella after his consecration, Dr.

Doyle, amongst other advice, said: "When you act as a Bishop be always in the right, and stand to it." "But what if I be in the wrong?" "No matter—be always in the right."

Dr. Doyle was fond of contemplating Bishops in embryo. He is known to have specially trained several ecclesiastics at Carlow with a view to the episcopacy. Amongst others may be mentioned the Most Rev. Dr. Cullen, Right Rev. Dr. Nolan, the late Right Rev. Dr. Clancy, and the Right Rev. Dr. Walshe. A kinsman of Dr. Doyle, addressing the author, observes: "I often heard my aunt, Mrs. Coney, say that Dr. Doyle told her, shortly after the ordination of Dr. Walshe, that he would wear the mitre."*

As prudent men generally like to hear prophecies before their verification, we may add that "Mrs. Coney," who mentioned this fact, died several years previous to the appointment of Dr. Walshe to the see of Kildare and Leighlin.

Most of the Priests who studied at Carlow during Dr. Doyle's time have attained not a little distinction. Bishop O'Connor informs us that, in his presence, Dr. Doyle referred to the moral and intellectual gifts of the Rev. Paul Cullen, and prophesied that at a future day he would rise to great and deserved eminence. The gifted Archbishop has not ceased to remember with gratitude Dr. Doyle's early interest in him. His Grace, writing to the author, 2nd December, 1860, observes: "I feel a personal interest in your success. When I was very young, and commencing my studies in Carlow College, I had the happiness of knowing Dr. Doyle, then Professor of Theology in that noble and flourishing Catholic institution, and of enjoying his instructions, and receiving encouragement from his paternal kindness. I would now consider myself ungrateful, indeed, were I not anxious that the memory and the good works of so great a man should be rescued from oblivion and recorded by a skilful hand like yours in the

* The good Bishop was not unmindful of the lively interest which Dr. Doyle took in his moral and scholastic progress. A long and beautiful letter, addressed to the writer of these pages, thus concludes: "I have detained you too long; but the deep interest which I take in the subject will be accepted by you as my apology. Besides the claims which the memory of Dr. Doyle has upon me as an Irishman and a Catholic, there are special reasons which endear his remembrance to me. Well acquainted with him from my childhood, having learned much of what I know from his lips, brought up in the sanctuary under his guidance, having witnessed in his life and in his death his heroic Christian virtues, I should be insensible, not only to his kindness, but also indeed to the inestimable value of intellectual greatness, exalted moral worth, and profound religious sentiment, if I could ever cease to venerate the memory of the great Prelate of Kildare and Leighlin. Your valuable labours will, we expect, be productive of much public benefit. Accept the assurance of our deep and abiding gratitude, and the expression of the esteem and regard with which I am, my dear Sir, yours faithfully.—✠ JAMES WALSHE."

annals of our Church, for the instruction and edification of posterity."

Dr. Doyle, we have heard it alleged, once declared that if God would give him length of days, he should not despair of being able to instruct and educate under his own eye a number of Priests to send on a mission to England. He did not seem to think that the project of bringing back the Anglican Church to the fold of Peter was by any means Utopian. Dr. Doyle had, no doubt, a singularly happy way of engrafting his wisdom and tact on minds with which he came in daily contact; and this remark is evidenced by the intellectual superiority of the Carlow Priests in his day and since.

If Dr. Doyle had the satisfaction of witnessing, in June, 1829, the elevation to the mitre of one of his favourite pupils, he had the sorrow, a month later, of writing the epitaph of another. The following is copied from Mr. Clowry's head stone at Tullow: "To the memory of the Rev. William Clowry, whose talents and virtues came forth with him from his mother's womb, and were cultivated by him with the most assiduous care. His zeal, his eloquence, and polemic writings, placed his name, when he had only arrived at manhood, among the most distinguished in the Church of Ireland. Having administered this parish for nine years, and fulfilled in that short space a long time, he was taken away, 'lest wickedness should alter his understanding, or death beguile his soul.' *Wisd.* chap. iv. 'May he rest in peace.' Obit, A.D. 1829, æt. 35."

The Bishop also wrote an epitaph during this year, on the Very Rev. William Chapman, R. C. Dean of Ferns.

Immediately on his return to Carlow, he conducted the public examinations of the lay students at the College. His address to them appears in the papers of the day. He expressed in conclusion, the satisfaction he felt in knowing that their advancement in science was accompanied by a corresponding improvement in virtue.

During the same month, we find Dr. Doyle in correspondence with the Rev. Dr. O'Connor, O.S.A., who had sought his counsel on the subject of a Preparatory School for young gentlemen, which he projected. Dr. Doyle recommended him to follow exactly the entrance course of Maynooth. "As to the prospectus itself," he added, "it is a common-place thing, of which copies are found every day in the newspapers, and which may be adapted to any particular school *mutatis mutandis*." Dr. Doyle concluded by outlining the course of study for the first, second, and third year. The latter included Irish History.

This correspondence led to the discussion of a much more

interesting subject, with which the late Right Rev. Dr. K——, Catholic Bishop of Waterford, is curiously mixed up. Some account of this divine, by way of preface, may be interesting.

He had been a professor in St. John's Seminary, Kilkenny, and previously the occupant of a chair of theology at Rome. An influential Augustinian named Rice (*vide* v. i. p. 89,) suggested to the President of Propaganda, the names of Dr. Patrick K——, and the Rev. John England, as fit and proper persons to fill the transatlantic sees of Richmond and Carolina. It having been represented to the Pope that the Archbishop of Baltimore's diocess had become too thickly populated for one Prelate effectively to administer, the bulls for the consecration of two suffragans arrived, and Drs. K—— and England proceeded to America. The old Archbishop at once surrendered Carolina to Dr. England, but steadily refused to award a corresponding portion of the diocess to Dr. K——. Word to this effect was sent to the Pope, who, although he possessed the naked right to enforce his decree, yielded, nevertheless, to the wishes of the aged Prelate.

Dr. K——, was accordingly requested to place his episcopal rank in abeyance, and remain in retirement until a vacancy in some other see should occur. Dr. K—— laid down the crozier and resumed the rod. He opened a school in Baltimore, and was much respected as its principal. He discharged his duties zealously, sternly, and well. In 1822, Dr. Walsh, Bishop of Waterford, died; and although the Vicar-capitular forwarded three names for the selection and approval of the Holy See, they were set aside, and Dr. K—— arrived, ready consecrated, in Waterford. His demeanour was haughty, and from the first his appointment may be said to have been unpopular. He was determined, dogmatical, and so habitually self-willed that, as one of his Clergy declared, "he would either carry his point or perish in the attempt." As a churchman he was rigid, occasionally illiberal, sometimes despotic. Erect in deportment, of great muscular strength and colossal proportions, with general attire in keeping with his tight-fitting and shining black silk stockings; erudite, ascetic, and talented, but without much profundity of judgment, Dr. K—— was not unfrequently viewed with feelings of awe, which in some instances grew into cold respect.

It was soon discovered, however, that Dr. K—— possessed the heart of a sterling patriot, and many of those who were at first prejudiced against him became his warm admirers. He was one of the first Prelates who sustained the Catholic Association. The vigorous blow by which the Beresfords—so long the scourge of Ireland—were ousted from Waterford, at the general election of 1826, was planned and inflicted by the Bishop.

Sheil, in moving a vote of thanks to him, observed that he was "a man of high talents and acquirements, of a firm, decided, and manly character, with a bold and inflexible spirit, and something of a republican simplicity of mind." Dr. K—— was a true friend to the people. He once travelled fifty miles out of his road, on one day, in order to procure the title-deeds of two freeholders, who desired to register the following morning for the liberal interest, and whose votes would otherwise have been lost. To tithes and minister's money he was a deadly foe, and consistently resisted the payment of them in his own person. His pertinacity in adhering to a position which he considered to be right, is amusingly illustrated by the fact that he suffered books from St. John's library to be seized; bacon, from the kitchen; and furniture, from the dining-hall, rather than yield one moral inch to his opponents.

These annoyances, combined with a teasing attack of palsy, would sometimes ruffle Dr. K——'s temper to an extent which his best religious and philosophical principles were unable to smooth. Patient of fatigue in pursuing his biennial visitations, and holding frequent conferences with the Clergy, he was often known to ride near forty miles before breakfast. He was a zealous Priest, and an honest patriot. While a curate at Inistiogue, he thoroughly endeared himself to the poor, and not only at this period but after he became a Bishop, his attendance at the bed of sickness was edifying and unflinching.

Until 1815, the Convent and Chapel of the Augustinian Friars of Dungarvan, had been composed of four poor thatched cabins. Dr. Robert Walshe, the then Bishop of Waterford, permitted the Friars to erect a commodious and substantial new Chapel in the town. Before it had been entirely finished the Bishop died, and Dr. K—— succeeded him. Dr. K—— jealously viewed as an intrusion the erection of a new Augustinian Church in Dungarvan, and he enforced his authority so excessively as to nail up the doors of the Chapel for four years; the Augustinians continued quietly to remonstrate with the Bishop, but all to no effect. Dr. K—— was inexorable. He considered the course pursued by "the Regulars" an aggression, and was determined consistently and continuously to resist it. The Friars appealed to their zealous friend, Dr. Doyle, and conjured him to exert his influence with Dr. K——. Dr. Doyle considered that Dr. K——'s opposition was canonically illegal, as the following letter shows.

"Carlow, 30th July, 1829.

"My dear Very Rev. Friend—I admire very much the prospectus and card. I hesitate as to the propriety of exhibiting Greek and Latin as separable from the English education; I

would present them together, and add to Dr. Keating's name, after the word "Bishop"—"of Ferns." This is not against law; 'tis the use or assumption of it by himself which the late Act forbids.

"What you say of Dungarvan obliges me to tell you of my relation with Dr. K ——. He had laboured very much out of his way to procure the appointment of his uncle, Mr. ——, to the See of Ossory. I counteracted his efforts for that purpose, and, doubtless, he imputes to me the disappointment which he has met with. Under these circumstances, if Dr. Kinsella or myself were imprudent enough to interfere in any place or matter within his diocess, he would consider himself injured; and no person knows better how to resent an injury real or supposed. As to the rest, it is right to open the Chapel, but with even less *eclat* than if your doing so was not in virtue of a Roman rescript. I have just returned from Clongowes, where I was assisting, with Dr. Murray, at the annual exhibition or academus."

The Rev. Dr. O'Connor, as Provincial of his Order, wrote to Rome; and the matter having been inquired into, he received a rescript, calling upon Dr. K ——, for the sake of peace and religion, to open and bless the new Church. One day after High Mass, during a visitation of the Bishop to Dungarvan, Dr. O'Connor entered the sacristy as Dr. K —— was unvesting. The Friar respectfully presented the rescript, and asked, "What answer, my Lord, am I to give?" "I shall answer the document myself, sir," replied the Bishop. "My Lord," proceeded Dr. O'Connor, "it is necessary that I, to whom this rescript has been entrusted, should apprize the Holy See of the result. I am sure your Lordship will now see the propriety of amicably yielding a point which for the last five years we have been disputing." "Perhaps the dispute may last five more, sir," replied the Bishop sternly. "This rescript shall be answered by no hand but mine."

To this incident Dr. Doyle thus alludes:

"Carlow, 3rd August, 1829.

"My dear Very Rev. Sir—I am not at all surprised at the result of your interview with Dr. K——, because he is prone by nature to contradiction. It was an entire ignorance of the man's character which led your friends at Rome to hope that he would be led by reasoning to act rightly. I told Mr. Rice in Kilkenny, that even if commanded to open your Chapel, he would not do it. He will never open it for you. If it is to be opened, it must be in virtue of an order addressed to yourself to go there and do it, and I doubt whether you will be able to obtain such order. I suppose the application to Dr. K——, to permit theo pening of the Chapel, was made when some old woman was Provincial; for it

was the most absurd abandonment of right I ever heard of. You were entitled by a Roman rescript, to be found, I think, in Burke, to rebuild your convents, &c., within a league or some such distance of the old site; and if any contrary usage crept in, such usage must have been overrated by the rescript of Hayes, *nondum querelæ;* so that all your difficulties have been created by yourselves; and yourselves having referred this matter to Propaganda thereby relinquished your old right, nor can you now in this case resume it. All, therefore, that remains to you is to plead at Rome, and there the Italian *vederemo* will be pretty nearly the same to you as Dr. K——'s assumption. As to disedification, &c., don't speak of that, for no person minds it when there is question of interest or right; still less will attention be paid to your pecuniary loss.

"If I thought Dr. K—— was a good life, I would, like a man tempted to go into chancery, burn the bond—that is, I would sell the whole concern, and quit Dungarvan; but that you won't do, perhaps, though I might do it, you might not. Your only course is, in my opinion, to importune them at Rome for a rescript to yourself such as above mentioned."

From a passage in the foregoing letter, Dr. Doyle would seem to have a presentiment of Dr. K——'s approaching dissolution. Before the autumn terminated he had fallen with the leaves. Rain came suddenly and heavily on, while Dr. K—— was heading a funeral procession. He was lightly clad, and on his return home he neglected to change his clothes. The cold thus incurred so aggravated the palsy in his neck, that Dr. K—— died, choking, after a few hours' illness. He met the rapid stroke of Death with calmness, and died fortified by the rites of his Church.

Soon after this event, Dr. O'Connor wrote to the Vicar-capitular, Dr. Foran, afterwards Bishop of Waterford, for a reversal of Dr. K——'s decision. Dr. Foran, as the representative of the late Prelate, hesitated to do so. The following letter finishes this curious episode:

"Carlow, 20th October, 1829.

"Very Rev. dear Sir—I regret that you did not let the ashes of Dr. K—— cool, before you applied to the Vicar-capitular for a reversal of the late Prelate's decision. It appears very proper to inform the authorities in Rome of the reply you have received, and to urge again that a commission be directed to yourself to open the chapel. If I wrote to the Cardinal Prefect on the subject, the first step on his part would be to send my letter to the Vicar, require his reply, and thus, besides new delays, I would find myself implicated in an affair not of my own diocess, or even of my own province. This is what I should not relish.

Had you written to me before you applied to Dr. Foran, I would have interceded with him; but now how can the man be led to retract his own opinion officially given? Yet I will write confidentially to him, as he is an old acquaintance of mine; but I hardly expect to succeed. In these circumstances, you will see the necessity of not mentioning my knowledge of the matter; nor will I trouble you on it by letter, unless things be more favourable than I expect: in the meantime you should write to Rome.

"✠ J. Doyle."

The Very Rev. Dr. Foran, convinced of the justice of Dr. Doyle's representation, gave most cheerfully the required sanction, and on the Sunday within the octave of St. Augustine, 1829, the new church was opened for divine service. Dr. Doyle writes: "I am sincerely rejoiced that the affair of your chapel at Dungarvan is so happily terminated, and to have contributed in any way to that termination is to me a subject also of pleasure. But Dr. Foran, from whom I heard at length on the subject some time ago, is a person incapable, I believe, of acting otherwise than becomes a man of sincere piety and great good sense. I always esteemed him as one of the most able and deserving ecclesiastics whom I have known, and his conduct in your business justifies the very good opinion I had of him."

This, and the incident noticed in the following letter, may be said to have closed the angry differences which had so long divided the secular and regular Clergy in Ireland. The Bishop of Limerick desired, among other matters, that the Friars of his diocess should have no privileges beyond the secular Priesthood. He did not wish that the Friars should be at liberty to remain longer away from their convents than Priests from their presbyteries. The Superior of the Augustinians, in an interview with the Bishop, assumed an independence of tone, which gave offence to his Lordship. The following letter is characteristic of Dr. Doyle's justice and impartiality:

"My dear Sir—I think you would find no difficulty in coming to a good understanding with the Bishop. I see nothing in what is reported of the conversation between his Lordship and Mr. C—— that is not indicative of a conciliating mind; and if you were to treat with him, and express, as I think you ought to do, your very great sorrow that any cause of offence had been given to him by any member of your Order, but especially by a Provincial of it, you would not fail to find in him a very paternal feeling towards you.

"For God's sake put strife and appeals to law out of your mind. I never knew of one difference in fifty which might not

be healed by good temper, patience, and address—whilst all the world know that religion has suffered exceedingly from legal differences between Bishops and Regulars.

"The decree of 1751 does not regard Regulars stationed in Convents. Dr. —— seems to recognize this, and let you; on the other hand, declare your full concurence in any diocessan statute which regulates the time and conduct of the regular and secular Clergy in their absence from their respective homes. It is right you should do so, and not seek any exemption, *extra septa monasterii*, for your brethren, to which the secular Clergy are not also entitled. The admonition to the Regulars to attend the workhouse, hospitals, and prisons, is what St. Francis Xavier, were he Bishop, would write and advise, and as to the prohibition to solemnize marriage, administer Extreme-unction, the Eucharist, *per modum viatici*, or in their own churches on Easter day—it is the common law of the Church, of which no Regular complains. In fact there is no difference worth notice between you, and observations on the decree of 1815, or on referring the matter to arbitration are, I think, quite unnecessary. I cannot care whether you show this letter to the Bishop or do not.

"Since I saw you, I have been obliged to adopt an arrangement for the visitation of this diocess different from what I then contemplated; the consequence is, that it would not be within my power to join you on the festival of our great patriarch, St. Augustine. I regret this for many reasons, but especially as I am prevented from testifying, on that occasion, the sincere esteem and cordial affection with which I always have the honor to be your faithful servant in Christ.

"✠ J. Doyle."

This letter elicited a voluminous reply, which Dr. Doyle thus notices:

"Our friend, Mr. Stewart, placed your long letter in my hands. Whatever of it you wrote with a view of exculpating yourself with me from an imputation of acting irreverently towards the Bishop was unnecessary, as I never for a moment supposed you had done so, nor did I think at all on the subject from the time I last wrote to you.

"I know you have been a good deal perplexed, and that your apprehension about your own management of the trust confided to you trouble you; but good humour, address, and an appearance of yielding when passions are opposed to you, would be of great service in dealing with men. I know that the substance of right is very distinct from the *apices juri*, and that a reference to privilege (a thing odious of its nature) is always calculated to beget opposition. Privilege is like a treasure—it ought to be guarded, but never spoken of.

"I mentioned your affair to the Bishop. He desired I would give an opinion, which he would adopt, on the statute in his diocesan regulations to which the Regulars object. Having read the statute, I did so; and my opinion was, that the control over Regulars, assumed by the Ordinary in that statute, was *nil defectu juris*, except in the latter part, wherein there is mention of administering Extreme Unction, the Eucharist, *per modum viatici*, or on Easter Day, as well as blessing marriages. I added, however, that the Bishop had a right to enact for all the Clergy, secular and regular, a statute regulating the time of their absence from the diocess. His Lordship hoped I could have given him the above opinion in writing, but I had not then an opportunity of doing so, nor do I suppose it at all necessary, as his Lordship appeared fully disposed to abide by the laws of the Church, and the application of them, in that case, as made by me."

The following letter to a young Nun was written on the visitation to which the Bishop alludes:

"Mountmellick, 26th September, 1829.

"My dear Child—Though I was rejoiced to receive a letter from you, I am distressed to find by it that your fortitude and constancy are so seriously tried. The timidity and anxiety you feel are in themselves trifling, though they weigh heavily on your tender mind; they are permitted by Him who watches over you, in order to prove at this period the fidelity of your co-operation with the graces you have received. But they are not of that description of defects or dispositions which unfit us for a religious state, and there can be no better reason for your perseverance in that state than your exemption from dispositions different from those you feel. It is an excess of zeal, a desire to do more, and to do it better than you are able, which afflicts you. But God, I trust, will teach you to moderate your desires of good, and to be content to offer Him what He enables you to perform. The omission of prayers of habit or devotion through want of time, or because you were otherwise occupied, is no fault whatever; and your anxiety about the children, and about the trifles in your possession, is only an excess of diligence which seldom or never is tainted with the least sin. The dryness and distraction at prayer is only a passing trial, necessary to purify the soul, but does not take away from the merit of your actions, which are, notwithstanding that trial, made conformable to your rule. Have courage and confidence, my beloved child, for God could not be angry with you for evils which you lament only because they would separate you, in some degree, from Him. His favour will return, and you will yet rejoice in Him. Recollect He told His disciples, 'The world will rejoice, but you will be sad; but I will return, and you will

fill your hearts, and your joy no one will take away from you!' In the Jubilee you are only to do what the Pope prescribes, for God will have obedience, not sacrifice. Continue to pray for me."

During the great Jubilee at Rome, St. Philip Neri was asked how many thousand persons had succeeded in obtaining the benefit of the indulgence. The saint, who was a man divinely inspired, remained silent for a few moments, and at length replied, with more veracity than humility, "Only myself and an old woman." Dr. Doyle knew the extreme difficulty of obtaining a plenary indulgence, and throughout the Jubilee of the year 1829 constantly reminded the repentant sinners who surrounded him that it was not everyone who said "Lord, Lord" that should enter the kingdom of heaven.

Between satisfying the scruples of nuns on the one hand, and gratifying statesmen by an expression of opinion on the other, Dr. Doyle's pen was rarely idle. During his Parliamentary examinations on the state of the Irish poor, of 3rd June, 1830, Dr. Doyle was asked:

"*Q.* Do you think it desirable that a provision should be made and continued by law for deserted children? *A.* That is a subject which formed part of a bill lately introduced by the Right Honourable the noble Secretary of State for our country. I received a copy of that bill, and my opinion of it was sought for. I hesitated before I gave that opinion, but the result was that I would prefer the bill, with very little alteration from its original state, rather than to have no bill; for though I saw it would be an encouragement to vice and immorality upon the part of females, I saw that it would also be a great check upon the part of young men, and I thought it might prevent infanticide.

"*Q.* Do you conceive that the benefit of the check upon infanticide, to which you have alluded, would be commensurate to the mischief that might be created by holding out a premium on desertion? *A.* I believe a politician would be more competent than I am to form a just notion upon the subject. I have such a horror of infanticide, I look upon that crime as so great, so unnatural, tending to harden the heart of the mother, as well as to destroy an infant, and send its soul away from the sight of the Redeemer, that I would leave society open to many evils in order to prevent the committal of such crime, though it were to be committed in only a few cases. I think, therefore, that something of my feelings and peculiar opinions might bias my judgment on this subject. I would not, on this matter, confide in my own opinions, still less would I wish that others should adopt them."

On his return home, Dr. Doyle found among his letters one

from Mrs. Coney, announcing the continued illness, mental and bodily, of his last surviving brother. He thus replied:

"Carlow, 27th September, 1829.

"My dear Mary—I was glad to hear from you, though what you mention of Peter's situation has grieved, nay afflicted me exceedingly. I have all the year past intended to see him about this time, and will, God willing, go down when the Jubilee will have ended here; but then what can I do for him, except to witness the painful state to which he, who in this world is most dear to me, is reduced; comfort has been unknown to him now for many years, and nothing to be said or done by me can procure it for him. I would wish to bring him here and let him end his days with me, where I could watch over him as my heart and duty would dictate; but I have never mentioned this to him, that he did not express his determination to remain and die where he is. I am sure he cannot be destitute of feeling; but his feelings I hope are painful only, when he is excited by the presence of some friend. I will do all in my power to increase the attentions necessary for him. I am now very doubtful whether I shall be able to pass through Wexford; but if I thought it likely that some aid for our building would come from that quarter, I would request of Mr. Nolan or Mr. Cahill, of this College, to go down there about Christmas next and solicit subscriptions.

"The Rev. M—— whom you mention, has been the occasion of many cures being wrought; but I am not sure that your state of health is such as would warrant you an extraordinary interposition of Providence to improve it. If you have lively faith in God, and seek better health only to serve him better, you might be favoured with it; but I would not desire you to leave home for such a purpose. When you are in Ross, you might drive up and pay your devotions in that way; but privately. Tell your mother to read Thomas à Kempis, and pray for her protégé, and to God to direct me. I returned here only on last night, after nearly a month's absence.

"✠ J. Doyle."

In October, 1829, we find his correspondence with Mariana, after a long silence, resumed. Knowing Dr. Doyle's affection for the memory of Catharine, she sent him anonymously some little mementos of that highly-gifted and sanctified woman.

"I received, some days ago," he writes, "a most valuable package of books, prints, and all things else I could desire, except only a letter from the donor; but as I imagine that such and so much kindness could emanate only from you, and that some accident prevented you from telling me with how much feeling and how many tender recollections you deposited those mementos with

me, I will not, in expectation of hearing from you, delay longer to thank you most warmly for such a token of your continued kindness, and do assure you that I will preserve it with a care proportionate to the singular esteem I entertained for her who once possessed them; but these are subjects on which 'tis not good to dwell, if we in earnest strive to die to this world and to live to God. This is not an easy task under any circumstances, but it is made doubly difficult when, leading ourselves into temptation, we either enjoy too much the good we possess, or think too fondly of what has been taken away from us. I hope indeed this Jubilee will wipe away all our trespasses; yours, if you have any recorded against you, will be easily brushed out; and if I could transfer my heavy debts to the old women and brawny men who surround me, from the rising of the sun to the going down thereof, they would never appear in judgment against me—for these good people, by their fervour and good works, seem to have taken possession of all the stores of heaven."

CHAPTER XXX.

Dr. Doyle's acquaintance with and guardianship of the Misses Anderson—Singular episode—Correspondence with Miss Anderson—Alleged supernatural appearance at her death—Anecdote—Letter to Mariana—Rev. Dr. Harold—A literary bequest—Vicariate correspondence—Pastoral Address to the misguided inhabitants of the Deanery of Maryborough—Its beneficial effect—Eulogium on Dr. Doyle by the press generally, but by *The Times* especially—A double murder—Extraordinary instance of presence of mind—Retribution—Correspondence with Lord Cloncurry on the abolition of holidays, and with the Rev. G. Carr on Temperance Societies.

DR. DOYLE'S acquaintance with two young ladies named Anderson, forms a somewhat curious episode in this narrative. Of Bessie, the younger sister, a memoir has appeared from some zealous evangelical pen, under the title of "The Morning of Life." She was born in 1815, of parents who held conflicting religious opinions. Her father was a Protestant, and the mother a Catholic. "Her natural disposition was proud, and her temper passionate. As a child she used to stamp her foot to the ground from anger" (p. 112). "At the age of ten, Bessie was confirmed by Dr. Doyle, the celebrated Roman Catholic Bishop, and admitted to frequent confession" (p. 13). "As she knelt, and laid her hand on her heart, and said, she had sinned, 'through my fault, my exceeding great fault,' she felt overwhelmed, and uttered the words with the deepest feeling. After confession she felt as if a weight were

removed, and that she had been fully forgiven" (p. 14). On the death of her mother she gave vent to great grief, "and determined to spend the night at the end of the garden, by the river, without a bonnet or shawl, hoping that the damp chills of the night air might give her such a violent cold that she should die and rejoin her mother" (p. 18). Sarah, the other sister, was the senior of Bessie by seven years. "Dr. Doyle, who was their guardian, acted like a father to them, and viewed Bessie as his particular charge, expecting she would soon become the inmate of a convent under his direction" (p. 23). Their brothers, however, had been reared Protestants by Mr. Anderson's express commands, and this example had its effect. The two sisters, extremely headstrong and somewhat eccentric as we have seen, informed Dr. Doyle that they would no longer remain Catholics. "They had a sincere respect and love for their guardian; nor would it have been easy to find a dignitary of the R. C. Church more truly worthy of respect. When he spoke, enthusiasm fired his eye; his words became eloquent; and in his fine open brow there was no deception. For two years this controversy continued. Bessie read the books lent by the Bishop attentively with her sister, and weighed the arguments on each side. When they had finished one book they took it back to Dr. Doyle, pointed out to him what they thought wrong, and brought forward Scripture proofs. Then followed a long engagement, which ended by his giving them a fresh supply of books (pp. 27, 29).

The biographer continues: "When they had waded through this great book, a day and hour were appointed on which they were to give their final and decisive answer. They went to Dr. Doyle's house; he soon made his appearance, and sitting down between the sisters, he first turned to the elder one, and asked her if she still maintained the same opinion. She answered firmly but respectfully, 'I will not weary you with a repetition of the opinions I have expressed; but they have not changed.' He then asked Bessie if she agreed with her sister. She said, 'Fully and entirely; our judgments on this matter are quite agreed.' He then rose and stood before them, and, for not less than two hours, gave a most impassioned address; in which, with all the powers of eloquence with which a deep interest in their welfare inspired him, he appealed first to their reason, and then to their affections and feelings, and ended by saying to Sarah: "And, not content with throwing yourself into the dark abyss of error and perdition which yawns at your feet, you drag your young sister with you; and will have to account before the judgment-seat of God for the ruin of her soul, as well as for that of your own.' He ended, and fell back in a chair overwhelmed with

fatigue and emotion. During all the time he spoke, Sarah had not moved a muscle, or raised her eyes from the ground; and when he had ceased, a sharp conflict was taking place within her between natural affection and conscience. She saw by Dr. Doyle's agonised countenance, the deep grief he endured on their account. She lifted her heart in prayer to God for help in this trying moment, and she received help; conscience prevailed, the struggle was over, and she turned to Bessie, and said, 'We had better return now.' She made an attempt to rise, but fell back, having lost the use of her limbs from a stroke of paralysis, brought on, it was supposed, by suppressing her emotion during that long heart-rending speech, in which her feelings had been wrought to the highest pitch. Sarah was carried home, and confined to a sick room for some months; and during the whole remainder of her life, which was prolonged some years, she seldom could walk without help, and then only for a short distance" (pp. 30-33).

"After leaving the Church of Rome, she was sadly grieved and puzzled by the distracted state of Protestantism" (p. v.). "Her becoming a Protestant did not cause any coldness in her intercourse with Dr. Doyle; on the contrary, the unhappy termination of the last interview he had with Sarah seemed to call forth all the kindly feelings of his nature. He still retained his guardianship over the two orphans. He felt that Bessie was now more than ever thrown upon his care, being deprived of the constant companionship of her sister, from whom she had hardly ever been separated during the last two years, but who was now confined to her bed. He, therefore, gave Bessie full liberty to resort to his house and enter his study whenever she chose; and she gladly availed herself of this permission. Sometimes when she entered he was busy writing, and would raise his finger to prevent her speaking. She would, therefore, take a book, and sit down quietly, and read, waiting till he was disengaged; or she would watch his varying countenance as he wrote those stirring papers on political subjects which were published in the journals of the day.* Frequently he would enter into a long dissertation on philosophy or science, or else discuss some metaphysical subtlety, till he quite bewildered Bessie, and perhaps himself also. By intercourse with a man of such universal information and deep thought, her

* We are informed by a person who was particularly intimate with Dr. Doyle, that these repeated visits of Miss Anderson became at last extremely troublesome. When refused admission to the Bishop, she would sometimes spend the entire day in the garden at Braganza, either pacing up and down the walks or constructing a grotto of moss and shells. In appearing to our informant on one morning that he had denied himself to Miss Anderson, he pulled down all the blinds in the drawing-room lest she should observe him from the garden. Dr. Doyle, we are assured, alluded to her on this occasion as, "that poor cracked creature."—W. J. F.

intellectual faculties were early and fully developed. He spoke freely to her on many subjects, and found that, though she had not numbered many years, she had powers of mind quite capable of following him" (pp. 34, 35).

She now attended the Presbyterian Kirk. "Her zeal had not cooled in these untoward services, but she felt that her heart had gradually grown cold, and became estranged from God. She had neglected private prayer and meditation, 'and God had not been in all her thoughts.' When she was roused from this spiritual lethargy, anguish and despair laid hold on her. She reflected where she had fallen—what peace she had once enjoyed" (p. 38).

Some years passed away, and the sisters were separated:

"Bessie was counting the hours until she should again embrace her dear sister, and resolved that nothing but unforseen circumstances should ever cause them the trial of another separation. One Sunday morning she was lying in bed asleep, when she was awaked by feeling a hand gently laid on her head; she opened her eyes, and finding it was yet dark, wondered who could call her so early; she turned round and saw a bright figure standing by the side of her bed. A black veil covered the face, so that she could not distinguish the features, but the whole figure was robed in light as dazzling as that of the sun, which shone through the covering of the face; it made a farewell sign of the hand, and disappeared. Bessie trembled violently. Being naturally possessed of so much courage, it shows how the flesh quails at being brought even for an instant into the presence of a being from the unseen world; as it is said in *Job*, iv.: 'Fear came upon me, and trembling which made all my bones to shake; then a spirit passed before my face, the hair of my flesh stood up.' She felt convinced that some sorrow was awaiting her, from the black veil the apparition wore; but she never guessed the truth. On Monday morning, the friend with whom she staying received a letter from ——, informing her that Sarah A—— had died on the Sunday morning, about the very hour that Bessie had that remarkable vision. She had appeared in better health than usual for some time past, and had retired to her room on Saturday evening, feeling comparatively well. An attack of apoplexy came on quite suddenly" (p. 72).

From Dr. Doyle's correspondence with Miss Anderson, we make a few extracts:

"I have complied with your request, at least with the substance of it, for I have read portions of every part of Mr. Romain's book. The author was a Calvinist, though put into the English Church by a mob. His work is everywhere tinged or filled with the errors and heresies of his sect; and with these are joined

numerous reflections replete with natural piety, gilded over with the truths of revelation. If the orthodox part of his book could be separated from the portions of it which are erroneous or heretical, the former would be useful and edifying; but as it is, it might be likened to the pasture in which the hemlock grows up with the wholesome herbage.

"The folly of those who disobey or despise Christ whilst they disobey or despise the authorities constituted by Him, and, at the same time attach themselves with great fervour to some truth of the Gospel and boast of their own assurance of sanctification, is really like that species of derangement by which the humblest persons are led to look upon themselves as kings, or princes, or princesses. The application you would make of the series of texts with which you favoured me, is, dear child, totally inapplicable; it is so in every instance. So do not wrong yourself, in your present delicate state, by making such selections. Rather employ yourself in praying to God to direct you. . . . ."

"I have read, this morning, a second time, the letter with which you favoured me by your sister on the evening of yesterday; and I am pained to find that the object of the interview you wish to have with me should be, 'to hear from my lips if you be justified in believing that the Church really wishes to render your mind inert, in order to have it so enfeebled as to lose its relish for the invigorating sentiments that were given to support it; and if not, how it is that the milk she has offered will not assimilate with them.' I am, my dear child, totally unacquainted with even the possibility of the invigorating sentiments of true piety having any existence except in those believers who are enlightened and strengthened by the Spirit of comfort and truth who abides with the people of God, united by charity one with another, obeying those whom God has appointed to watch as to give to Him an account of their souls, partaking together of the one bread, and having no divisions among them; no one of them separating from or deserting the congregation of the Lord; but hearing the doctrine, and adhering to the judgment of those who are sent by Christ to rule His Church, and with whom He and His Spirit always abide. Whatever sentiments will not assimilate with the milk given by them, are not, indeed cannot be, from God or Christ; for Christ is not divided; and God is not the God of dissensions but of peace. There are spirits of error, but not from God; and the mode to prove any spirit is, 'if it be found to accord with what is delivered in the Church;' for not only does Satan transform himself into a spirit of light, but if even an angel from heaven came and taught any doctrine but that which has been delivered by those whom Christ sent, and continues in their successors till the consumma-

tion of the world, he should be anathema—that is separated and cast out. It is these sentiments, then (which appear to give vigour, but only as the over-excited fancy, or the fever, does in those whom it afflicts), and not the milk or strong food given by the Church, which are to be or can be altered. To a sound constitution it will give strength and life; to one that is diseased, it will, if taken with patience, humility, and obedience, bring back health and vigour of soul. You observe, 'there was a time when, lulled by the belief on which they ground their fitness for Heaven, I, too, flattered myself that a strict observance of outward worship would do, without seeking to enjoy an intimate communion with God through the operations of the Holy Ghost, who, as a Spirit of truth, of holiness, and of power, enlightens, purifies, and warms each soul that awakes to recover and maintain its dignity.' I regret, my dear child, that you were ever led to think that a strict observance of outward worship—than which few things afford a better evidence of inward purity of heart and piety of mind—could have exempted you from the sacred duty of seeking an intimate communion with God through His Holy Spirit; for that is an error found only in very bad or imperfect believers, but nowhere even tolerated in the doctrines of our holy Church. Our catechisms, by which we instruct the children and ignorant, are mainly occupied in expounding the mysteries, or sacraments, to be practised or frequented; and our common books of prayer and devotion are filled with the finest sentiments and affections, whereby to exercise our hearts and minds in those virtues which the Holy Ghost diffuses through our hearts. How have you been unacquainted with these? or who, in your former life, bewitched you not to obey these heavenly truths? It was not, my dear child, the Catholic Church, or those who teach her doctrines. . . . .

"You have, whilst resident here, often heard the Gospel preached, and sinners interrogated as to how they were to escape from the wrath to come; and that the means pointed out to them were—repentance, that they might not perish; reformation, that they might please God: but both to be effected by means of redemption, which is in Christ Jesus, to be applied to our souls by faith, by love, by prayer, by the ordinances instituted for that purpose by our blessed Redeemer. But is it, therefore, to be inferred that the preachers you heard often did not believe there was a Purgatory? No; but the mention of it, the doctrine relating to it, was not then the subject considered, nor applicable to it. So, when an apostle said, 'we are saved by hope,' or that we are justified *gratis* by Christ, or by his grace, he did not treat of that charity without which faith no man can please God, and without which faith itself is dead. So our Lord, when He said, 'This is eternal

life, that they know Thee,' &c., and when He told the Pharisees, 'Give alms, and all will be made clean for you,' did not supersede the necessity of believing and practising the other truths and virtues revealed and enjoined by Him.'"

On 18th of April, 1829, Dr. Doyle addresses Miss Anderson, who was then in a wretched state of health, as "my very dear child, for you will allow me still to call you by that tender name. I feel greatly distressed at your continued illness, and not less so at the sentiments which appear to occupy your mind. . . . I regret that I did not repeat my visit to you, for your illness, under any circumstances, would not be to me a matter of indifference; but in the circumstances which induced and attended it, it really was to me a subject of anxious solicitude. Do then, I pray you, give me the little credit I deserve, and be assured that while I feel it a duty to bless God in every dispensation of his Providence, and especially in those which are most nearly allied to the glory of His name and our souls' good, I have not ceased to be what I now most truly remain, your faithful and devoted servant in Christ."

On the 3rd of October, 1829, the Bishop explains the causes of his delay in replying to a letter from Bessie, and expresses, "not only the gratification I felt in reading the verses it contained, but also assuring you that however deeply I lament the hallucination of your mind on religious subjects, I shall be happy to receive the favour of a visit from yourself and your dear sister, whenever you will find it convenient to call upon me."

The following letter is without a date:

"The several letters which, from time to time, I have written to you, cannot but satisfy you that my esteem and friendship for you have not ceased with your departure from the communion of the Catholic Church. I believe, with God's help, I could cheerfully lay down my life for your salvation; nor is there any good office in my power which I would not willingly discharge towards you. But do not, my dear child, weary me with your useless writings on religious controversy. "If any one loves disputes, we have no such custom, nor has the Church of God." She cannot err, more than the Gospel itself, in her decisions as to the truths and duties of religion; and until you return to her, and submit implicitly to the Divine Revelations as expounded by her, you may be always learning, but you will not come to the knowledge of the truth. I furnished you with ample means of knowing her authority and whatever she requires of you to believe. I do not cease to pray God that He may incline your heart to believe the truths she teaches. I shall continue to hope that He will yet do so; but until He does, do not, I pray you, afflict me by sending to me

what I am obliged, in the sincerity of Christian charity, to tell you are the fruits of error and self-love, working through a temperament highly excited by what closely resembles, but is not, religious zeal. . . . .

"I do with all sincerity deplore the state of feeling on religious subjects in which you and your dear sister continue. I could not dissemble on such matters, for how could I, if I had any fear of God? I believe, as I believe in the Redeemer Himself, that His Church, spread over all nations, must always hold, and, by the mouth of His pastors, succeeding lawfully to each other, always teach the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth; the necessary consequence of which is, that no one is justified in gainsaying her, and that all without her is illusion. Of those who separate themselves from her communion, I think only with grief. Of those whose early education brought them up in a wrong way, I think with hope and confidence, because by baptism they were inserted in the body of Christ, and He only knows if they fell away freely and culpably from their first faith. I blame no man, I dislike no man, I envy no man. I look upon all men as my brethren, some of whom are less fortunate than others, but who are all the children of God, to be loved and to be honoured as such by us.

"I thought I ought not to have been more pressing with you than I have been. Perhaps I erred; but I have endeavoured to place the truth before you in the kindest manner. The Almighty is not accustomed to force our will; why should I attempt to urge beyond due bounds? To your first question, I have to say that the Catholic Church teaches that it is by grace we are what we are, and the test of our being new creatures in Christ Jesus is obedience to His ministry and to His laws. To the second question—the Catholic Church teaches that it is by grace, and the operations in us of the Holy Spirit, we grow in knowledge and virtue, even unto perfect men, until transformed from brightness to brightness by the glory of the Lord, we are introduced into light now inaccessible to us; and among the many means furnished to us by the good providence of God, for the attainment of this blessedness, the Scriptures hold deservedly a high place; but as they are means co-ordinate with others and not substitutes, they alone are not to be used: prayer, penance, alms-deeds, the sacraments are not to be put away because the Scriptures are good. To the third question—the Church teaches us all to confide, in life and in death, in Him who appears before the face of God for us. But through life she warns us to work out our own salvation with fear and trembling; and in death, to remember our sins, and temper our confidence by a holy fear of what those sins deserved.

"As to what you notice respecting the penalties of sin to be borne for a time by the just until they are rendered fit for heaven, and the aid to be derived to us from the communion of the saints, I shall say nothing here. Indeed, I could only repeat what I often said to you, and what you had at length. There are no new discoveries to be made in religion; like Christ, it was yesterday, to-day, and for ever. The Catholic Church has always rightly believed that there is a Purgatory, and that the souls suffering there are to be relieved by our prayers for them. Also that it is a pious custom to invoke the saints as reigning with Christ, and interested for their brethren here below. The faithful departed for whom we pray are in some respects, like the faithful sojourners here. Christ is made to both sanctification and redemption; but yet, if any of us who believe say we have no sin, we are liars, and the truth is not in us. We all want to say daily, 'Forgive us our trespasses,' for in many things we all offend. Thus you may see that our adoption does not necessarily exclude sin in this world, nor prevent our temporary exclusion from heaven after death. And as these small offences in this life, from which even the just are not exempt, do not separate them from Christ, neither do the remains of punishment to be borne by them in the next, place them among those who, having disobeyed the Gospel, are to be for ever excluded from the face of God. I am tired writing, my dear child, for I am not well. Excuse, therefore, whatever I have said amiss, and believe me, with the utmost anxiety for your welfare here and hereafter, "✠ J. Doyle."

The biographer of the Misses Anderson cites an "instance of Dr. Doyle's kindly and enlarged Christian feeling," of which we approve not less cordially: "At a certain festival," proceeds the biographer, "it was the custom for many of the Roman Catholics to go round the church at Carlow on their bare knees, stopping before each altar to repeat prayers. Bessie entered the church, with her nurse, whilst this penance was being performed by several persons. The nurse told the child to do the same, as it was an act which would bring down much blessing on her head. Bessie, knowing she was destined to be 'a religious,' and being accustomed to attend to all the rites of the Catholic Church, obeyed. While she was perfoming her pilgrimage, the Bishop passed by and told her to rise, that as she was so young she need not finish the penance. Then he turned to the nurse and reproved her seriously for having made so young a child perform such an act; saying, that the thing in *itself* possessed no efficacy; it was the state of the heart and the religious feeling which accompanied it that alone were meritorious. She was too young to enter

into its full meaning, and would only attach an undue importance to the action in itself."

Dr. Doyle's touching allusion to his health in the foregoing letter is the first recorded indication of the progress of that slow but fatal malady which had now marked him for its own. A letter to Bishop O'Connor, written at the same time, also makes reference to it. "I am very weakly," he writes, "but I will, I suppose, improve. I have never been so well as when obliged to use much exertion. When called upon I work very hard, and if I worked so always I should be always well;" and in reply to his friend's letter he adds: "Italy will make better friars than Portugal, so don't wish to change." Four years afterwards, all the friaries in Portugal were suppressed by Don Pedro.

The following interesting letter to Mariana alludes to the fatal lassitude which had bound him down; but from which, by a vigorous effort of mind and of friendship, he emancipated himself for a moment:

"Carlow, 31st October, 1829.

"My dear Friend—A singular sort of indolence has seized upon me, and kept me now in close custody for some weeks, and though I struggled often to extricate myself for the purpose of writing to you, my strength failed, or my enemy prevailed over me. I was going to despond this morning, when I suppose all the saints sent me your letter, though along with it came one or two of a very different complexion; and here I now am, excited if not recovered, and ready to answer all your letters, whether sad or joyful. In the first place, I am sorry your dear mother's note did not reach me, and do, I pray you, say to her for me as many kind and grateful things as ought to be said to a dear good lady whom I sincerely esteem. Say, among the rest, that I often read a play of Shakspeare—for *I* read everything I can lay my hand on—and do so now with great *gout*, as it reminds me of very dear friends, who, whilst I read plays, are playing or praying for us all in heaven. I am glad she is going to France, and hope she will enjoy the excursion and profit by it as much, at least, as I did by mine last year; and if so, she will be compensated for her temporary absence from her 'dear one child.' Mrs. —— is really well, that is, better than I have seen her for some years. She is as large as a steeple and something of that shape, and, though large her frame, it is scarcely able to contain all her zeal and piety. Miss G—— is really very well, I believe; I have had two letters from her since I saw you, but they are both still to be answered. I will tell her how much you continue to love her; but I must be in a very ludicrous mood if I mention the carriage. May the Lord direct you, my dear Mariana, I have not a coat to my back,

nor a shoe to my foot, and you talk of carriages; if I had a carriage and horses, I would sell all three, to buy big coarse stones and granite for my poor chapel. Coach, indeed! I have not even a horse; for my horse became broken-winded and is now at cure—so that, with the exception of those animals found in cellars, my whole stock of four-footed creatures consists of a borrowed donkey, which, however, I do not ride. So, then, your dear old first and most valued friend, Dr. Harold, has been blessed with a sight of you, and you have seen him in health and peace. Well, I truly rejoice with you at this renewal of your happiness, and it seems to be a sort of compensation by Providence for the losses in that way which you have sustained. I have been looking over in my mind the scenes of your interviews, and only wonder how your heart could have been restrained within you, and I am sure it would have burst or broken if our holy father Ignatius had not hinted to you to stop. You see it is well for you sometimes to experience his protection. I expect Mr. Harold will visit us here, as Mr. Fitzgerald is the Provincial of his Order; and if he do, I shall be most glad to see him on your account and his own. I suppose you bespoke for me, long since, his good opinion, and that the good man, not reflecting on the schooling you had passed through in his absence, took your report on credit. I will not do so in his regard; I must see the good man, but will certainly look at him with all the partiality you could desire. I know he has great talents; I have no doubt of his good and affectionate disposition. Piety among Religious of all sorts is only a portion of their profession, for which no one gives them credit, and of which Dr. Harold must have the usual store: what we want to see is the *tout ensemble* of the good man, and I think it very likely, like Solomon in the Queen of Sheba's eyes, he will be found to exceed all the reports made of him. Do present to him my best respects, and say that if he be in Carlow, I will hope to be favoured by him with a visit."

The late Rev. Dr. Harold waited upon Dr. Doyle accordingly, and with this highly accomplished man the Bishop formed his last friendship. He bequeathed to Dr. Harold, in token of esteem, the manuscripts of his "Analysis of Divine Faith," and other valuable essays which were published, posthumously, by Dr. Harold. Thus the legacy to the man became the legacy to Ireland.

There are preserved at the Presentation Convent, Carlow, many letters similar to the foregoing, addressed, for the most part, to the late Mrs. Eliza (Clare) M——, a nun of that community. These letters exhibit more of Dr. Doyle's heart and feeling than any other correspondence extant from his pen; but

a reluctance to permit the unlimited use of them seems to exist. Other things which he wrote might fill us with admiration of his genius; these letters show the warmth of his heart, and the delicacy and playfulness of his nature when, in full confidence, he wrote to one who was as guileless as a child.

Their great value consists in showing the texture of the Bishop's mind, his gentleness, his thoughtful regard and considerateness for others, his love of country, his prompt and passionate appreciation of the beauties of scenery and literature, his fidelity to friends, and nice perception of the value of those trifles which only a sensitive and affectionate nature knows how to prize.*

Dr. Doyle's anxiety to complete his new cathedral at Carlow, peeps forth in his letter to Mariana. His correspondence with the Clergy at this period, exhibit it more prominently. Writing to one of his Rural Deans, Dr. Doyle observes: "The Vicar-General would have done me a sort of injustice if he applied to the Clergy in the form you mention. My letter to him begged he would request of them to forward to me, in this or the next month if convenient, the entire or some portion of the subscription they had so kindly promised to aid the building of our chapel here. As to you, my dear friend, whenever you have to refuse any request of mine say you will not comply with it, but do not plead on the subject, for thereby you make me feel my pockets as if to try whether I had any assistance to give you. Why did you not propose to compound, or require time till your circumstances would improve? for that is what nearly all debtors do; but to declare the estate bankrupt—not bankrupt but totally lost, is intolerable. Well then I must shut up the bowels of mercy for a while, and having expunged the debt of £10, I really do, *bona fide*, require of you to send to me whatever (if any) you may have received since the receipt of the above £10, on account of dispensations on the bans, and that in future you do not consider yourself as having any discretion whatever in disposing of what you should and shall receive on that account, but hold it for me. It is certainly the Lord who disposed and enabled you to build a house to His name—for in truth you have built it—and no words could express how highly I value your exertions and sacrifices on that head. In your devotion to that house I have a certain pledge that, if at any time in your power, you will assist our cathedral here, which is common to us all; and not to *us* only but to religion throughout all Ireland, whose dignity, splendour, and sanctity will be here shown forth to all."

* Since this passage was written, we have obtained access to a selection from these letters. Dr. Doyle's impressions of a trip to the county of Wicklow will be found [9] in the Appendix.

This letter seems to have been misunderstood by the Vicar. A correspondence ensued, in which Dr. Doyle's innate kindness of disposition becomes apparent.

"MY DEAR VERY REV. SIR—Your last letter has surprised and exceedingly grieved me, and though I do not like to trouble you with a useless correspondence, I cannot refrain from an endeavour to remove the impression my late communication appears to have made on your mind and feelings. I could not think, that after more than ten years of friendly intercourse you would deduce, even from doubtful words, a meaning which I never intended they should convey. After the notice of the Vicar-General's communication, the observations in my letter were really intended to cheer you under your difficulties, and by a sort of pleasantry (now it appears ill-timed or slovenly written) to lead you to think lightly of my own disappointment, for I do not love to give pain to any one, and especially to one whom I have so long and truly esteemed. After that I wrote seriously. I did not urge nor intend to urge any sort of intimation to you to contribute to our chapel, for, as I then said, I knew your disposition and hoped you might be enabled some time to indulge it—but even this hope, though mentioned, was scarcely entertained. The desire (too positively expressed) of your disposal in future of the trifles you might receive for dispensations, was only what I said to you on some former occasion in conversation, without giving you, as I thought, any offence; and I think you need not consider it (viewing my situation and wants) as proceeding from any unkind disposition, even if I did not write to you always as one friend does to another, without reserve. That part of your letter wherein you advert to your disposal, &c., of your small means I could not read; I felt distressed and ashamed to have, even by mistake, let you think such an *expose* necessary. I can only add that I shall feel anxious till you will have read this, and resumed your wonted kind and friendly feelings towards your affectionate and most humble servant in Christ,

"✠ J. DOYLE."

It generally happens that men who have a passion for literary composition detest the drudgery of business or arithmetic. Dr. Doyle was an exception to the rule. The regularity and clearness with which he kept all his accounts, especially the weekly collections for the new church at Carlow, are a model of neatness and accuracy.

Dr. Doyle complained that, through ill health, a strange lassitude or indolence had seized upon him. From the moment, however, that duty called or conscience pointed, he cast this feeling from him with the energy of a giant. Nothing that demanded

correction or tended to promote piety—nought that promised advantage to his people escaped our Prelate's vigilance or lacked his care. He preached the word in season and out of season. There was not a district or even a hamlet of his diocess, with whose circumstances and interests Dr. Doyle did not feel himself bound in duty to be acquainted and identified. Early in November, 1829, a most voluminous pastoral address to the inhabitants of the Deanery of Maryborough appeared. Dr. Doyle commenced by saying that he did not suppose when he visited it in August last, that he should have so soon occasion to address them specially. He expected that the admonitions and advice he then gave them, would have been sufficient to check and subdue the evil spirit which had gone abroad and seduced youth from the paths of virtue. His hopes had not been realized—for, if the several reports which had reached him contained any truth, there still prevailed in the Deanery of Maryborough a spirit of combination at war with every law, but more especially with the law of the Gospel. A secret association existed—drawn together for purposes scarcely known to those who composed it, and having no specific object that he could ascertain, unless to prevent the reduction of wages and the ejection of tenants from their holdings. It consisted of considerable numbers, and included, besides the ignorant and undesigning, every person heretofore noted in his neighbourhood for corrupt, immoral, and general depravity of character. Catholics and Protestants were united in it. "They assemble at night in unfrequented places to deliberate, and issue and receive orders." The plunder of arms was a favourite object with them; and in carrying it into effect, they guarded against detection by deputing individuals unknown to those whose houses or property was destined for attack.

Dr. Doyle proceeded: "In discussing with you, brethren, our common interests—for I myself am identified with every thing that concerns you—it is quite unnecessary for me to request your best attention to what I say, because you always listen to me either as children to a father, or as a friend listens to a friend; nor need I bespeak your confidence, for you all know that I am one having the same interests and the same feelings as yourselves. I have ever been the advocate and the helper of the poor, and in no instance have I raised my voice to uphold the tyranny or vindicate the oppression of the great—but more than all this, I discharge an embassy from Christ to you, being appointed to expound and to administer his law. Listen therefore to me, and if I speak what is true and just, adhere to my judgment and abide by my advice."

Dr. Doyle's pastoral was a very elaborate document. He treated, in the first instance, of the confederacy unconnected with

its end or circumstances—and then considered the objects for which the Whitefeet were supposed to combine. Thirdly, he treated of the consequences likely to result from their line of conduct if persevered in; and lastly, pointed out to them what their interest and duty required them to do.

"You seek," he wrote, "to make God a party to your combination—but do you think there can be any society between light and darkness, between justice and injustice, between Christ and Belial? or that He who loves justice and hates iniquity can look, unless with horror, on the violation of all right, on the disturbance of all order, on the abandonment of all the sacred obligations you are bound to fulfil, but which, alas, as members of these secret societies you utterly disregard. No, dear brethren, be assured for once that your combination is, of its nature, opposed to every law whether human or divine; it is founded on vice, and more brittle than a reed; less secure than the sand which when pressed glides through your fingers. You are tempted to engage in these associations by bad men, who are the first to betray you, and when once engaged you are led on from sin to sin, from crime to crime; each of you is made a partaker of the iniquity of you all—till oppressed by guilt, and borne down by power and hatred of God, you sink into well-merited infamy and ruin; covering with disgrace the religion which disowns you, and the country which blushes with shame for having given you birth."

Dr. Doyle argued that the greatest cause of our National misfortunes had been removed. The Penal Code had been repealed; the road to improvement in Ireland was now open; the minds of all men were engaged in devising means whereby the condition of the people might be bettered, and the King's government, which had made all his subjects equal before the law, was at that moment anxiously intent on providing the people of Ireland with the means of living as became the members of a free state. "In other times, beloved brethren, if I saw you in want, or driven to combine, I might hesitate before I should take up the arms of the Gospel, lest I should seem to range myself on the side of guilt in power against guilt in distress; but now, no such feeling damps my zeal or makes my heart falter whilst my tongue would speak. We may still as heretofore feel pressure and distress, but they are no longer the forerunners of despair. They are now like the throes of a woman in labour, sharp and severe, but if borne with patience and fortitude they will soon end, and the remembrance of them will be lost in the joy arising from the resurrection of our country. I know, as well as you do, how unreasonable and unfeeling has been the ejection of tenants from their holdings. I have wept over the scenes which this system has presented. I have seen the

mother houseless and the child starving. I have heard the wail of the widow in despair, and have witnessed the infant sinking into death; but we must not bring back these images to our remembrance, nor should you be led by them into acts of retaliation or revenge."

Dr. Doyle knew well how to enlist the attention and sympathies of his hearers. He remarked that riches like poverty were a source of great temptation; they blind the understanding, and, by filling the heart with pride, harden it against the feelings of mercy and compassion. The rich imagined that while they expelled the wretched tenant from his cabin in order to extend their parks, or enlarge their farms, they exercised only their just right. Though every person is ready to reprove the errors and punish the delinquencies of the poor, there were but few disposed and fewer prepared to declare to the rich their sins. "With me it is not so; I tell you freely of your own errors and transgressions, but I do not wish to conceal from myself or the public that transgression and crime are not confined to you, and that he who goads you into resistance to good order and law, has his full share in the common stock of guilt." But the Bishop begged of his hearers not to infer that the owners of land were not justified in the ejection of a tenant who had run into arrears, or who neglected to cultivate his land. If landlords were not entitled, in justice to themselves and their families, to eject such tenants and let the land to others more industrious and deserving, all rights of property would have ceased; goods would become common to all people, and theft and injustice would cease to be forbidden by the laws of God and man.

He analysed with an acute and steady pen the causes of discontent among the people: "Then as to the wages, only consider I beseech you, the situation of those, who, for the greater part, pay you wages and furnish you with your daily bread; look to the farmer and landholders upon whom every public and private burden falls. Consider the rents charged upon these lands. Are they not the same as when produce of every kind brought nearly double its present price. Look to the tithes, have they diminished in amount? Has the Parson become more generous, or the Proctor less exacting than heretofore? Calculate the county cesses, the vestry cesses, the charges to maintain your own Clergy and places of worship, and ask yourselves, when the farmer has paid all these rents, tithes, taxes, and charges, and distributed his food to the crowd of beggars who swarm at his door, what remains to him? How can he support his family? How can he preserve his stock, his houses, his cars, his carts, his ploughs, and all his implements of husbandry? How can he purchase manure, repair his fences,

cultivate his land? For my part, I think his burdens are almost insupportable. And yet, you have no feeling for his embarrassment. You do not enter into his wants; you do not calculate his means; you do not share the apprehensions he daily and hourly feels of seeing himself embarrassed or broken down, his holding wrested from him, and his family reduced from a state of comfort to the most afflicting distress. 'Bear the burdens of one another' says the Apostle Paul, 'and so you will fulfil the law of Christ.' So I say to you, brethren, bear the burdens of one another; be generous to your employers that your employers may be generous to you. Be patient whilst they are suffering, and when they are eased or affluent you will be sharers with them in whatever they possess. Protect their property as if it were your own. Be their safeguard and defence, and not the disturbers of their peace and the terrors of their nightly repose. Bear their present burdens with them that hereafter they may lighten yours."

The spirituality of his advice to the suffering people was worthy of the Master whom he served. He told them that they should put on Christ, and walk as he walked. He was poor in spirit and in fact, and they should be poor at least in spirit, in order to become heirs to the kingdom of heaven. He was born in a stable; through life He had not a second garment, nor a place whereon to rest His head. He died naked on a cross, and it was in the grave of a stranger His corpse was laid. They should bear patiently that distress and want which He being rich, but becoming poor for their sake, bore with such singular resignation in order that His disciples in the day of tribulation might not murmur or repine.

The Bishop's exhortation to parents and employers was eloquently persuasive. "If they be your sons, or servants, or brothers, even compel them to remain at home. Use all your authority to guard them from evil, let not fear or shame prevent you from aiding the law of grace and upholding the laws of your country. Assist me, and the Clergy who labour with me, to reclaim the wicked and protect the innocent, that God may be honoured, and the souls of the deluded saved."

This was the first publication of Dr. Doyle's which received the cordially unanimous thanks of the English press. *The Times*, *Sun*, *Globe*, *Morning Chronicle*, *Advertiser*, *British Traveller*, and even *The Standard* of the day are loud and earnest in their praises of the Pastor and his pastoral. *The Times* says, "We insert with unfeigned pleasure, and with no small share of admiration, the address of Dr. Doyle, Roman Catholic Bishop of Leighlin and Ferns, to the peasantry of the Queen's County in Ireland. The Rev. Gentlemen has, in this performance, essayed, and with

infinite power of language, to dissuade the poorer classes of his countrymen from entering into, or encouraging those combinations which have for so many ages involved their wretched members in an unceasing conflict with the laws, and which have not been more branded by guilt in their objects than by disgrace and ruin in their progress and results. We have read nowhere an appeal to the hearts and understandings of the lower Irish more fitted to impress them with a real knowledge of their own condition, and of the close connexion between an orderly and moral conduct on their part with the gradual but inevitable improvement of their country, on which must depend, as its only certain basis, the ultimate relief of the peasantry from the dreadful poverty and suffering which have preyed upon their lives, and often provoked to a disregard of the rights of others, as criminal and revolting as it has ever to themselves proved fatal. It is true that Dr. Doyle does not spare the upper classes, nor in any degree palliate their frequent oppression of the poor; and for this we think the Rev. Bishop is entitled to the praise both of truth and sound policy, inasmuch as no honest man could say that the Irish gentry and landlords had set a general example to the peasantry, of respect for the obligations of humanity and justice; and no wise man, while he sought to gain an influence over the multitude, would let them suppose him insensible to their wrongs any more than to their transgressions. We are sure that this effort of the Bishop in the good cause of peace, subordination, and integrity, will be crowned with extensive, if not entire success."

The Morning Chronicle, then a highly influential journal, was hardly less complimentary: "The feeling which pervades it is excellent. We are willing to believe that Dr. Doyle has not narrowed his ambition to the mere furtherance of the views of his own Order—the besetting sin, not merely of Priests, but of all separate castes—and that he is fired by the noble ambition of availing himself of the great influence which his talents, learning, and knowledge of the world give him, to labour in the sacred cause of the regeneration of his countrymen. A few master-minds, unstained by the sordid aims of vulgar politicians, may work wonders at a moment like the present. The Irish have now, for the first time, representatives in the councils of the nation. The Anglo-Irish, who have hitherto alone represented Ireland, must become Irish or nothing. Men like Dr. Doyle in the closet, and Mr. O'Connell in the legislature, dedicating their whole energies to the improvement of their countrymen may work wonders, notwithstanding the strength of the interests opposed to them. Let us never despair. Dr. Doyle does not, like the Rev. Edward Irving, deem a state of torture on earth a desirable advantage for those

committed to his spiritual care, with a view to their being "nearer to Christ hereafter;" but seems to think Christianity does not imply a renunciation on the part of any men of their right to as much temporal happiness as they can obtain without injuring others. He recommends obedience to the law, because he perceives an honest intention on the part of those in power to promote the general welfare; but he at the same time fearlessly declares that he would have taken up the arms of the Gospel against any combination created by 'the oppression of guilt in power.'"

"The effect of this pastoral," writes the late Mr. F. W. Conway, "was infinitely more rapid and salutary than any proclamations or constabulary could be. The disturbances ceased, and the illegal associations were dissolved."

Dr. Doyle's appeals to the misguided men who had engaged in combination were, indeed, singularly successful. He mentions, in his evidence on the state of the Irish poor (4631), when inculcating the necessity of diffusing useful knowledge amongst them, that there were in the Co. Kildare a number of weavers who had struck. "I, who felt a great interest in their welfare, went to the place, and a deputation from those weavers waited upon me. They submitted to me their rules and regulations. I reasoned with them for a long time, and explained to them their own interest. They entered into my views; and from that time (four or five years ago) to this there has been no combination in that district. There was also a colliery, in a remote mountainous district of the county of Kilkenny, where a like disagreement occurred. I went to it and reasoned with the labouring people, endeavouring to show what their real interests were, and both they and their employer immediately acceded to my proposal; and from that time to this there has been no interruption to the works in that place. The result in both these cases was not half so much owing to any personal influence I had with these people, as to my making them understand what their true interests were; and if the people had been well educated, I am sure my interposition would have been quite unnecessary, as the evil which that interposition removed would never have existed."

These pastoral addresses of Dr. Doyle did not exercise a mere local influence. Every newspaper reprinted them, and thus the good seed was sown through the length and breadth of the land. "They became," writes Mr. Burrowes Kelly, "part and parcel of the general, moral, and political history of the country." Several persons withdrew their adhesion from the conspiracy, and volunteered private information regarding the movements of their former comrades. This fact reminds us of an anecdote which possesses a painful interest: A man communicated to the Chief Secretary

for Ireland evidence regarding a projected outrage. His cabin was attacked at night by ten men; they burst open the door, put him on his knees, and, in the presence of his wife and child, murdered him with pitchforks. The woman, with singular presence of mind, whispered to her child, while this work of death was being performed, "I shall be the next victim, but I will struggle with them as long as I am able that you may have time to do what I place you here for." She put some lighted turf on the hearth, and told the child to mark, by its glare, the faces of the murderers that he might be able to tell who they were, and so avenge the death of his parents. Her presentiment was verified. The assassins, after having dispatched the man, fell upon the woman, who, after a feeble resistance, was flung lifeless upon the body of her husband. But the child did not forget the dying injunction of his mother. He scanned the perpetrators carefully, and, mainly by the clear and unshaken evidence of that infant, five of the murderers were convicted and hanged.

Lord Cloncurry, in a public letter addressed to the Society for the Improvement of Ireland, took occasion to suggest to the heads of the Catholic Church that, "The saints' days and holydays observed by the people, in greater number than in any other country, proved a great loss to Ireland, and a great cause of one of her besetting evils—drunkenness;" and he added, "a reform on that subject is in the sole power of the Catholic Bishops."

We find in the "Personal Recollections of Lord Cloncurry" a letter from Dr. Doyle to the Patriot Peer, in reply to this assertion:

"Your Lordship and the Society you address," he writes, "are certainly entitled to take cognizance of whatever impedes or might advance the improvement of Ireland; and the Prelate should be very fastidious who would complain of the appeal made by your Lordship on the subject of holydays, or of the manner in which it is made. The object of my writing to your Lordship is solely to let in some additional light on this matter, which you have only touched incidentally; and, first of all, to inform your Lordship, that 'a reform on that subject is not in the sole power' of the heads of the Catholic Church in Ireland; also, that 'holydays are not observed in greater number by our people than in any other country.' The whole number of holydays could not hitherto, in Ireland, exceed eleven, they were generally only ten; of these ten, two or three have been reduced this year; so that, henceforth, the number of our holydays cannot exceed eight or nine; and of these eight or nine, two occur within what is called the Christmas holydays, a season of the year when, I believe, the Society itself for the Improvement of Ireland rests from its labours; so that,

in fact, the sum total of our holydays, which interfere in any way with public industry, are reduced to six or seven in each year.

"Perhaps your Lordship is of opinion that there should be no holydays, though such days were instituted by the heads of the Synagogue, and the heads of the Church, and observed under both covenants through all the time of their existence. It is difficult, my Lord, and it is often unwise to get rid suddenly of old institutions, especially when connected with religion; but this, even if wished for, cannot be done. The Established Church, by her rubric and the laws of the land, passed in the time of Edward the Sixth and of Elizabeth, prescribes the observances of several holydays; but that rubric and these laws have gone into disuse; they are every day violated. This same cannot happen with us: the heads of the Catholic Church in Ireland must observe, and do observe, as far as in their power, the laws or usages respecting holydays, until the same are abrogated or repealed. I certainly wish, with your Lordship, that the number of holydays was still farther reduced; but I wish it, not because I think such reduction good, but because I see it called for by the evils of the times; as Christ said to the Jews, speaking of the law of divorce: 'Moses, on account of the hardness of your hearts, permitted you to put away your wives; but from the beginning it was not so.' Amongst a religious people, and where the laws of the State accord with those of the Church, holydays contribute to the exercise of piety, and of every good work; when these laws clash, or when a spirit of irreligion prevails, the effects are other; and it is therefore that I agree with your Lordship in wishing for a further reduction in the number, though small, of our holydays.

"I do not think that drunkenness, our besetting sin, our permanent plague, would be materially lessened by the abolition of all the holydays: for drunkards will drink at all times; and when they do not find a holyday ready made, they themselves make one for the purpose. Witness *Saint Monday*, which an impious, and besotted, and abominable race of tradesmen add to the Lord's Day, for the purpose of indulging in their horrid excesses. Look, also, to the Presbyterians of the North. Nor do I think that an obligation of resting from servile works on six days, besides the Sundays throughout the year, can be any loss whatever in a country where the market is always overstocked with labour, and in which a man's labour is not worth, at an average, more than threepence a-day. Add to this, that in cases of great necessity or public utility, every person is permitted to work upon holydays. The truth is, my Lord, that when idlers were few and labourers many, and when holydays were more numerous than they are now, the peasantry were better fed and better clothed than they are at present; be-

sides which, frequent holydays, or days of prayer for some, and of rest and amusement for all, contributed not a little to produce and to preserve that gay, cheerful, friendly, strong, and athletic race of men, which, by-and-by, will be nowhere to be found in Ireland. It is not the peasant now who gains by his labour, or loses, I might say, by his rest—it is the employer, or the driver, of the slave. Are our peasants not broken down and withered at forty or fifty years of age? Are they not everywhere badly fed and overworked? And we, who idle six days, and do not labour one, would, when we have made them vicious and miserable, bind them down, even in their few holydays, like a slave to the oar."

As Lord Cloncurry's reply to this letter does not appear in his Autobiography, we are tempted to give it a place:

"Maretimo, Blackrock, 16th December, 1829.

'Nous avons change tout cela.'

"My Lord—With many thanks for the information contained in your letter, I beg leave to say that if there be any observation of yours in which I do not entirely concur, it must be from want of that knowledge which, with all humility, I seek from a pen so often ably wielded in the service of your country and for the promotion of peace.

"I am glad to hear from your Lordship that two or three holydays have been reduced this year; may I ask by whom, if not by the heads of the Roman Catholic Church? And, if by them, might not the same power reduce a few more, or change them to periods less injurious to agriculture than the 18th, 24th, and 30th of June, the 15th of August, and the 8th of September, by which we so often lose or injure a portion of God's bounty in the fruits of the earth?

"My Lord, I have ever been most anxious to promote the innocent and mirthful pastimes of our people, and I look upon Sunday, not only as a day of prayer and rest, but of joy. You, however, my Lord, know that it is often made a day of work, in contempt of God's commandment and of the law of the land; whilst the holiday instituted by man is held most sacred. To this I object for many reasons—in chief, that it puts the law of man above the law of God, and that it facilitates drunkenness, as spirits may be legally sold on a Saint's day, but not on the Sabbath. It may be said that the law is evaded or set at defiance; but I hope the time is near at hand when our people will cordially submit to the law, in the knowledge that it is for their benefit and protection, and not for their oppression.

"One circumstance relative to holydays has often astonished my uninformed mind. On the same festival my men will idle at

Lyons, and work at Blackrock; and the labourers of a Catholic or liberal Protestant employer will suffer his harvest to rot, whilst those of an intolerant will exert themselves in his service. Whence arise these incongruities? Not, certainly, from any rule of the Church or of religion. The Orangemen say from the venality of the Priests; but I deny it—for, though I recollect laying before your Lordship an instance of unparalleled venality and falsehood in one of that body, I think a purer, more laborious, or more virtuous Priesthood is nowhere to be met with, or more devoted to their truly arduous duties. . . . .

"I wish to know, my Lord, what countries in Europe have more holydays than Ireland? I believe neither France, Germany, Denmark, Holland, Switzerland, or the North of Italy (the other states should be, *a la* Burke, '*blotted from the map*'). Ireland has lately achieved a great victory; she is starting into a new existence as one people, to live, and move, and have their being. Though there is present suffering, there is a palpable and approaching hope; let us court her by truth, good-will, and temperance. With this latter sister manly sport and frolic are no way incompatible; but drunkenness, the ruin of the American Indian and African Negro, is the twin-sister of slavery and degradation.

"You observe that the holydays are now reduced to eight or nine; if we add to them the sick days that follow the festivals, a political economist may calculate what loss the twenty-fourth part of a year's labour may cause to a country. To conclude, I will not allow that your Lordship idles six days, or one; neither will I acknowledge myself '*fruges consumere natus*.' I give my time to my country, and to my poor neighbours. I labour to better their situation by every means in my power, to fit them for that higher fortune which awaits them.—I have the honor to be, my Lord, &c.,

"CLONCURRY."

The views expressed by Dr. Doyle on the inexpediency of enforcing the observance of holydays in Ireland at certain seasons of the year, were no novelty with him. On the 5th June, 1830, he was asked by the select committee on the state of the poor: *Q.* "Would not so influential an individual as yourself, together with other Clergymen of your Church, be doing a great service to Ireland by taking measures to impress upon his Holiness the Pope, the propriety and the necessity of abrogating that injunction upon the Roman Catholic population?" *A.* "So perfectly am I satisfied of that being a duty upon my part, and the part of my colleagues in Ireland, that about two years ago I drew up as strong a statement as I was capable of framing, of the evils resulting from the observance, or rather the violation of those

holydays, and of the advantage which would result from the abrogation of them. I sent this representation to the Pope, who sent it back to be considered by the Prelates in Ireland; and on its being referred to them, and their opinion required, they agreed substantially with me. We therefore conjointly petitioned the Pope that he would abrogate the law requiring certain days to be kept holy. In reply, we received a rescript abrogating the observvance of Easter Monday and Whit-Monday. The festival of St. John the Baptist was also mentioned, but the rescript, as to that day, only removed the obligation of abstaining from servile works, but left untouched that of hearing Mass; and we thought it better not to publish that portion of the decree until we represented anew the necesssity of abrogating the obligation of hearing Mass as well as that of abstaining from servile works. Since then it was moved in an assemblage of our bishops, to pray the Pope to abrogate most of the remaining holydays; this was supported by a majority of the bishops, but as they were not unanimous, it was thought better to defer the application until the matter should be reconsidered, when perhaps unanimity could be procured. I state these particulars in order to show that the propriety of reducing the number of holydays is not with me a novel, or a merely theoretical opinion, but one on which I have acted and exerted all my influence."

Dr. Doyle added, as a curious fact, that on the previous Easter Monday he told the men engaged in building his new Cathedral that they should work, while a Protestant employer in the same town said to his labourers, "You shall not work, it is an old holyday and you shall keep it."

Having had occasion to remit some money, at this time, to the Rev. D. O'Connor of Cork, Dr. Doyle asked him to hand £1 to the Committee for opposing Mr. G. Callaghan's return for that city. Four days afterwards, we find Mr. O'Connor forwarding a few donations which he had collected for the new Church at Carlow. Dr. Doyle writes: "You have in that matter fulfilled all my expectations, and I thank you most heartily—for no doubt it is quite enough to beg for one's self, but to do so, as you have for another, taking the pain to yourself, is more than kind. I did not intend to appear in your prints as sharing in your Cork politics, and I would rather, much rather, not so appear, but these Committee people would do anything to forward their own views."

In the following letters addressed to the Rev. George Carr, a Protestant Clergyman, Dr. Doyle would seem to have foreseen much of what followed the, at first, singularly successful movement in favour of temperance, of which Father Mathew was, eleven years afterwards, the leader:

"Carlow, 29th December, 1829.

My dear Rev. Sir—I have received and read all the tracts and papers relative to the temperance societies, which you had the kindness to send me. I thank you very much for them, and for your own most acceptable letters. Illness, or inability to make up my mind as to what I should say of the 'good cause' in which you are engaged, prevented me till now from writing to you.

"Every Christian—indeed every man endowed with reason, whether he be or be not a Christian—must look upon drunkenness and excessive drinking as one of the most debasing and hateful vices which infest the human kind; it stultifies and brutalizes men—and as to women, it reduces their condition far below the condition of the brute. Your medical friends, in the tracts you have sent me, prove most fully and satisfactorily how it generates diseases innumerable, of body and mind; consuming life like a plague or the parching wind of the desert. But these are effects of it which I can scarcely lament; for I think a drunkard, though unfit to die, is entirely unfit to live; and that, when he will not be reclaimed, his removal from this world is not only a just judgment of Divine Providence upon himself, but a blessing to his family, and to all those, whom by his influence or example, he had corrupted or scandalized. I would be, therefore, glad to heal the drunkard; but if he were obstinate, and obstinately persevered in his vice, I should feel upon his death, as I should upon the death of the murderer dying on the scaffold—that he had paid the forfeit of his life to the offended justice of earth and heaven. It is not the multiplication of disease, or the waste of human life by drunkenness or excessive drinking, that I chiefly regret—nay, I do not at all regret that these effects follow after so detestable a vice—they are the immoral and impious effects of it which I cannot contemplate without horror. Rash swearing, profanation of the Lord's Day, blasphemies without number—the poverty, the nakedness, the destitution, the ruin of families—the fraud, the thefts, the robberies—the seduction of innocence—the corruption of virtue—the disobedience of children—the infidelities of servants—the discord and disunion of those whom God united—these and many others which I do not name, are the effects of drinking and of drunkenness.

"Looking, then, at the vice of drunkenness as I do, with a hatred and abhorrence quite peculiar, should I not, you will say, do everything in my power to establish and promote 'Temperance Societies,' whose sole object is to unite all persons of sense and virtue in a league, defensive and offensive, against this common enemy of mankind? You reason well in putting such a question; and I am ready to co-operate in the establishment and support of

any measure whose object is to preserve the dominion of reason over passion, and to aid virtue in her warfare against vice—besides that in seeking to promote temperance by means of a society, I would only be seeking to aid to continue a contest in which I have been engaged incessantly for nearly twenty years. But whilst I would gladly co-operate with any Temperance Society, I am not fitted in any one respect to undertake the formation of one; and, even if I were, I am not prepared to express to others a confidence which I do not feel, that such societies in this country, at this time, and with our present laws and social government, can be productive of any great, or extensive, or permanent good; but yet, as some good may be effected by them, they certainly deserve support.

"It cannot have escaped your observation that it is difficult, and in some cases impossible to blend together in one society men of different ranks and conditions, and how small—how very small the moral influence of those called the upper ranks over those called the lower orders of the people. Gentlemen, therefore, may unite, and preach to the people a temperance which they themselves do not always practise, whilst the people, who have not before experienced their friendship and protection, will hear them without attention, or scoff at their advice. Moreover, in towns, where the vice of excessive drinking principally prevails, you have opposed to you all the drunkards, all the publicans, all the grocers who retail whiskey, all the brewers, all the distillers, with the swabs and wits, and idlers who appertain to them. All these, and many more who hate all innovation—even that innovation which goes to the disturbance of vice—will labour diligently to counteract your labours, and to pull down whatever you endeavour to build. The industry and energy of these classes may be measured by that evangelical rule which says that 'the children of darkness are wiser in their generation than the children of light.' But the great and insurmountable obstacle to the progress of Temperance Societies, and to all the efforts which you and I, and such as we, can make to stop the torrent of drunkenness is found in the *revenue laws*. Could we but induce the Chancellor of the Exchequer to become a member of our society, and to square his budget by our rules, I have no doubt whatever but we should succeed in removing this pestilence of drunkenness out of the land. To eradicate the use of ardent spirits out of a country having such a climate as ours, and from among such a people as ours, is quite impossible; *but to diminish the use of ardent spirits to one-fiftieth part of its present amount, is in my opinion perfectly practicable.* But as it would be as easy to stop the mouths of the Euphrates as to stop the mouths of those who now drink whiskey in Ireland,

they cannot be reclaimed until a better beverage than whiskey is provided for them, at even a lower expense. All this could be done by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, if he found it more necessary to promote good morals than to secure a large revenue. I am tolerably well acquainted with the making of malt and the brewing of beer; and I have no hesitation in stating that if malting and brewing were exempted from tax, and the impost on whiskey raised, drunkenness in a little time would almost disappear from the country."

CHAPTER XXXI.

Meeting of the Bishops—They thank God for Emancipation, and relinquish politics—Letter to his family in Wexford—He regards with dread the entry of almost every young man into the Church—Edits Gahan's Sermons—His power as a preacher—Dreadful tragedy during one of his sermons—How he made a good preacher of Dr. Nolan—Anecdotes—"Analysis of Divine Faith"—His writings with a view to the conversion of England—Letter to an old friend—Correspondence with Lord Cloncurry and Sir H. Parnell—Visitation musings—Letter to Mariana on Mount Atlas, blacks, bishops, bile, church building, and other matters—Acts on first impressions—Rev. Dr. Harold—Letter on the evils of drunkenness—Correspondence with Dr. Petrie and Mr. D'Alton on the Celtic literature of Ireland—The happiness of bygone days for a moment revived—His theological decisions—His MS. notes to Den—His progressive views—Letter to Mariana.

In January, 1830, the Catholic Bishops assembled in Dublin to deliberate, according to annual custom, on their own duties and the sacred interests confided to their care. Dr. Doyle, at the close of these deliberations, drew up a Pastoral, to which all the Prelates affixed their signatures. It gave thanks to God that the Irish people not only continued to be of one mind, labouring together in the faith of the Gospel, but also that their faith was daily becoming stronger and signally fructifying among them. Having drawn a picture of the discord that had prevailed in Ireland before Emancipation, the Pastoral went on to say that the great boon "became the more acceptable to this country, because among the counsellors of his Majesty there appeared conspicuous the most distinguished of Ireland's own sons, a hero and a legislator—a man selected by the Almighty to break the rod which had scourged Europe—a man raised up by Providence to confirm thrones, to re-establish altars, to direct the councils of England at a crisis the most difficult, to staunch the blood and heal the wounds of the country that gave him birth."

The Pastoral besought the people to promote the end which the Legislature contemplated in passing the Relief Bill—the paci-

fication and improvement of Ireland. It recommended that rash and unjust oaths should not be even named among them, and deprecated any attempt to trouble their repose by "sowers of discord or sedition." The Bishops rejoiced at the recent result of the protracted struggle, not more on public grounds than because they found themselves discharged from a duty which necessity alone allied to their ministry, "a duty imposed on us by a state of times which has passed, but a duty which we have gladly relinquished in the fervent hope that by us or our successors it may not be resumed."

Early in January, Dr. Doyle saluted his relatives in Wexford, and wished them, with all his heart, the choicest blessings of that holy season. Referring to the collection for the Cathedral in Carlow, he added: "Mr. Cahill is, I fear, too modest to discharge well a duty of begging twice whilst in Wexford; but he will do what he can, without committing violence on his own feelings or those of others. He is not fully aware of the lack of sensibility to be found in our dear native country." Alluding to a dispute between two friends, the Bishop says: "I pity J—— exceedingly; nor do I see how the other man can be induced to desist from annoying him. Fear, shame, interest, have ceased to influence him in this matter; but perhaps Providence may dispose him rightfully when we least expect it. Patience and prayer, with faith, perform wonderful changes in the most obstinate minds. Little James spent some days of the vacation with me. He promises very well, but has no disposition whatever to embrace the clerical state. That I do not regret, for although the work of the Lord must be done, and his ministry preserved by vessels of election, the dangers of those engaged in it are great, and their deficiencies generally so painful, that I look now, as I advance in life, with exceeding dread upon the entry of almost every young person into the Church. Keep your heart quiet, my dear Mary, and be less implicated if possible in worldly concerns, even when they are undertaken for a good end."

Among the quieter occupations of Dr. Doyle's pen, during the interval of repose which succeeded the clangor of angry politics, was an introduction to the Sermons of the Rev. William Gahan, O.S.A. These discourses consist of panegyrics of saints, doctrinal expositions, appeals on behalf of the poor, and moral treatises, by which every class of Christians are instructed in the duties of their state. Dr. Doyle observed that the great characteristic of Gahan's Sermons was usefulness rather than eloquence; we nowhere find in them the towering sublimity of a Bossuet, the captivating unction of a Massillon, or the irresistible force of a Bourdaloue; but they nevertheless instruct, reprove, and persuade by the

solidity of the thoughts, the clearness and simplicity of the style, the judicious application of the Sacred Scriptures, but above all by the piety, sincerity, and zeal which they everywhere display. "Such," he added, "are the qualities which have endeared the sermons of the venerable Gahan to the Catholic Clergy and laity of Ireland. The former have found in them the finest model of that plain and simple, but correct and useful mode of instruction, which is best adapted to their several congregations. In Gahan there is nothing conceited, nothing swollen, there is no bombast. He never affects to be beautiful or sublime, though nothing is more beautiful than the plain and earnest manner in which he enforces the practice of the Gospel virtues; nothing more sublime than the simple picture which he draws of the baneful effects of vice. He never introduces the figures and fancies of a profane or a poetic imagination; he is content with the apostle to preach from the fulness of his own heart: 'to preach Christ and Him crucified,' not in the sublimity of human speech, but in that virtue and power which are bestowed on those who seek not to please men but to gain their souls to God."

The Bishop did more than merely edit other men's discourses. Sermon after sermon rolled in vigorous volume from his own lips. "How often," writes the Very Rev. Dr. Meagher, "have I hung upon his inspired lips, as he filled our souls alternately with hope or terror, with joy or compunction, pouring out, in the fulness of his great soul, the denunciations of God's terrible judgments, or assurances of His tender mercies." As a preacher, we know no one who stood higher in the popular estimation than Dr. Doyle. The chapel was not only always crowded to excess during his appeals, but the chapel-yard and highway were often blocked with people. The Bishop's powerful voice reached the farthest man, and awakened remorse in the darkest conscience. A tragedy occurred on one of these occasions, which is best described in Dr. Doyle's own words. Writing to his correspondent, Clare, he says: "After my return to Ross, nothing new occurred till yesterday, when I experienced the greatest shock I was capable of bearing. I had been prevailed upon by Father John to preach on Sunday. The concourse of people was unusually great, and a part of a seat on the gallery having broken, the noise excited some alarm, which caused the people to rush towards the altar; the rails broke with a crash; a cry was instantly raised that the gallery had given way, and all my exertions, and those of Mr. Chapman (who celebrated Mass), to stop the confusion were ineffectual. The people leaped from the galleries—some into the body of the chapel, others from the windows into the yard; multitudes rushed towards the doors, where

the pressure and confusion were exceedingly great. Even near the altar the crowds were such, and the screams and distress of the persons who were trodden down so great, as to rend a stoic's heart. When at length the chapel was cleared, nothing could give you an idea of the confusion and anguish of the people. Several persons almost lifeless, lay stretched and bleeding, in the yard, including two pregnant women, whose lives, amongst others, are in imminent danger. One boy had his thigh broken, one man his arm fractured; hundreds lost their cloaks, hats, shoes, &c., and a great number received contusions. The chapel appears like a waste; the frame of the gallery and the altar being the only things remaining entire; all the windows, railing, pews, and benches are completely destroyed. You can scarcely conceive the agony of my mind at witnessing these scenes, of which I myself was the innocent occasion. I am well, though greatly distressed, so that I was glad to leave Ross this morning, and escape from the remaining horrors of the scene."

The instructions which Dr. Doyle expressed to his Clergy on the subject of preaching have been noticed in chapter iii. of this work. He considered that the exemplary life of a pastor preached more eloquently to his parishioners than all the laboured exhortations he could address to them. To theatrical elocution in the pulpit he was, as we have seen, extremely averse. While also strongly disapproving of priests squandering their valuable time in laborious preparation for the pulpit, he strictly desired that there should always be some amount of previous thought; and to this end he often cited from *Ecclesiasticus* (xviii. 23), "Before prayer, prepare thy soul, and be not as a man that tempteth God." As regards the length of time requisite for this reflection, he used to say that a Parish Priest, whilst going from one chapel to another in the country, might, along the route, meditate sufficiently for his discourse. But this instruction was alone applicable to a Priest who had been moulded according to the mind of J. K. L.—a Priest who had read extensively upon all subjects connected with his profession, and who had carefully digested what he read. In such a man, the preliminary reflection to which we have alluded was but the casting back of his mind upon its resources, and thence collecting or selecting what might have an immediate bearing on his discourse. Dr. Doyle used to say, that when the sentiments employed were, as they ought to be, the genuine offspring of the preacher's soul, words of persuasive eloquence would follow naturally; and he loved to quote from the "Ars Poetica" of Horace—"*Rem antè provisam verba haud invita siquentur.*"

We may here insert an anecdote which illustrates Dr. Doyle's views on this point. The Rev. Edward Nolan, who succeeded

him in the see of Kildare, was a young clergyman of the rarest humility and virtue. His strong natural talents were developed by careful cultivation. In *Belles Lettres* he evinced exquisite taste, and seemed to have a peculiar relish for the beauty and terseness of composition; but yet, at the commencement of his career, he was considered as a preacher to be laboured, verbose, and unimpressive. Dr. Doyle, notwithstanding, frequently selected him to preach, intimating his will sometimes only one day previous to the delivery of the discourse. This mandate, although it filled Dr. Nolan with mingled feelings of dismay and despair, was invariably received by the young Priest with the meekness and obedience which rendered his character so estimable. To ensure thorough completeness, precision, and due rhetorical arrangement, Dr. Nolan considered that a week's preparation was barely sufficient. A friend implored the Bishop to reconsider his determination of requiring a young man, quite unprepared, to address such large and respectable audiences as always attended Carlow Cathedral, and concluded by beseeching him to allow Mr. Nolan at least six or seven days for preparation. "My dear sir," replied the Bishop, "leave me to myself—I have formed opinions of that young man, which neither you nor his friends know—you are not aware of what my views are with regard to that boy." The result was, that Dr. Doyle instead of enlarging the time of preparation shortened it, by only apprizing Dr. Nolan the evening before, or the very morning of the day on which he was to preach. It is a remarkable fact, that from being somewhat dry, verbose, and tedious, Dr. Nolan's pulpit oratory became impressive, vigorous, and sparkling.

But Dr. Nolan's preaching wanted an important element of success, which Dr. Doyle's possessed in an eminent degree. The Very Rev. Dr. Taylor, writing to the author, says: "In Dr. Doyle's own time, Ireland could boast of many distinguished orators, but among them I never heard one so sublime, or saw one so unearthly looking when pouring forth a stream of eloquence as he was."

The Bishop was a great advocate for simplicity in preaching, but his sermons were not always marked by this characteristic. Matters often regarded as inscrutable and unsearchable, he illuminated by a flood of light. With an almost angelical intelligence he expounded the wisdom of God's plans, sounded their depth, unfolded their divine nature, and pointed out their marvellous consistency and justice.

Dr. Doyle generally wrote with amazing rapidity and ease; but we are acquainted with one instance in which he experienced not a little difficulty in expressing his ideas on a great subject.

On the occasion of illustrating and enforcing the all-important question of eternal salvation, he said, after having finished an elaborate dissertation: "That won't do; I have not done it." Again, a second time, he said: "I have not yet done it." But after a third attempt, he cheerfully added: "Yes, thank God, that will do; I have accomplished my task, I trust, to His honour and glory."

In the preface to his pamphlet on "The Formation of a National Literary Institute," Dr. Doyle mentions, that "re-writing or correction—the *limæ labor*—are ill suited to his disposition." He, however, spared no pains when the honour of God was in question.

Political schemes were now, in a great degree, relinquished for projects of a grander and more exalted character. Our Bishop wrote much and ably at this period, with a view to the conversion of England. We chiefly allude to his "Dissertation on Popery, or an Analysis of Divine Faith; addressed to the Protestants of England;" but the zealous writer never lived to see it published. The work is, from beginning to end, controversial. It is singularly convincing, and embraces many powerful points; but, like most polemical performances, an occasional tone of acrimony pervades it, which insensibly provokes to an attitude of defence those whose prejudices were, at first, well nigh disarmed by the conciliating language with which the Bishop commenced.

Having advanced some strong points, Dr. Doyle imagines himself asked: "How do you presume to designate the State religion as schismatical or heretical? To which charge, without reference to Scripture or history, to facts or arguments, for a justification, it is quite sufficient to reply: 'Why does the State compel her councillors, her legislators, her priests, her prelates, her officers of almost every grade and condition, not only to assert, but to swear, that the religion which I profess, in common with nine-tenths of the Christian world, is damnable and idolatrous?' It will be said, 'Do you wish to lead the nation back to Popery?' To which I might reply with the apostle: 'I wish you were all such as I am, except those chains.' But, waving this answer, have I not a right to reply: 'You have laboured by bribes, by pains and penalties, to induce us Catholics to embrace your State religion, and may not we be permitted to offer to your consideration some reasons why you should return to the faith of your fathers?' If I be told that my religion unsettles allegiance, dissolves oaths, enslaves the understanding, and indulges the committal of sin, I reply, that all these charges are founded in the grossest ignorance or most refined malice, and are utterly and entirely false; that the religion which I preach knows of no such

crimes; but that in place of vindicating her anew from such atrocious calumnies, or retorting on her antagonists the vices and errors of their lives or creeds, I will be satisfied to analyze the faith which God imparts; that faith which, working through charity, justifies man, and which can be found only in that Catholic Church from which England has been, alas! too long separated. If this be done, then it will clearly appear, that whatever may have been the vices or errors of individual men, the Church of God can never have taught, and never will teach anything inconsistent with social duty or moral virtue; and that the imputations above alluded to are against every rule of justice attached to her name. If then millions of men, whom I love as I love myself, are deceived and alienated from this faith, if this faith be every hour assailed, its tenets everywhere impugned, and impugned all the day long, no unworthy motive should be imputed or evil censure attach to him who justifies that faith, and labours to extend to his erring brethren its saving influence."

The Bishop expatiates at very considerable length, on the importance and necessity of faith. This virtue, he asserts, has been at all times sinned against. England had fallen away from the observance of it, revolted almost entire against the truth, and exerted every energy to produce its total overthrow—"a country which all but buried beneath the ruins which its revolutions made the covenant which it once had stricken with Almighty God. This country propagated its errors with its dominion into ours, and the apostates of our own race, the unnatural children of our own blood, siding with those by whom they were invaded, became, like noxious vermin, devourers of the womb in which they were generated. The light which history sheds upon times past, points out to the Catholics of Ireland the struggles of their ancestors, in maintaining against those men their fidelity to God. By it 'they wrought justice, obtained promises, stopped the mouths of lions, quenched the violence of fire, escaped the edge of the sword, recovered strength from weakness.' They suffered in maintaining it not alone the pillaging of their goods, but resisted even to the shedding of their blood. It was by the faith which they professed, and which we their descendants hold as firmly, that these wonders have been wrought; and this is the faith, purified from the errors and heresies infecting or subverting it in your country, which—after the example of its Author, who delivered himself to death for his enemies—we, forgetting the injuries done to us for ages past by your kings and your nobles, your priests and your people, are now most anxious to impart to you."

But to the admission of divine faith into minds wherein it had been once corrupted, he admitted a great and almost insurmount-

able obstacle was opposed—an obstacle created by that pride from which the holy writings testify that all evil took its rise. Such pride, ascending always, becomes every hour more removed from the humility, and obedience, and self-denial of the cross; and it never permits him whom it once possessed to estimate justly either its consequences or its guilt.

"In vain the Gospel is torn, the Testaments detached from each other, the ancient traditions, liturgies, and canons superseded; in vain the divine inspiration of the Scriptures is impugned; the canon of its books modelled to the caprice or opinion of him who reads it; in vain the rise, the fall, or the separation of sects without number; in vain errors the most glaring, and excesses the most revolting, are presented to the view of those engaged in this revolt; seeing they do not see them, hearing they do not hear them, knowing they do not understand them; for their heart is blinded, because they trust to that wisdom which God has made folly, they will not be converted to the humility of the cross, that the Lord might be appeased and return to heal them. They seize upon the Gospel, and glory in its possession, whilst they reject the Church which that Gospel so plainly demonstrates. They proclaim the divinity of this Gospel, and reject the testimony of those from whom they received it. They profess their belief in this Gospel, but disavow those whom Christ sent to preach it to the nations. They declare aloud they will obey Christ, but disdain to submit to those whom Christ desires them to hear and to obey. They condemn schisms, and they everywhere separate in creed and communion, one from the other. They anathematize heresy, and they all choose their own religion, regardless of all authority. They profess to revere mysteries, and they admit or reject them according to their own good will. They believe the Church of God is the pillar and ground of truth, and also believe that she was sunk in idolatry for eight hundred years. They believe this Church is one, and they also believe she is divided into sects whose creeds differ, and who anathematize each other. They believe this Church is universal, and they also believe that the most obscure sect, holding no communion with the entire earth, is a portion of this Church. They believe this Church was always visible—the assemblage of nations—and they also believe she was invisible and unknown. They believe this Church to be the spouse of Christ, faithful and beloved, and they also believe that His promises of perpetual protection and assistance to her have not been faithfully observed. In fine, they believe, or rather imagine whatever is most inconsistent, whatever is most contradictory, whatever is most derogatory to the divine honour; and they prove most demonstratively, to the true believer,

that God has rejected the prudence of the prudent, and reproved the wisdom of the wise; nay, that the wisdom of this world is with him nought but folly. Far be it from me to suppose or insinuate that all who are sharers in this revolt are equally partakers of its guilt. No! they who opened the sluices of error, and let in the waters of bitterness to deluge the field of the Church, are the great culprits. Their names are known, and their deeds are in execration. The timid, worthless men also, who, stationed as sentinels on the walls of the city of God, betrayed their trust, and surrendered to the enemy the fortress and inhabitants whom they were bound to protect; these men, who made their lives more precious than their souls, must pay the price of the trust which they betrayed. The men of power and of rank, whom the pleasures of this life corrupted, whom ambition blinded, whom avarice consumed, who pandered to the passions, and yielded to the power of an infuriated and infatuated king—these men are guilty of all the evils they should have averted, of all the tyranny, and cruelty, and rapine, and bloodshed, in which they infamously shared. The furious bigots, the wilful maligners, the deliberate opposers of the known truth, as well as those who continue to justify crime and oppress innocence, will drink the chalice of retribution to its very dregs; for them '*its lees will not be drained;*' they are 'those sinners of the earth,' whom the Psalmist says, 'will drink thereof.' But the crowds who have been carried away by the torrent, the sheep who were left to stray without a pastor, the people who were abandoned by their protectors, the subjects who were oppressed by law—for these there must be mercy. And their descendants, whom ye are—you who live, as it were, enclosed in a fortress guarded by all the spirits of error to whom light and truth can scarcely find access, whose education and habits are all perverted, but whose hearts are ready to obey, if they could only be taught to do the will of God; you may be unfortunate—and so you are—but who will condemn you of crime? It is for such as you, separated unfortunately from us, that we sigh as deeply and sincerely as Reuban did for Joseph; could we but meet you as that man did his brethren who had been his persecutors, we too would embrace you, even would clasp you in our arms, make known to you our common origin and interests; pardon all you did against us, and share with you those inestimable graces which the immortal and invisible God, the King of ages, has preserved to us, and perhaps also for you; for as Joel sayeth of him, 'who knows but he may return and forgive!'"

In giving expression to further views, Dr. Doyle said he lamented the enduring sophistry which provoked and prolonged his exertions, and he was constrained to admit that his labours in

self-defence had too often called forth increased rancour, and new and more foul misrepresentations. But at present a higher and a still better purpose lay before him. He intended to exhibit to the people of England the very foundation of the divine religion which he invited them to embrace—to lay bare the rock on which the Church is built, and to demonstrate to those who will view it, with even the light which reason sheds, that it is immovable as the God who placed it—as strong as eternity—more lasting than time! Confiding in the Divine goodness he would endeavour to expound the nature and qualities of faith, and labour to make manifest that on this foundation no man can build, unless through the agency of the Catholic Church; that she alone possesses it true and entire; and that all attempts to regulate our knowledge of, and belief in the revelation of God by private judgment, or any other means than the authority and judgment of the Catholic Church, is vain and futile.

"To pursue the fanatic," he adds, "through the mazes of his error, is impossible; for his error changes like the tints on the horizon at the setting sun. To discuss and justify every truth and practice of the Christian creed, as often as they are misunderstood or misrepresented by the ignorant, the wicked, and the base, is not within the scope of human exertion; to confound the calumniator, to contradict the defamer, to detect the liar, would require a thousand eyes, a thousand tongues, and a co-existence to all the cities, towns, and hamlets in your country. These things, therefore, being impossible, it remains only to exhibit, as it were, the edifice of Christianity; and by presenting it with its foundation to the view of all, prove to such as have eyes and can see, who have ears and can hear, who have knowledge and can understand, that in the Catholic Church alone, and not among those who are separated from her, can that faith be found by which the just man liveth, and without which it is impossible to please God."

In prosecuting this purpose Dr. Doyle divided his observations into several successive sections. His motives for doing so were that the various links of his reasoning might be viewed the more distinctly; that sophistry, should it be supposed by any foe to lurk in his words, might be easily detected; and that the truth pervading them might be the more brilliantly reflected. Dr. Doyle showed his usual tact in this arrangement. The division of the powers of the mind, like the division of labour in works of art, produces both expedition and perfection. The several sections which follow are too elaborate, logical, and comprehensive in their character to convey any adequate idea of by unconnected extracts. It may well be supposed that the analysis of a purely celestial theme involved no ordinary difficulty—"As the heavens are higher

than the earth," says an inspired writer, "so are His ways exalted above our ways, and His thoughts above our thoughts." Dr. Doyle, however, discharged his task with consummate ease and power. He simplified the divine subject of which he treated, and made it intelligible to the dullest understanding; while in conducting his arguments he followed closely the example of the primitive writers on Christianity, and had recourse to such sources of proof only as were not contested by his adversaries.

The principle held by the sectaries who contended against Dr. Doyle's views was, "That the means whereby men may believe rightly the law revealed to us by God are the Sacred Scriptures, as understood by each individual enlightened by a special grace, or instructed by the Holy Spirit, or as understood by the ordinary exercise and application of his own mental powers." "I am sure this is the most natural and intelligible shape," observes Dr. Doyle, "in which the hypothesis of our adversaries can be stated. Were it in my power to place their opinions in a point of view more favourable to them, I should certainly do it; for an argument is only prolonged, and its success exposed to failure, when it does not embrace, fully and fairly, the subject in dispute."

Having discussed this point to a considerable extent, the Bishop proceeded to inquire whether the Church of England was or was not guilty of schism. The conclusion at which Dr. Doyle arrived may readily be inferred. This book gives us a larger idea of his acquaintance with the Fathers, than any other composition of his pen.

Dr. Doyle's correspondence with his old friends continued uninterruptedly. Miss N——, of whom we have spoken (vol. i., p. 123), was not forgotten:

"Carlow, 18th January, 1830.

"Dear Sister—I am very sensible of your continued goodwill, and very much obliged by your letter. I should not be surprised if you seldom remembered, in the midst of your incessant occupations, a person so long and so far removed from you. I hope it is the habit of praying for me which still secures to me a place in your memory, and that now, aided by your dear and growing community, you will continue to recommend myself and those committed to my care—as also a Chapel I am endeavouring to build here—to the protection of our Blessed Lady, and the mercy of our good God. I recollect with great interest and sincere esteem your fellow-labourer, Miss ——, and am truly rejoiced that she has been thus far conducted and aided by divine Providence in her exertions to do His will and promote His glory. I beg earnestly of Heaven that He who commenced in her the good work of sanctification may perfect it, and that you may be enabled, for her sake

and your own, to walk before her in the ways of humility, self-denial, patience, prayer, and the love of God. My dear child, be a pattern to her and to all with you—not in words, but in works, and consider with your holy patron, St. Augustine, that they who are placed above others in authority, should in humility be placed under their feet. Lay down your office daily at the feet of Christ crucified, and take it up again sprinkled, as it were, with the blood of His cross—that blood wherewith he pacified all things in heaven and upon earth; for thus, as St. Paul observes of his duties to Timothy, you will save yourself and others.

"Why did you not mention to me many particulars of your new Convent—what the number of your sisters, the state of your schools, your health, and those small matters which cause you either joy or sorrow—for whilst we are here we must feel both, and in all of them I would feel an interest. But when you next have an opportunity of writing, you will do so; and I shall always be glad to hear from you whilst you continue, as I trust you always will, to serve God with a pure conscience and an humble heart. Above all things take care to be always humble, for without that foundation deeply and firmly laid, there can be no superstructure of a virtuous life.

"Your sisters in our Convent here are all tolerably well, thank God. My life continues to be filled with labour and care; but I have so often experienced the Divine protection that I should not fear any difficulties in the service of God. Hoping for your continual prayers to God for me, and also those of your sisters, I remain, &c., your faithful servant in Christ,

"✠ J. Doyle."

This "labour and care" was added to in no small degree by the troublesome correspondence which he was daily obliged to maintain. Dr. Doyle's letter to Lord Cloncurry, dated 20th February, 1829, on the subject of a misrepresentation of that Peer's views by an old Priest of the diocess of Kildare and Leighlin, ought, one would think, to have settled that point as far as it was in the Bishop's power to do so; but Lord Cloncurry had yet to be fully satisfied:

"Carlow, 12th February, 1830.

"My Lord—On my return here from Dublin, late on yesterday, I found upon my table the letter with which your Lordship has honoured me. I assure you there is not a nobleman in Ireland, with the exception of the Duke of Leinster, whom I would be more anxious to gratify than your Lordship; so that if in this letter I do not in all respects fulfil your wishes, the deficiency will not be owing to a want on my part of an inclination to do so.

"I have not seen the Seventeenth Report of the Kildare-place

Society, unless in the mutilated shape in which it appeared in the newspapers, and am, therefore, but imperfectly acquainted with the nature of the calumnies on your Lordship published in that Report. But as the speeches and documents emanating, for years past, from that place have been chiefly remarkable for a want of candour and truth, it is to me a matter of some surprise that they could give your Lordship pain; for what is the value of good sense, rectitude of conduct, and high character, unless they afford protection against the evil reports and misrepresentations which are constantly emanating from such places as Kildare-street?

"I recollect the substance of your Lordship's communication to me last year, relative to the late Rev. Mr. Nolan. I sent for him at that time, and after hearing him I wrote you a note—to which I beg now to refer you—wherein I expressed for him, and at his desire, his contrition for the injury he had done your Lordship. I adverted, if I recollect well, to the natural acerbity of his temper, and to the illness under which he laboured—an illness which terminated shortly afterwards in his death. I thought then, and had reason given to me to think that your Lordship was appeased, and therefore was filled with regret when I found, in a letter recently published by your Lordship, a most severe animadversion on the memory of a man removed from this scene of contention—a man who, whatever might have been his faults, had once enjoyed your friendship, and who, your Lordship will permit me to say it, had a right to have his faults buried with him in his grave.

"Far be it from me to excuse his conduct. His misrepresentation of your Lordship was most unwarrantable; he regretted it deeply and bitterly. His letter, he said, was written to the Kildare-street people at a moment when trouble and disease embittered his mind. They applied to him for permission to publish that letter, which he declined to give; but they of Kildare-street had a purpose to serve, and did not hesitate about the means of effecting it. They published the letter, and wounded your Lordship; but they sacrificed their own honour, as well as the feelings and character of a dying man. I confess, my Lord, that I am at a loss as to the mode in which I should, as you require, aid in vindicating your name in this matter otherwise than I have done—by placing in your hands the note to which I have above referred; for your Lordship will not require of me to pronounce of a dead man that he was, whilst living, guilty of ingratitude and dishonesty, when the subject-matter of the charge is hospitality exercised towards him, and dealings in houses and lands, of the merits of which I am ignorant, but with respect to which the deceased, who cannot now plead, held opinions the very reverse of those entertained by your Lordship.

"For my own part, and independent of this matter, I am quite certain that, besides your Lordship's unwillingness to be found allied with 'certain needy lawyers, showing no other utility than that of doing mischief,' you objected to the Kildare-street system, not because it required the indiscriminate reading of the Sacred Scriptures by children, without note or comment—however you might think such a system liable to abuse—but principally because you found that Catholic children would not resort to schools in which such a system prevailed, and, therefore, that money levied off the whole community would be employed to educate the children of only a small portion of the people, which goads and insults the great majority of them. It was this reason which weighed with your Lordship—and with whom does it not weigh, unless with fanatics or the weak-minded, or those who love discord and rejoice when they do evil? And certainly with such a reason, so often avowed by your Lordship, I think you stand so fairly before the country as to be in no need whatever of my poor testimony for your vindication.

"Your Lordship, being a Protestant, need not assign a reason, as we Catholics are bound to do, why the reading of the Sacred Scriptures without note or comment by children is objected to by us; for your Lordship, as a public man, it is enough to know that the Kildare-place system of education is cast off by the vast majority of the people, and upon religious grounds, which in Ireland have been and are, and I trust always will be, immovable. It belongs to us Catholics to state the reason of this our determination. We have done so one thousand times, in every place and in every form; but, like one singing to the deaf or preaching to the dead, we hitherto have not been heard. Accept, I pray you, the assurance of the perfect esteem with which I have the honour to remain, my Lord, &c.,

"✠ J. Doyle."

A further correspondence ensued, which Dr. Doyle thus wound up: "I am sincerely sorry that there should be any necessity of reverting to these calumnies on your Lordship, now that Mr. Nolan is removed from among us, especially as his conduct in reference to that Society, and to your Lordship, was such as cannot be vindicated; but he was, as your Lordship recollects, a person of very peculiar habits of mind and character. He always considered and designated the Kildare-place people as a congregation of knaves who squandered the public money; and thought himself justified in dealing with them as they dealt with Government and the country."*

Also prominent amongst the Bishop's "cares" was the anxiety

* "Personal Recollections of Lord Cloncurry," pp. 320-1-2-3.

to see a sound and reformed system of Education for the people established in Ireland. The following letter is addressed to Sir H. Parnell:

"Carlow, 23rd February, 1830.

"MY DEAR SIR—A report of some late debate in the House of Commons informs me that you are in London, and, agreeably to a usage which you have permitted to grow old, I proceed to trouble you with the subject of education here, in which I am so deeply and immediately interested. The grants to the Kildare-place Society, and all the evils and dissensions consequent upon them were continued last year. Nor could we in decency interfere whilst the Government and Parliament were occupied with the Relief Bill; but this year the Catholic Bishops, at their late meeting in Dublin, agreed to a petition on the subject hoping that now, when the passions are less heated than usual in Ireland, something may be done to extend education to all the people, and to disable one party from employing the public money in irritating and tormenting the other. It is a matter of fact, whatever may be stated to the contrary, that except in the North, the Kildare-place people do not and cannot induce any portion of the Catholic children to attend their schools; that the schoolhouses built by them are shut up, or peopled by some half-dozen of foundlings, or of children of the police, or of the lowest description of poor Protestants, whilst the education of the people generally is left totally unassisted. There is no sense in such a system, and I beg of you to represent it strongly to those who can change it, especially as the continuance of it will perpetuate religious bickerings and jealousies in almost every village in the country. Nor is there one other topic at present which might be so advantageously laid hold of by a person disposed to excite anew the passions of the people. It is also to be observed that the mere motion of the Government is only required to put an end to this evil, and that we who pray them to attend to it, have done all in our power to promote the views of Government, whilst their own opponents, who thwart all their measures, adhere to this system of division and discord. We have a great deal of distress here, but I will say nothing of it, hoping things may mend. You heard of the associations of deluded people in the Queen's County. They are now broken up, but the cause of their discontent still exists, and will long continue.—I have, &c.,

"✠ J. DOYLE."

Unlike the disturbed districts of the Queen's County, there was a portion of the Bishop's diocess which had preserved intact the most primitive piety. This gratifying circumstance is alluded to in the following letter to his correspondent, Clare. He also

speaks of a distinguished nun, whom it was hoped would have accepted the office of Superioress in the Convent of which Clare was an inmate. The Archbishop of Dublin, however, hesitated about sending her to another diocess. "So," writes Dr. Doyle, "you must seek to get perfect without her. Be not impatient, dear Clare, at not having such a guide; God is able and condescends to direct you if you abandon yourself to His direction, obeying cheerfully the rule you profess, not anxious to be better or fearful of being worse than you are; then you will fulfil the will of of Heaven, and He who is your justification will justify you still more; He who is your propitiation will atone for you still more, washing you every day from the stains of your sins; He who is your peace will give tranquillity to your soul; for it is He and nothing but He who can bestow it.

"You wish to see me in Carlow, and I am like a prisoner whilst I am away from it; and if I had time to spend in amusing reflections, 'tis to Carlow they should turn insensibly—but every place I have been in is dear to me; the virtues of the people or their necessities equally attach me to them, and I could almost wish to spend my life in each of the parishes I have visited; but why do I obtrude these subjects on you? I spent half-an-hour with the Sisters here last night, after my return from the country, where I prepared the building of a Chapel; they are very good of course, and were glad to see me; we talked something of their new house of sickness and of Heaven, and thus we parted. Adieu, my dear Clare, I hope to see you the latter end of next week. I have written you one of my longest letters. I cannot name my friends; you know them all; say to them that with undiminished affection I remain their and your friend, &c., "✠ J. Doyle."

On the same day he writes to Mariana:

"Carlow, 23rd February, 1830.

"My dear Friend—I was delighted, whilst perusing your letter, at all the goodness and all the strange fancies which you have so happily expressed. I wish I were in Africa to see his sable majesty, and hear the shouts of his slaves ascend Mount Atlas. It is an admirable view of the physical and moral world, and would afford to me vastly more pleasure than a Cardinal's hat; but as your own projected visit to the Continent was put off till your spirit is loosed, so I must postpone my view of the blacks, their mosques and groves, until some new revolution disturbs the world, or enables me to ascend, without money or wings, to the summit of that giant mountain which upholds and overtops this nether earth. At present your concern is with your beads and young *elèves*—mine with lent, and bile, and chapel

building, and money getting; all of which promise badly enough, but are not able to cast me down half so low as you would apprehend. I was gratified very sincerely and very much by meeting our worthy friend Dr. Harold, and felt pain that I could not accept his kind proposal of carrying me out to visit you. Pray thank him for me, and you cannot exaggerate my favourable opinion of him. I believe that, despite of my 'great wisdom,' I looked at him with your eyes, and then it will not surprise you that I was so much gratified to see and know him. Unless some sense of duty, about which I understand nothing, should take him back to America, he ought not, at this period of life, leave his convent and the good works which he can there perform. He has given time enough to the world, whether for fame, or gratification, or improvement of himself or others—such a man as he is requires time for his own private use.

"Miss G—— is going to heaven by forced marches; to say the truth, she does good things better than any other person except you. She charged me manfully about the lent, and I laughed as heartily at her. When I write I will tell her all manner of good things of you, and how the people at Calais don't like to set off to heaven during the cold weather. My dear friends the French always had peculiarities in everything, and have that sort of religion which suits their nation and the notions prevailing with it. Tis so with every nation and people under the sun, and our own business is to look on—be instructed and amused, but not influenced by anything but the unchanged spirit of the Gospel. I did not hear of Prince Hohenlohe's death, but I think it high time for him to die, for if such a man were to live too long he might, with his load of merits, occupy too large a place in the New Jerusalem. The young Bishop in Kilkenny would be a fit successor for him; he prays, and preaches, and all but works miracles, as well as many others whose names are not in the calendar. I think they were peculiarly fortunate in Kilkenny to get such a Bishop. He gave me a subscription to my Chapel, which I think was an act of the most heroic virtue. Would to God that all the Bishops and Religious, who having nothing possess all things, would imitate him in that respect; then indeed would virtue flourish, and the lent pass over us like a summer cloud! . . . . Pray for my Chapel, and if you hear that I am living at Easter write to me.—Believe me, &c.,

"✠ J. Doyle."

Dr. Harold, of whom Dr. Doyle speaks in this and a former letter, afterwards refused a mitre. He had sought an introduction to Dr. Doyle, and with him, as before stated, the Bishop formed

his last friendship. Dr. Doyle reposed great confidence in his own power of discerning character, and generally shaped his conduct from first impressions. Upon being introduced to a person, he at once decided whether he was to like or dislike him for ever. "When really fond of an individual," observes a well-known divine, "he would lavish upon him the warmest marks of affection. He would either exalt his friend as a little deity, or subjugate him with a frown." This, however, must be taken with some qualification.

It may truly be said, that almost in every thought, conversation, dream, letter, or even joke of Dr. Doyle's at this period, the new Cathedral, then in course of erection, occupied a prominent position. Addressing an influential nun he says: "When you write, which I hope will be shortly, tell me do you content yourself with praying to God for my Chapel, and not also prefer occasional petitions to the rich people who resort to you. God feeds the sparrow. In truth he does; but it is by giving him wings, a bill, and claws to provide for himself."

Writing to his niece, 28th February, 1830, he says: "When Mr. C—— informed me of the zeal and disinterestedness evinced by your Clergy, and the kindness manifested by the laity on the occasion of his visit to Wexford, I felt more grateful than I could well express; but certainly regretted that he should have made his application for subscriptions so general; for though I am very anxious to get money to carry on our building, I would not commence applying for donations generally or publicly abroad until my resources at home should be first exhausted. My late illness, and afterwards my absence from Carlow, with the thousand cares and distractions always pressing on me, prevented me till now from writing to you; but I know you will not only excuse me, but make my apology to those whom I ought without any delay to have thanked for a kindness, which I shall always recollect. I am sorry to hear your dear mother is declining—but she is only hastening to her true home, for which God in his mercy has been preparing her for many years past; we are all advancing in the same course."

In March, 1830, Dr. Doyle had a correspondence with Dr. Harvey, on the advantages of a well-organized Temperance Society. He assured him that the Society might calculate on his zealous co-operation; for how could he, or any clergyman employed in sowing the Gospel seed, be truly solicitous for its growth and increase unless they were also anxious to prepare the ground wherein it is sown. A torrent of iniquity, like the mountain flood, had been gradually covering that portion of the Lord's vineyard. No one whose attention had been directed to public morals could fail to see

and well-nigh touch the evils of drunkenness—a vice which enters like oil into the bones of a man, and is transmitted with his blood as an inheritance of woe to his children. It wastes his property, enfeebles his mind, breaks down his frame, exposes his soul to perdition, and ruins his posterity. Those who believe that "the kingdom of heaven is taken by violence, and that the violent bear it away," should not lightly reject a mode of reforming public morals, whose only imputed fault is that it offers violence to passion or guilt, and proposes to men the propriety of living soberly and justly in this world.

"Men," he added, "oftentimes approve of what they have not courage to practise, and applaud, or even imitate at an humble distance, that excellence to which they themselves do not hope to arrive. So, many persons who may not become members of your Society will approve and applaud your rules—will even observe them in spirit, and promote a feeling in their favour which will operate slowly, perhaps, but steadily, in support of the good cause of temperance and sobriety. Such men will not give the name of enthusiasm to the perfection of virtue itself. Indeed the Divine economy, amongst the means of reforming men, has been careful always to set before them, like shining lights, individuals of the most heroic virtue; and the contemplation of the superior excellence of such highly-gifted persons has ever been to others a warning against evil and an incitement to good. This consideration tends to confirm me in the opinion that your Society has acted wisely in the framing and adoption of its rules; and that the imputed fault of their too great rigour or perfection is a mark of their wisdom and a presage of their future efficacy. What you want is publicity. Few persons could read your admirable little tracts and not be more or less reformed; they have increased and sharpened even my habitual horror of drunkenness. Would to God that the Press, with its mighty power, could be engaged to give to your publications the place which is sometimes allotted in its pages to extracts of those light and frivolous works which are impairing the character and vitiating the literature of our age."

The Bishop sought an occasional hour of relaxation about this period in the study of the Celtic history and literature of Ireland. He entered warmly into the subject, and, anxious to promote the objects for which the Royal Irish Academy was founded, he opened a correspondence with Dr. Petrie, and incidentally mentioned his willingness to become a member of that important national institution. Ill health, however, which he never subsequently shook off, laid its iron grasp upon him soon after, and the matter fell into abeyance.

Mr. D'Alton, having forwarded to Dr. Doyle a presentation

copy of his prize Essay on Ancient Ireland, received from the Bishop the following acknowledgment. Moore's "History of Ireland," we may observe, had not then appeared:

"Carlow, 18th March, 1830.

"DEAR SIR—I have read with more satisfaction than I could express your Essay on Ancient Ireland. It deserved richly the distinction conferred on it by the R. I. Academy; and I have no doubt that the publication of it will be followed by the approval of every man attached to truth, and who feels an interest in the fame and fortunes of this interesting country. The order of the Essay, the classification of its subjects, the extensive research displayed in it, the correct inferences drawn by the writer, and set forth so dispassionately, must ensure to him, in my opinion, a more than ordinary share of public estimation. He will, I hope, be encouraged to follow up his own views, and form out of the wide materials which he possesses, or can find access to, that great desideratum in literature, 'an History of Ireland.'

"My strong attachment to the country of my ancestors and of my birth forced me, from time to time, to make an effort to become acquainted with what she has been, as well as with what she is and might become; and I am sincerely glad to find that the opinion I had formed of the state of ancient Ireland is justified by its coincidence with yours—if not in every particular, at least generally. Our origin and early possession of letters, and, consequently, of a certain degreee of civilization, are, I think, points settled; but I cannot hide from myself that, though we possessed at certain periods a relative superiority over other countries, we never attained to eminence as a nation. The Egyptians, Persians, Arabs, the Greeks and Romans, the Italians, Goths, Gauls, Britons, and the several Slavonic nations, were thus enabled to fix their governments on a solid basis, and maintain that independence which protected the arts and sciences amongst them—and several of them did so under disadvantages far greater than the ancient Irish laboured under. Must we then trace to the genius of our ancestors their little progress in social government, and their relapse into semi-barbarism when assailed by the Danes?

"I know not in what language to thank you for your kindness in sending me so valuable a copy of your work. I feel exceedingly indebted to you, and you will accept my warmest thanks for so estimable a mark of your esteem."

Dr. Doyle's occupations during the greater part of this year were those of the theologian rather than of the tribune. His political labours flagged; but as a soldier of Christ he continued indefatigable. He conducted two retreats—one for Parish Priests, and

the other for Curates. The detail of his meditations was elaborate and striking. He preached four times each day on the duties of the ecclesiastical state. He awakened a sense of responsibility within the breasts of his hearers which had been, in many instances, slumbering. "I thought that nothing could be more awful or more grand than the Curates' retreat," observes an informant, "but having occasion afterwards to attend his retreat for Parish Priests, I found it was fifty-fold more impressive and awful."

Care and anxiety, as he assures his correspondents, continued to sear his heart. He loved to mingle among the students of Carlow College, and to renew in their society those happy scenes and occupations which his elevation to the episcopacy may be said to have terminated. In the days of his professorship he had known not care or sorrow. His life was so utterly exempt from crosses that, as he assures his niece in 1817, he fears that many hardships must yet be in store for him. It is therefore not surprising that when this dreaded visitation came at last, he should have occasionally sought to forget it, in a brief revival of the occupations which had formerly made his life a happy one. He had a peculiar faculty—an attribute which belongs only to men of high genius—of stamping an original character on every theological decision he gave; and such was the freshness and vigour with which he illustrated his propositions, that the hearer never once mistook and never forgot a single opinion he advanced. "In fact," observes the Rev. Dr. Magee of Carlow, in a letter to the author, "his decisions are remembered to the present day by the Priests of this diocess, as freshly as the moment he uttered them from the pulpit. His views on the lawfulness of receiving legal interest, on 'the sole title of the law,' on the right of the poor to support, and on innumerable other difficult questions, were quite in advance of the teaching of his day; and they have all since been sanctioned by the school. He had the singular gift of imparting a defined and practical character to his teaching, of which the Diocesan Statutes, principally the work of his master mind, give us the highest evidence; and there can hardly be a doubt, judging from the proofs of genius and capacity his juvenile efforts display, that had it pleased Providence to leave him for a longer time in the theological chair at Carlow, he would have produced works in that department which would have entitled him to be ranked amongst the first masters of the school."

In his lectures to students, the broad and expansive views, which the power of innate genius enabled him to take of every subject he touched, were striking. In moral theology he was deeply versed; and he read with the utmost care, as his voluminous marginal notes prove. The works of Suarez, Bonnacina,

Vasques, Lessino—all the most distinguished masters of the school on every subject, are studded with his autograph annotations; while his extensive historical knowledge, and, above all, his thorough acquaintance with the Sacred Scriptures, enabled him to give the grandest expositions of Christian dogmatics, and to treat polemical topics with a power and clearness little short of that shown by Bellarmin or Bossuet.

The opinions recorded by Dr. Doyle, in marginal notes upon his copy of Dens' Theology, are of the same enlightened and progressive character. To the question, "*An hæretici rectè puniantur morte?*" Dens answers in the affirmative; but Dr. Doyle writes, "Shockingly false!" Dens appeals to the old Jewish law; Dr. Doyle says, "A theocracy is no rule for us." Dens lays it down, "*Infideles baptizari possunt compelli;*" Dr. Doyle observes, "*Dominus non indiget auxilis hominum: non sic docuerunt apostoli!*"

His progressive views as an ecclesiastic might be illustrated by numerous extracts from his private letters. The following has reference to the reception of novices in some religious orders. A majority of votes should always attest their elegibility: "I have, from time to time, suggested to men of various religious orders the necessity of some further improvement in their mode of proceeding; but in vain. They seem to me the bodies of men who are profiting least of the lights of the age. I regret this exceedingly, and I can do no more—though I remember having once offered my personal labour in preparing a draft of a system of reformation among them."

It is interesting to trace the Bishop's efforts to cast off care in his correspondence with Mariana:

"Carlow, 29th April, 1830.

"My dear Mariana—I like a large space wherein to move, however trifling or grave the matter which occupies me, and therefore have taken this large sheet to place myself at my ease whilst writing to you. I almost forget how the lent agreed or disagreed with me. I think I am now, thank God, about in my usual state, just as well and perhaps better than I ought to be; never in pain or pleasure for a long time, but always satisfied with evils which I cannot remove, or hoping for a future state of repose when the body will be recast, and the mind more enlightened and free.

"This church of ours is progressing, thanks to Providence and to the prayers and money of the just and good. Your share in it will be better than mine, for you will have the merit of building it, whilst the labour of doing so devolves, in a great degree, on me; but the Lord, wisely and providently for his Church, gave

to her, ministers whose passions, restrained in many things, might sustain them in those exertions which need no control. Thus I labour, but then in doing so I gratify my feelings, having, as you do, purified my intention. You want to know something of Fleury—well, he is the ablest historian the Church has produced; but he told truth sometimes without disguise and censured the views and conduct of many persons, who in return gave him a bad name. Your speculation about the meetings of the Bishops will not be fully realized. They will meet but once a-year, in summer, and probably not in Dublin; so I apprehend they who wish to see you, and whom you wish to see, must visit you for your own and their sake, and not for the purpose of taking air by driving to see you, or relaxing their fretted brain after deep thought, and solemn disputation, by conversing with a fine, good-natured, witty, holy nun. Give my compliments to Dr. Harold in the most respectful manner; and now having disposed of all things else, I shall expend the remaining page in a dissertation on the pure love of God—is it not that unknown thing you inquire about? Well, my dear friend, this, if it exist, is like the philosopher's stone—many seek for it, but they who boast of having found it are, I believe, fools or impostors, Whilst we are in the body we cannot know God well, and our love of him, however we may work up our imagination, is always proportioned to our knowledge. Tertullian says—and the thought is a good or rather an ingenious one—that He came in the flesh to enable us to love Him, which we could not well do whilst His spiritual nature only was proposed as the object of our affections. The Quietists, and a number of enthusiasts of all times and religions, pretended that we could separate the love of God from the love of ourselves, but that is all nonsense. He succeeds best who loves God first and himself next, for in general we love ourselves above all things and God for our own sake. Many people among the saints succeeded in silencing earthly desires, and, employing their imagination upon what religion has made known of God, were enabled through grace to think frequently of Him and seldom of themselves; but in general the best of us, who are not enthusiasts, can only watch and check the passions, and hide from the mind the influence of them, which, however, operates upon all our conduct. This is a very good state, nevertheless, and as much as God requires of most people; and the man or woman has a head of wood who expects more from anyone. The outward actions ought to be conformable to the rule prescribed by the law of God, and the inward regulated by the Holy Spirit, obtained by prayer, sacraments, &c.—Adieu!"

Dr. Doyle's powers of political perception and prediction were

remarkable. Writing to a lady on 29th April, 1830, he makes an allusion to the memorable French Revolution of the following July. "Depend on it, my dear M——, your mother is in good health and spirits; so much so, that if a revolution occurred in France, she would not suffer much in mind or body by it. She has too much of what is better than philosophy, to save her from the accidents of this life. Be content then in sending up a prayer occasionally for her soul's health, and be assured the continental air and mode of living will provide for the rest of her."

CHAPTER XXXII.

Oppression of the poor—Families lodged, clothed, and fed on threepence a-day—Striking picture presented by Dr. Doyle—He is examined before Parliament on the state of the Irish poor—Analysis of his Evidence—Appaling results of eviction—Lord Monteagle and Mr. G. P. Scrope, M.P. communicate to this work their impressions of his Evidence—Dr. Doyle's correspondence with Lord Monteagle—Letter from and to Lord F. Leveson Gower—The Education Question—A petition—Correspondence with his niece, Bishop O'Connor, Sir H. Parnell, and with a lady in affliction—Death of George IV., and General Election—Sends Syrenus on a mission to England—Lord Clare's Bill for demolishing Catholic chapels—Letter to Lord Cloncurry—Munificent act of Dr. Doyle—Amusing incident.

"THE gentry in Ireland," said Arthur Young, "have no mercy for the poor." Dr. Doyle, fifty years after, complained, in his Eleventh Letter on the "State of Ireland," that the poor had been hitherto regarded as less than men, and their wants treated with the utmost indifference; that their extermination would seem to have been long sought for, and every method of persecution which human ingenuity could devise exhausted upon them; that their oppression called to heaven for vengeance—but found on earth no ear opened, or heart expanded to complaint. The monasteries were demolished which had been an inexhaustible source of succour to the poor; not only did charity cease to be exercised, but the religion which enjoined it began, by a strange perversion, to dry up the sources of human benevolence and to alienate the affections, or harden the hearts of those who should be bountiful to the poor. These were the chief causes, he argued, why a legal provision for the poor of Ireland was more necessary than a similar measure in any other civilized country.

The evidence already submitted to the select Committees of both Houses of Parliament proved that the average wages of a labouring man in Ireland was hardly worth three-pence a-day.

"Three-pence a-day for such as obtain employment," mused the Bishop, "whilst in a family where one or two persons are employed, there may be four, perhaps six others, dependent on these two for support. Good God! an entire family to be lodged, clothed, fed, on three-pence a-day! less than the average price of a single stone of potatoes; equal only to the value of a single quart of oatmeal! What further illustration can be required? why refer to the nakedness—to the hunger of individuals? why speak of parishes receiving extreme unction before they expired of hunger? why be surprised at men feeding on manure?—of contending with the cattle about the weeds?—of being lodged in huts, and sleeping on the clay?—of being destitute of energy, of education, of the virtues or qualities of the children of men? Is it not clear, is it not evident, that the great mass of the poor are in a state of habitual famine, the prey of every mental and bodily disease? Why are we surprised at the spectres who haunt our dwellings, whose tales of distress rend our hearts—at the distracted air and incoherent language of the wretched father who starts from the presence of his famished wife and children, and gives vent abroad in disjointed sounds to the agony of his soul? How often have I met and laboured to console such a father; how often have I endeavoured to justify to him the ways of Providence, and check the blasphemy against heaven which was already seated on his tongue! How often have I seen the visage of the youth, which should be red with vigour, pale and emaciated; and the man who had scarcely seen his fortieth year withered like the autumn leaf, and his face furrowed with the wrinkles of old age! How often has the virgin, pure and spotless as the snow of heaven, detailed to me the miseries of her family, her own destitution, and sought, through the ministry of Christ, for some supernatural support, whereby to resist the allurements of the seducer, and to preserve, untainted, the dearest virtue of her soul! But above all, how often have I viewed with my eyes in the person of the wife, and of the widow, of the aged and the orphan, the aggregate of all the misery which it was possible for human nature to sustain! and how often have these persons disappeared from my eyes, returned to their wretched abode, and closed in the cold embrace of death their lives and their misfortunes! What light can be shed on the distresses of the Irish poor by statements of facts, when their notoriety and extent are known throughout the earth. Might it not detract from the picture of it, which must be present to every reflecting mind, to state, that in a parish with which I am connected, consisting of about eight thousand souls, not less than three hundred and thirty-seven families were relieved as public paupers during the last year; and that probably one-half as many

more, who would prefer death to the public exposure of their distress, suffered for nearly two months all the horrors of extreme want? How will it illustrate the extent or nature of our distress to state, that in another parish, with which I am equally well acquainted, six-sevenths of the population subsisted for months of the last year either on alms or on one scanty meal of the most wretched food; and that the furniture of their houses, their wearing apparel, and nearly all the movables they possessed, were sold or pledged to provide them with this pittance! No; these facts, and such facts as these, were they alone adduced and substantiated as proofs of the want of any people in Europe except the Irish, they would fill every mind with horror, and every heart with compassion; they would not fail to excite the favourable attention of the rulers of such a people, and insure to the sufferers a certain relief. But Ireland, always unhappy—always oppressed, is reviled when she complains, is persecuted when she struggles; her evils are suffered to corrode her, and her wrongs are never to be redressed! We look to her pastures, and they teem with milk and fatness; to her fields, and they are covered with bread; to her flocks, and they are numerous as the bees which encircle the hive; to her ports, they are safe and spacious; to her rivers, they are deep and navigable; to her inhabitants, they are industrious, brave, and intelligent as any people on the earth; to her position on the globe, and she seems to be intended as the emporium of wealth, as the mart of universal commerce; and yet, ... but no, we will not state the causes, they are obvious to the sight and to the touch; it is enough that the mass of her children are the most wretched of any civilized people on the globe."

Dr. Doyle's powerful appeal was hearkened to at last. In March, 1830, the Select Committee appointed to take into consideration the state of the Irish poor, and the best means of improving their condition, commenced its sittings. The members of the Committee applied themselves to the collection of such a mass of facts as should enable the House to form correct opinions on the state of the poorer classes in Ireland. They made the most minute and laborious inquiry into the actual state of the poor, considered in all points of view, moral, political, physical, and economical.

On the 3rd of June, 1830, Dr. Doyle, in obedience to a special summons, arrived at the House of Commons for examination. The number of questions put to him during the three days' examination amounted to 468. The copiousness and force of his replies excited general astonishment; and their manly unreserve elicited expressions of respect and admiration. A miserable spirit of cautious uncommunicativeness characterized the evidence of several

intelligent men who had been examined on the same inquiry. In most instances the replies given to the questions of the Committee averaged from a few words to a few lines; but the comprehensiveness of Dr. Doyle's thought could neither brook nor understand any contracted limit. We have calculated the extent of one of his replies: it occurs at page 405 of the Report, and comprises 689 words; but there are several other answers of his hardly less voluminous.

The huge Report of the Committee, filling nearly 1,000 pages, at length appeared. It expressed regret at being obliged to state that there would seem to have been ground for some of the startling assertions made. The Report then notices Dr. Doyle's reply to query 4384: "*Q.* What is the change that takes place with respect to those ejected tenants—where do they seek an asylum when they quit their farms? *A.* An example is very often the best explanation of a subject; and I will take one, not to *exaggerate* the matter, but to illustrate it. It occurred near me the other day. A gentlemen ejected a few tenants (eight or ten families), some of whom sought an asylum with the neighbouring tenantry on the estate, and it was stated to me, on unquestionable authority, that the *landlord prevented* those other tenants from affording to the ejected people that asylum. They then wandered about for some days or weeks, till another gentleman in the neighbourhood of a humane disposition afforded them some temporary accommodation, and gave them patches of land upon which to build huts. In other cases they wander about without a fixed residence. The young people, in some instances, endeavour to emigrate to America. If the family have a little furniture, or a cow, or a horse, they sell the latter, and come into small towns, where they often got licenses to sell beer and whiskey. After a short time their little capital is expended, and they become dependent on the *charity* of the town." "Dr. Doyle," observes the Report, "describes the condition of this suffering class in the strongest and most impressive manner: 'They next give up their house, and are obliged to take, not a room, but what they call a *corner*. Four of these wretched families are sometimes accommodated in one small apartment of a cabin, and three in another. I have not myself seen so many as seven families in one of these cabins; but I have been assured by one of the officiating clergymen that there are many instances of it. Their beds are merely a little straw spread at night on the floor, and by day wrapped up or covered with a quilt or with a blanket. In these abodes of misery disease is often produced by extreme want; disease wastes the people, for they have no food or comforts to restore them; they die in a little time. I have known a small district adjoining the town in which I live to have

been peopled by thirty or forty families who came from the country, and I think that in the course of twelve months there were not ten families of the thirty surviving.'" "Such," comments the Report, "is the striking picture given of the deplorable suffering existing among certain classes of the Irish poor."

The suffering which Dr. Doyle so impressively described can hardly be regarded as a novelty in Ireland. Spencer, writing in the reign of Elizabeth, says: "The landlords there (Ireland) most shamefully rack their tenants." Dean Swift observes: "The rents are squeezed out of the very blood and vitals, and clothes and dwellings of the tenants, who live worse than English beggars." This despotism was generally exercised by the descendants of those who had become possessed of the fair fields of Ireland by the most unjust and sweeping confiscations; and instead of rather making amends by kindness to the inheritors of wretchedness, they perversely aroused them by persecution to acts of revenge. Dr. Doyle saw, therefore, that some counteracting power was peculiarly necessary in Ireland to prevent the law of nature, of God, and of society from being set at defiance, and he well knew that such prevention could be attained only by a system of poor laws, chargeable on real property. It struck him as extremely inconsistent that in Ireland, where the usage of banishing human beings was then as frequent as the expiration of leases, no legal mode of sustentation, no legislative regard for the life of the poor man should exist; while in all other European countries that suffered not the revolutions of property which Ireland had done—whose upper classes were kind and fostering to their more humble countrymen, he everywhere discovered some form of popular support interwoven with the laws of the land.

To the question, "Had there been any peculiar circumstances that led to the increased mass of unemployed labour?" Dr. Doyle replied to the Committee in the affirmative: "I think after the peace, the fall in the price of agricultural produce was amongst the chief of those causes. The failure of several banks, and a consequent contraction of the circulating medium, occurred shortly afterwards. Then arose a disposition, prevailing generally amongst proprietors of land, to consolidate their farms and eject the poor tenantry. This disposition was encouraged and aided by several legal enactments, among which I may specify Sir John Newport's Act, which enables the landlord by a short process to eject the tenant; next, the Sub-letting Act; and afterwards the Act annexed to the late Relief Bill, which disfranchised the forty-shilling freeholders. All those causes combined to throw a great many persons out of their homes and ordinary modes of life—persons to whom no resource was left but that of seeking employment.—

Thus the stock of labour being increased and the demand lessened, there must of course be a great quantity of it unemployed."

Dr. Doyle unfolded his views at very considerable length in favour of the formation of some legal body in every parish to look after the interests of the poor, and to classify them, to exclude vagrants, and to give a proper direction to the benevolence of the people. He maintained that the State is strictly obliged by justice, and by divine and natural law, to provide for the poor, and to entrust the distribution of such provision to competent persons. Petty objections to his plan were eagerly urged by some members of the Committee. Dr. Doyle replied that a little inconvenience should be borne, and we ought rather say with Pope, "All partial ill is universal good," than suffer the poor to perish as they then did. "We should not have their blood upon us rather than encounter a difficulty which, giving it its full weight, is not very considerable." A member objected, that one of the Bishop's plans tended to punish the innocent in common with the guilty. He replied, that Providence in many instances punishes the children for the crimes of their fathers, and "we cannot expect to manage a limited system of government in a wiser manner than the Supreme Being governs the whole universe." He added that the committee which he suggested should last only for one year; all its proceedings should be open; the parishioners should be at liberty to praise or censure it; and thus guard against abuse. "Any abuses which might arise would be small and of short duration; but to expect there could be a body of men doing any work into which no imperfection will creep, is to suppose that men are more than human." In reply to another cavil, he declared that if we were to abrogate everything which may be liable to abuse we should have to abolish Christianity itself.

Apart from the higher claims of justice and humanity, Dr. Doyle argued that the introduction of a well regulated provision for the poor would be productive of many social benefits. "Is it no advantage," he said, "to raise the character of the lowest class in the community to some sensible degree in the scale of existence? To rescue the virgin from prostitution—the parent from despair? To prolong the life of our fellow-creature to the term fixed for it by Almighty God? To turn away the child from theft, from lies, from disobedience, from deceit? To purify from filth and rottenness the dwellings, the board, the bed of the Irish pauper? To enable even the dregs of the people to acquire some education, so as to enable them to discern between vice and virtue? To point out to the starving labourer or artizan some resource in the hour of need, to turn him away from that rapine, violence, and murder, in which distress has prompted him but too

often to engage? Are these no advantages? And if they be, are they not worth being purchased at some expense? do they not deserve that we should make some sacrifice to obtain them, even though such sacrifice were not commanded both by justice and religion?"

"*Q.* You mentioned the extent to which the evil of subdividing land had reached at a late period; was not the state of Ireland something of this kind, namely, a choice of difficulties with respect to the proper measure to be adopted; that is, that if that evil had been suffered to go on, a greater degree of misery would in the end have been the result, while, at the same time, a degree of misery probably would result from a change as to the subdividing of land? It is difficult to compare one degree of misery with another, when neither the one degree nor the other has a real existence; but I know that the degree of misery in the present system is such in Ireland as, in my opinion, to demand from the Government of the country a remedy; because I think the first duty of a government is to watch over the lives of its subjects, next over the honour of its subjects, and lastly over their property; and I think where thousands of lives of those subjects are sacrificed, Government is called upon to devise means whereby those lives can be saved; and I think that could be done by an assessment to be imposed (whether permanently or whilst this transition lasts) upon the property of the country."

Dr. Doyle's voluminous evidence in June, 1830, never having been reprinted from the "Blue Book," is but imperfectly known. It abounds in striking facts, thoughts, and suggestions, which render it not inferior in interest or importance to his celebrated examination before a committee of the same exalted body, in 1825. We had marked numerous paragraphs for citation, but the necessary limits of a biography oblige us to do violence to our feelings. The reader, therefore, must assume the interest and importance of this evidence, not on our word, but on the authority of dispassionate men, whose character and opinion carry considerable weight. Mr. George Poulett Scrope, M.P., in a letter to the author, dated Castlecombe, Chippenham, 3rd November, 1857, says: "My admiration for Dr. Doyle's noble character and high order of eloquence was great, though I had but few or no opportunities of personal intercourse with him. The splendid manner in which he withstood and replied to the keen, cunning, and persevering cross-questioning of Spring Rice, in the Committee on the Irish Poor Law Question, was alone enough to immortalize him. Oh, that he had lived and preserved health and strength up to '47; he might have then roused the earnest feelings of the country and Parliament to the shameful neglect at that time evinced, of the

unparalleled sufferings of the poor starving millions of the West of Ireland, and some thousands of lives might have been saved by him. I heartily wish you success in your honorable work, and I shall look out for its completion with much interest. The limited correspondence I had with him on the subject of the Irish Poor Law I fear I did not preserve, as I can find none among my papers of the time."

The Right Hon. T. Spring Rice, Lord Monteagle, addressing the author, 11th September, 1855, writes: "You do me but justice in believing that having entertained a cordial regard for the excellent Bishop Doyle during his life time; I have the utmost respect, indeed I may say veneration for his memory, and that I shall only be too happy to contribute in any way whatever to the good work on which you are engaged. . . . . I should very much recommend you to refer carefully to the evidence which at various times he gave before Parliamentary committees. In no other instances, to my judgment, were his virtues and abilities brought out more strongly. His evidence before the committee on the state of the Irish poor, of which I was Chairman; his views on education; the evidence he gave before both Houses in 1824-25, are all noble specimens of true Christian philosophy and patriotism."*

Dr. Doyle entertained a not less high opinion of Mr. Rice's abilities, and on his return to Carlow, at this period, he observed to the Rev. Dr. Cahill that the questions put by Mr. Rice, as Chairman of the Committee, proved him to be a logician of great acumen and power.

Dr. Doyle's powerfully impressive and argumentative evidence would seem never to have had the advantage of his revision. Of

* Lord Monteagle continues: "On all these subjects I had much and most interesting conversations and correspondance with him. I believe you and his executors will find traces of this among his papers. I was informed that some of them were preserved; and if I can find either the originals, or copies of our letters, I shall be glad to place any in your hands which may appear fitted for publication. I remember well the conversation I had with Bishop O'Connor, on the subject of Bishop Doyle's lamented death, when, as at present, I bore my willing and earnest testimony to his noble character. I did so, likewise, in the House of Commons in 1833, in replying to Mr. O'Connell's motion respecting the Repeal of the Union, and any assistance which it is in my power to give, shall be at your command and that of Bishop Doyle's executors."

As some apology is due to the reader for the non-appearance, in this memoir, of documents so interesting and valuable as Dr. Doyle's correspondence, for fourteen years, with Lord Monteagle, we may observe that the Bishop's letters are amongst such an enormous mass of papers—extending over the whole of Lord Monteagle's political life, and contained in fourteen great chests—that his Lordship naturally shrinks from the labour of searching for them. As regards the many letters addressed by Lord Monteagle to Dr. Doyle, we may also observe that the entire collection was forwarded to his Lordship in August, 1860, for examination and leave to make use of them, but the letters have not since been returned.—W. J. F.

this we have a circumstantial proof in the fact that Leighlin, a portion of his diocess, is spelled throughout *Lochlin*.

Dr. Doyle's examination lasted for three days, and each day's evidence would form a pamphlet in itself. We find among his papers of this period the following letter from Lord Francis Leveson Gower, then Chief Secretary for Ireland, and afterwards well known, both in the literary and political world, as Earl of Ellesmere. It is interesting to find a Tory nobleman, who enjoyed a reputation in Ireland the reverse of Liberal, expressing sentiments alike generous and creditable. O'Connell had assailed and ridiculed him in a memorable speech, which gave the *sobriquet* of "shave-beggars" to Irish chief secretaries: "The present Premier was Secretary in Ireland—so was the present Secretary of State and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Their juvenvile statesmanship was inflicted on my unhappy country. I have heard that barbers train their apprentices by making them shave beggars. This wretched country is the scene of his political education. He is the shave beggar of the day for Ireland. . . . He has ornamented by his presence the apartments of Dublin Castle, but has he done any act of liberality?"

"Bridgewater, Strand, 5th June, 1830.

"Rev. Sir—Having unfortunately been absent from the Irish Committee on the occasion of your first examination, I trust I may be excused for endeavouring to express my great regret for that circumstance, and to evince that I was not an inattentive auditor on the occasion of your second attendance. I sincerely hope that I shall not be considered by you as taking an objectionable course for the attainment of these objects, in respectfully requesting your acceptance of the enclosed trifling contribution towards the support of the *lending libraries* of which you yesterday spoke in such favourable terms. If I should unfortunately be considered as obtrusive in making this request, I may perhaps find some apology in the fact that I have in a few instances had occasion to meet appeals from dignitaries of your Church for the promotion of objects similar, though not precisely the same, and however inadequately I have been able to answer them, I have always felt honoured and complimented by the request. On such occasions, when the proceeding did not originate with myself, I took to myself the privilege of claiming that the transaction might be considered as private. I have no right now to annex any condition to a donation which is unasked, and perhaps obtrusive, but can only say that, if I obtain your permission to make it, the observance of the substance of that condition would gratify me. If the motives of this communication may excuse me for the liberty

I take in making it, I would fain hope that it might be further considered as some indication of the personal respect towards yourself which has arisen out of my official connexion with Ireland. I can hardly hope that the labours of my office, at this moment, would leave me time or opportunity to endeavour to evince it in any other manner during your stay in London, though nothing would give me more pleasure than to obtain your permission to do so and to avail myself of it.—I have, &c.,

"F. LEVESON GOWER."

Dr. Doyle's anxiety to see a provision for the Irish poor realized did not cause him to feel any diminution of interest in the cause of education. Shortly after his return to Carlow, we find him addressing the following private letter to Lord F. L. Gower, who filled, from July to November, 1830, the office of Secretary-at-War under the Duke of Wellington:

"Carlow, 5th July, 1830.

"MY LORD—I presume even at this moment, when official duty must press heavily on your Lordship, to pray your favourable attention to the subject of education in this country. I am confident that the diffusion of knowledge is not the only advantage to be now obtained by the impartial allocation here of the funds usually voted to the Kildare-place Society. The country is prepared, it even expects such an allocation of them; and this discretion, happily vested in his Majesty's Government, could not, in my opinion, be more usefully employed in any small matter than in distributing aid to all those, without distinction, who are engaged in promoting the education of the people. Hoping your Lordship will excuse me for obtruding this matter upon your attention at the present period of public anxiety, I have the honour to be, with every sentiment of respect, &c.,

"✠ J. DOYLE."

A few weeks afterwards we find the Marquis of Anglesey presenting a petition, to the effect that the fund hitherto placed at the disposal of the Kildare-place Society should no longer be confided solely to their management. The Marquis of Downshire defended the Society.

We perceive among Dr. Doyle's manuscripts the rough draft of a petition to Parliament, signed by the inhabitants of the town of Carlow. It submits that they feel deeply injured by the application as hitherto made of "the funds voted by your honourable House to promote education in Ireland; first, because these funds are formed of the produce of taxes levied off the capital and industry of all his Majesty's subjects without distinction, but expended for the exclusive benefit of a small portion of the people

of Ireland. This mode of expenditure is a gross violation of public justice, and ought not to be longer permitted by your honorable House" [or patiently borne by a free people]. The words enclosed in brackets were obliterated by the Bishop. He submitted, secondly, that the exclusion of the Irish Catholics from the benefits of a plan of education supported by the state was opposed to the spirit of the Relief Bill of 1829, and a portion of that system of government, by division and ascendancy, which had first brought Ireland to the verge of civil war, and which, if continued, would keep discontent alive and engender disaffection to the government and to the laws. "Thirdly," he wrote, "there is no just cause, but only false pretences, as petitioners are ready to prove at the bar of your honourable House, for vesting in the Sectarian and irresponsible Society of Kildare-place, Dublin, the disbursement of the funds voted for the advancement of education in Ireland. Lastly, because dissensions and discord are promoted: goodwill and the union of the people prevented by the present abusive mode of disbursing the fund committed to the abovementioned Society."

Writing to the late Rev. John Dunne, a few months later, the Bishop says: "We are to get a share in the fund voted annually for education here, but the portion £8,000 is so small as to be only negatively good—*Quid enim est inter tantos?*

He addressed to his niece a very interesting letter, dated, 17th July, 1830: "I have not forgotten you in the county of Wexford; but my cares and labours are multiplied, and my strength is no longer what it formerly was, so that you can well excuse me if I fail to write to you frequently; but do not impute my silence to indifference. I thought when the Catholic question was disposed of I could enjoy some rest, at least from public affairs, but I find myself necessarily implicated in them still. At present the Irish poor are my great concern, and if I live to see a legal provision made for them, and my new Church built, my business in this world shall have been completed. Providence has till now employed me to do some service to my country, and I trust it will dispose my latter days so as to repair the many faults of my youth. I had heard of poor Mrs. C——'s death; we ought not to regret her removal from the ills which first inflamed and then consumed her life. May she rest in peace; and may we recollect only her good qualities! Do you be kind to her orphan daughter, remembering, as the Lord said to the poor, that you were yourself once an orphan. God bless and preserve you, my dear Mary."

Addressing another lady on the recovery of her sister, Dr. Doyle writes: "As to consolation, there is scarcely room for it in the time of distress; that alone which comes from Heaven can

infuse those sentiments into the soul which, whilst they raise it above the trials we suffer, attach it more and more to Him from whom every good gift descends. I hope your prayers were acceptable to God. I wish that His goodness, manifested in the preservation of a life so dear to you as that of Clare, will give you new confidence when you again address yourself to Him. This confidence is very necessary, for He who hesitates in prayer is like the wave of the sea, agitated here and there; and such persons cannot receive anything from God. Ask therefore in faith, not hesitating at all. . . . . I hope you will not be dissatisfied with the ordinance of that Providence which numbers the hairs of our heads, and makes all things concur for the good of those who are called according to the purposes of God."

A few days later, he addresses the present Right Rev. Dr. O'Connor, O.S.A., who had established a school at Ross: "I rejoice with you, though distant from you, at the blessing which attends the 'little flock' which God has confided to your care. I am especially glad that the school at Ross, which I urged you to have opened, has not failed. *You* were apprehensive, though I had no doubt it would, if well conducted, succeed; but on the conduct of it all depends. Take care to extend the system—so only will our Order revive and never want good subjects. Go before all the other Orders in this, for to it they all in some years must turn, or become effete; but if you first acquire for ours the characteristic of a *teaching* Order, it will continue foremost. You are very competent to teach your young people; and the books you should use are Dr. Anglade's, read in Maynooth and here. The Chapter may perhaps send these young men to finish their studies at Carlow, in which case logic, metaphysics, and ethics, would, as is obvious, be the best for them."

The death of the King, on the 26th June, 1830, necessitated a general election. Sir H. Parnell writes:

"My dear Lord—Your constant kindness to me makes it almost unnecessary for me to write to you on the subject of the Queen's County election. I, however, take advantage of the occasion to say how much I feel indebted to you for contributing to preserve peace when some bad spirits would have been very glad to excite a contest. I hope you have taken my friend, Mr. Rochfort, under your protection. I have received the most satisfactory assurances that my return is safe."

Sir Henry alludes to Horace Rochfort, Esq., D.L., son of the late Colonel Rochfort, M.P.

With anxious solicitude Dr. Doyle daily watched the progress of his new Cathedral. The design which he expected to realize

was a grand one, and he felt not a little proud of it; but the insufficiency of the building fund constantly cast a chill over the ardour of his manly hopes. In the autumn of 1830, he deputed Brother Syrenus, a monk of the diocess and a person of considerable tact, to visit England, and collect subscriptions among the charitable in that country. On the 11th September, we find the Bishop addressing Syrenus in London: "I am sorry your progress has been attended with so little success, and I feel almost inclined to advise your return to Ireland; but in this you may use your own discretion. The walls of our new Church will, I trust, be finished about the 1st of December next, and the appearance of them is magnificent and beautiful; but I have got no small drawing of it, and to procure an engraving of that which I have would cost too much money. I send you a certificate under my hand and seal, which will, I hope, suffice for you. We are all well, and blessed with a superabundant harvest, which occupies us much more than the French Revolution."

Dr. Doyle enclosed an address to the English public, which explained that early in the "sixteenth century all the Churches and Church property in Ireland had been transferred from the Catholic to the Protestant Clergy and people. From that period to the middle of the last century the Penal Code subjected the exercise of the Catholic worship to the most severe penalties, and its Ministers, when detected, to banishment or death. For more than two centuries the Catholics had few places of worship; these were of the meanest description, and were often demolished either by order of Government or by individuals excited thereto by the persecuting spirit of the time."

[We take the liberty of interrupting Dr. Doyle to say that this spirit of demolition lasted to a much later period than is generally supposed. In 1787, Mr. Fitzgibbon, afterwards Lord Clare, under the specious pretext of putting an end to illegal conspiracy, introduced a bill enabling magistrates to demolish Roman Catholic Chapels. Mr. Grattan observed, in reference to the official zeal of Mr. Fitzgibbon, that it was remedying disturbance by irreligion and establishing it by Act of Parliament.]*

But to resume the Bishop's address: "Dr. Doyle's predecessors in those ages of terror lived in bogs, in morasses, or in caves of the earth, from which they occasionally came forth to collect and re-animate the remains of their Clergy, to preach the Gospel, to administer the Sacraments, to console the living, or entomb the dead. Dr. Doyle, during his own administration, has seen commenced or completed large and commodious places of

* Plowden's "Hist. of Ireland since the Union," introdn., p. 8. v. 1.

worship, and school-houses in every parish within the diocess over which he presides. Carlow, though the place of his residence, and, perhaps, better provided with places of education for all classes of people than any other town in Ireland, remained till now with only one small Chapel for its whole Catholic population, consisting of several thousands. To remedy this inconvenience, and at a period when a wise and beneficient Legislature has relieved the Catholics from the pressure of the penal code, Dr. Doyle has undertaken to build a new Church. . . . . But Dr. Doyle, who has received the most generous support from his townsmen of every class and persuasion, from his Clergy, and been favoured with donations from several of the most distinguished noblemen and gentlemen both in England and Ireland, yet finds it impossible to complete the building in which he is now deeply and personally engaged, unless the favourable attention of the public in England be turned to him. He prays, he solicits their support; and he sends among them as the representative of his wants, and of the wants of the numerous poor dependent on him, Brother Syrenus Kelly of the Lay Monastery of Tullow, who will thankfully receive any contribution, however small, which may be given to him."

With a view to promote the interests of his new Church, the Bishop wrote to several Peers who were proprietors of land in different parts of the diocess. The manner in which he urged the request shows his usual tact. Writing to Lord Cloncurry, he says: "I have been endeavouring to erect here a small cathedral, with a view not only to provide for the more decent exercise of the divine worship, but such as would also, by exhibiting a superior style of architecture, contribute to the general improvement of the country. I certainly feel more than ordinary delicacy in praying the notice of your Lordship to such a subject, on account of the incessant claims upon your bounty to which the generosity of your character gives access; but as I am writing to some other noblemen interested in the advancement of the country, I thought you would not be displeased with me for mentioning the matter to your Lordship, and I do no more."

Mariana, addressing the author, writes: "The Marchioness of Tewkesbury made Dr. Doyle a present of a carriage, which I believe he never used, but sold to build the Cathedral at Carlow; yet at that time, when he was straining every nerve to obtain funds, I recollect one instance of kindness and generosity, of which he made me the medium. I named to his Lordship an interesting case of a young person who greatly desired to enter religion, but could not happily do so without means of discharging a promise she had made of assisting a relation who, as well as herself, were embarassed by an unexpected law-suit. I thought no more

of the circumstance, but on leaving Dr. Doyle's house in Carlow, where, with mutual friends, I had been staying, he placed a letter in my hands, desiring me not to open it until on my way to Dublin. What was my surprise to find within a £50 note, and a line, 'For the young person for whom you are so interested.' "

Dr. Doyle had a singularly strong esteem for the family of whom Mariana was a member. The late Rev. Dr. Harold, writing to thank her for having made him acquainted with "the most perfect individual he had ever known," says: "Among many other declarations, as kind as they were true, Dr. Doyle said in his most emphatic way: 'I cannot express to you how much I esteem your friend.' His affection for your whole family, and especially to one of them who was most dear to us both, merits your warmest gratitude, and has all mine."

Dr. Doyle, in one of his characteristic letters to Mariana, pointedly alludes to a certain male domestic at Braganza. "This was a servant," she writes, "who in a scuffle with a kitchen-maid, named Delia, one armed with a poker and Delia with a three-legged stool, succeeded in wounding each other—the amazon having the best of it. My sister and myself spent one morning in staunching a wound in John's head, and the evening in coaxing J. K. L. to pardon them, which he at length did."

Owing to the boundless charity of Dr. Doyle's warm heart, there was often in his kitchen a somewhat heterogeneous assemblage of persons. He felt that "he was a debtor alike to the wise and the unwise." Having been asked by the Committee on the state of the Irish Poor whether any asylums for insane pauper existed in Carlow, he replied: "None whatever; so much so, that a poor fool who generally lived in my house has been provided for in the common gaol for the last two years." Thus we see, that the great Irish Bishop kept a resident fool, as well as the Irish kings of a former century, though different motives no doubt led to the proceeding.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Repeal of the Union—The Northumberland Viceroyalty—O'Connell's Anti-Union Association suppressed by proclamation—"A chance child of fortune and of war"—Affair of honour between O'Connell and Sir H. Hardinge—Repeal breakfasts—The Leinster Declaration—Dr. Doyle's letter to the Duke—Letters to Mr. Macauley and others—Castles in the air—Transcriptions from the Journal of Brother Syrenus—A visit to Bishop Bathurst—Dr. Doyle presented with a carriage by the Baroness Montesquieu—Interview with a Hermit—Defeat of the Wellington administration, and accession of the Government of Lord Grey—Dr. Doyle complains that the Relief Bill has not been acted upon—Discussion with Mr. Conway—Correspondence with W: Smith O'Brien, Esq., M.P.

THE Repeal of the Union was one of the fondest and earliest aspirations of Daniel O'Connell. He opposed the Union in 1800; he powerfully advocated its repeal in 1810; and as his biographer, Mr. Fagan, asserts, he more than once confessed his readiness to give up the pursuit of Emancipation and adopt the national rallying cry of "Repeal," if the nation, throwing sectarian differences aside, would unite for that great object. The Relief Bill, therefore, had no sooner become law, than O'Connell made arrangements for the concentration of the already aroused energies of Ireland on this new and powerful task. He addressed himself specially to Protestants; he preached conciliation, and called for an oblivion of past differences; he argued that a domestic parliament could alone attend with parental interest to the business of Ireland; and that Catholic ascendency need not be feared, for in the most despotic period of Mary's rule, the Irish Catholics sustained and sheltered Protestants from persecution.

Mr. O'Connell addressed to the people of Ireland several letters, in which he besought them to unite with a hearty good will. The organization grew, and a society was formed, which the Duke of Northumberland, then Lord Lieutenant, suppressed by proclamation, 24th April, 1830. The great tribune contrived, notwithstanding, to work the Repeal agitation with great earnestness. He convened aggregate meetings, and availed himself of the opportunity afforded by frequent charity dinners to promote his favourite object. The national mind at last became fixed on the question with no ordinary intensity; and "an Anti-Union Association for Legislative Relief" was formed. Its career, however, was cut short by a second proclamation, which, in the absence of the Viceroy, was issued from Dublin Castle. To the exertions of Sir Henry, afterwards Lord Hardinge, who filled the office of Chief Secretary, O'Connell attributed this mandate. He denounced it as illegal, and declared that his blood boiled to see an English scribe dare, in the face of heaven, to trample down

the people of Ireland with his iron heel, adding: "I arraign that paltry, contemptible, little English soldier, who had the audacity to put his pitiful and contemptible name to an atrocious Polignac proclamation, and that too in Ireland—in my country—in this green land—the land of Brownlow—the country of Grattan, now in his grave; the land of Charlemont, and of the 70,000 Volunteers—the heroes of the immortal period of '82. In that country it is that a wretched English scribe (a chance child of fortune and of war), urged on by his paltry, pitiful lawyerlings—put his vile name to his paltry proclamation, putting down freemen. I would rather be a dog and bay the moon, than the Irishman who would tamely submit to so infamous a proclamation. I have not opposed it hitherto, because that would implicate the people, and give our enemies—the English Major-General and his lawyering staff—a triumph. . . . . I trust the day is not far distant when reason shall be heard, and when fine and imprisonment shall mark the foul conduct of Secretary Major-General Sir H. Hardinge. He usurped the prerogative of the Lord Lieutenant alone, greater I admit than any that the King is invested with; and I have no hesitation in stating that for this he is indictable at law!"

We have revived this speech as peculiar interest attaches to it from the fact that, owing to the intemperate expressions used, Sir Henry Hardinge sent O'Connell a hostile message which, however, led to the repudiation only of the words "hirling scribe," and "a chance child of fortune and of war."

The Chief Secretary's manifesto did not deter O'Connell from continuing the Repeal Agitation. The Anti-Union Society had been no sooner dissolved than a new association of "Irish Volunteers for the Repeal of the Union" sprung into formidable vitality. But another proclamation soon laid it low, whereupon Public Breakfasts for the discussion of the question were got up. The Government would seem to have been at last baffled by this expedient; the law-officers declared that although those breakfasts were, in point of fact, political meetings of a very determined character, they escaped the provisions of the law, and that tea and treason must, for the present, be swallowed. The Public Breakfasts, therefore, continued without opposition, for the remainder of the year; and the Attorney-General was constrained to look on calmly at fiery sentiments, gunpowder tea, and inflammable harangues, hebdomidally placed in perilous association.

The Whig and Tory aristocracy surveyed O'Connell's defiant attitude and progress with alarm. The Duke of Leinster led a counter movement, through the medium of a public Declaration which expressed anxiety for the permanence of British connection, and recorded the opinion that the recent political discussions

would, if persevered in, be productive of consequences highly prejudicial to the interests of Ireland, and the empire of which she forms so important a part. The signatures included those of Lords Portarlington, Enniskillen, Rosse, De Vesci, Blaney, many members of the Protestant episcopacy, Sir Philip Crampton, W. H. Curran, A. R. Blake, and innumerable others. The Duke of Leinster wrote to Dr. Doyle for authority to add his name. The Bishop replied:

"Carlow, 27th October, 1830.

"MY LORD DUKE—Being unable, at present, to judge whether the Repeal of the Act of Union be practicable, I think it better, as yet, to abstain from making any public declaration on the subject. If the present movement in favour of the Repeal be not founded on the true interests of Ireland, it will shortly, and of itself, subside; should the case be otherwise it cannot be desirable that your Grace, and the noblemen and gentlemen who think with you, should be committed against the general will of the country. The present excitement is not dangerous; it need not alarm any one; it should not embarrass or retard government in its efforts—should it be disposed to make them—to improve this country. But division—open and avowed division at home—will expose us to be left as we have been left for centuries; and what is greatly to be dreaded, it may have the effect of leaving the remnant of our aristocracy naked and defenceless before a hostile population, or oblige them to look to the power of England (a power less secure than heretofore) for protection. I am much obliged to your Grace, and I feel that, in reply to your communication, I should express myself with freedom and candour.—I have, &c.

"✠ J. DOYLE."

Owing to severe illness in his head, Dr. Doyle was obliged to close this letter to the Duke prematurely. On the 6th of November, he writes to his niece: "I returned from Tramore with my head a good deal improved, and hope I am now winter-proof." Some letters passed between the Bishop and Mr. Murphy during the same month. As a specimen of the courtesy with which Dr. Doyle always maintained an opposite opinion in private correspondence, we cull a paragraph: "You differ indeed very widely from me in the part you have taken on the Union question; but I am far from presuming to find fault with you on that account. Good and even wise men often differ in opinion; and as I thank you sincerely for looking hitherto favourably to my views, so I shall at all times respect the purity of your motives, and feel happy if my opinions on any subject should coincide with yours." And touching his recent letter to the

Duke of Leinster, he said: "My letter is entirely the property of his Grace. I have no objection to its publication, nor any wish that it should appear."

The movement at this time wore a by no means sectarian hue. We find early in November, a meeting held by the Protestant inhabitants of the united parishes of SS. Andrew, Anne, Mark, and Peter, to petition for a Repeal of the Union. Dr. Doyle was highly complimented on this occasion; and the chairman transmitted a vote of thanks and admiration to him. "With me," replied Dr. Doyle, "as my whole life bears witness, Protestant and Catholic, high Church and low Church, Whig and Tory—in fact, all Irishmen—have been as brethren; and now, the only distinction here, as in the rest of Europe, should be, 'who is of the people,' and 'who is of the oligarchy, or of its dupes and interested retainers.'" His reply to Mr. Macauley goes on to say: "My answer to the communication with which the Duke of Leinster lately honoured me not being before the public, I can scarcely allow myself to advert to it; but though I could not concur in the mode of proceeding contemplated in that communication, yet I do not think that his Grace, and the noblemen and gentlemen who agree with him, should be debarred the common right of expressing their opinions, or considered whilst doing so as attempting to suppress, by weight of their authority, the free exercise of public opinion. I am, and have been, a friend to free discussion, because it elicits truth, and gives strength to justice." . . . . My earnest wish, as a minister of peace and a loyal subject, is, that in these countries the conflict may not be stained by intolerance, hatred, or bloodshed; but that right may prevail by its own innate force, and that the people of both islands, by timely and large concessions, by an abandonment of whatever presses on their industry and freedom, may be again reconciled to those whom Providence has placed in the upper ranks of life."

Meetings multiplied, and addresses poured in on Dr. Doyle from all quarters. The following letter is addressed to Mr. John Reynolds, afterwards member for the city of Dublin:

"Carlow, 18th November, 1830.

"Dear Sir—Though I regret being drawn into public notice, I cannot but appreciate highly the vote of thanks with which the numerous and very respectable meeting of the inhabitants of Booterstown, at which you presided, lately honoured me. May I beg you will convey to them the expression of my gratitude, and accept for yourself my sincerest thanks. The Union question is one of great difficulty and importance. I have given to it all the

consideration of which I am capable. I am unable to calculate all the consequences of a Repeal; but so far as I can do so, they appear to me useful to both countries—favourable to public liberty, and embracing those great and salutary reforms which a United Parliament will be slow and timid in effecting in Ireland. I do not much attend to what has been reported, as said by a certain class of persons, whether in or out of Parliament, on the Repeal of the Union. These persons, not all of whom are competent to form a clear or sound judgment, are generally men who have other interests than those of the great body of the English and Irish people. Persons who are "clothed in purple and fine linen, and feast sumptuously every day," are averse to all change, are often dull of intellect, fond of ease, heedless alike of public misery and of those encroachments on the liberty and on the fruits of industry which scarcely ever reach themselves. The people should not be swayed by these men, for they neither feel nor suffer with them; nor should Government repose on their power or influence, for power and influence, especially in Ireland, are not always allied to rank and wealth.

"✠ J. DOYLE."

These letters, contrary to the wishes of the writer, were regarded by the Conservative press as a strong pronouncement in favour of the practicability of Repeal. Certain long-headed gentlemen accused him of building castles in the air, and deluding the multitude. With what truth we shall see hereafter.

The following letter, addressed to the Monk whom Dr. Doyle had deputed to collect subscriptions in England for his new Cathedral, shows that the Bishop was engaged in building something more solid than castles in the air:

"Carlow, 9th November, 1830.

"DEAR BROTHER SYRENUS—I could wish that your labours were more prosperous; but *that* divine Providence, which disposes all things, will, I suppose, exercise your patience and perseverance for your own good. You are the best judge of the propriety and usefulness of prolonging your stay in England; and I repose so fully in your discretion as to leave you entirely free to act in that respect as you may think most advisable. I am well pleased that you conformed your conduct to the wishes of my good friend Bishop Baines, for it is better to omit doing a good thing than to displease almost any person, especially those whom we are bound to reverence. Our country here is somewhat agitated by politics, but the peace is not and will not be disturbed. England is becoming in many respects like Ireland. I wish she were to be always exempted from suffering, but that is not the lot of nations more than of individuals.

"I was in Tullow on yesterday; all your friends there are well, and anxious for your success and safe return. Our building is in a very advanced and gratifying state—the walls forty feet high, with a cornice, parapet, and embrazures of seven feet in height, all of cut stone, are now nearly completed. At each end of the transept, as also at the eastern end which terminates the choir, and is opposite to the tower, the walls terminate in a point surmounted by a large stone cross, the summit of which is seventy-five feet from the base, and each of the eight angles which the building forms is ornamented on the outside by a large octagon tower of most beautiful architecture, raised twenty-two feet above the summit of the cornice. The whole front and tower are of cut stone; the latter, when finished, will be 120 feet high. The whole length is about 160 feet; that of the transept 120, and the width throughout is fifty feet. The figure of the building is cruciform. If we had sufficient means we could roof it next year, otherwise we must postpone doing so.—Believe me, &c.,

"✠ J. Doyle."

Brother Syrenus, shortly before his death, placed in our hands not only a variety of papers calculated to throw light on the life of Dr. Doyle, but an interesting manuscript journal of the Monk's adventures in England, while engaged in soliciting donations for the new Church at Carlow. We transcribe a page or two from this very amusing journal. Syrenus collected altogether £500 in England.

"I this day paid a visit to Dr. Bathurst, the good and liberal Bishop of Norwich, whom I had the honour of meeting six years ago, when he told me that he had long toiled late and early for us in the cause of Emancipation, so as to incur the displeasure of several of his dearest friends; for which, on the part of the Irish Catholics, I returned his Lordship a thousand thanks. 'The day of your liberation,' he said, 'is fast approaching. It is not likely that I shall live to see it, though you may.' I now wished to remind the Bishop of this remark, and to congratulate him. It was early, and although not dressed, he came from his study, and shook me by the hand warmly. His Lordship, in reply to my congratulations, said: 'I desired your Emancipation on the broad basis of Christian charity, and having obtained it, do thou, O Lord! dismiss thy servant in peace.' He kindly asked for Dr. Doyle, desired to be remembered to him, and declared that he commanded alike his respect and esteem. When I showed his Lordship Dr. Doyle's address to the English for aid to build his Church, he said: 'I am in Orders sixty years, and I have not sixty pounds to the good by the duties of my ministry.' 'My

Lord,' I said, 'it is more to your honour to be poor.' 'I am glad you think so,' he replied, 'as that is my own opinion. I should be sorry to be as rich as other Bishops are; but if one guinea be any service to you, I shall give it with pleasure.' 'My Lord,' said I, 'it is a pride and a pleasure to me to have your venerable name in my subscription list.' He wrote it in a fine hand, observing, 'You may tell Dr. Doyle I write without glasses, although I am 87 years of age.' He shook hands with me again, and prayed God to bless me, while I departed, praying God to bless him.*

"Tuesday, the 8th—I heard from Mr. O'Connell that Dr. Doyle was in town, on the subject of the Poor Laws. I went to see his Lordship, who expressed his approbation of how I got on with my subscription, having now collected £78. On the following day, the Baroness Montesquieu sent me to Dr. Doyle with £50 for the Chapel. She sent me in her own carriage for the Bishop to spend an evening with her. He could not refuse this request, and was received at her Ladyship's by a distinguished party. She was highly delighted with the account the Bishop gave her of the tranquillity of Ireland, and the happy effects resulting from Emancipation. She questioned him about his diocess and how he travelled through it. Finding that he rode in an open gig, or on horseback, she said she would present his Lordship with a carriage. This his Lordship at once declined, saying, he could buy one, but he would be almost ashamed to ride in it among his poor people. 'Well Bishop,' she said, 'in case you were compelled to accept of one, would you sell it?' He said not, and without further ceremony she went, the following morning, to Beech and Howard's and purchased a splendid coach for him. She subsequently awarded Dr. Doyle £50 a-year for his own life, or until the Cathedral should be fully completed.

"Bishop Bramston had been trying to see Dr. Doyle personally, to solicit the honor of his company to dinner on any day, but Dr. Doyle said that he could not make one day as he was so straightened for time.

"As Dr. Doyle was disposed to make Cheltenham his route homeward, I engaged a pair of post-horses, got them put to the carriage which the Baroness had purchased for my good Bishop, and stepping into it, I set off for where he stopped. His Lordship, after leaving his blessing with us, and wishing us a good-bye, sat down in his own comfortable carriage, and, the postillion cracking his whip, away they rattled to Cheltenham. . . . . Some of the districts through which the equipage passed, had not been

* Dr. Bathurst, in a conversation with the Rev. Dr. Husenbeth, at the period of Dr. Doyle's first examination before Parliament, said: "Sir, that man's mind is as clear as rock-water."—W. J. F.

visited by the Bishop of the diocess in the memory of man, and when the country clowns saw

upon the carriage they could hardly believe their eyes.

"Hearing of a Protestant hermit named Fisthew, who lived by himself, and neither eat flesh nor lay on a bed, I ventured to approach his lonely abode. Although he slept on the boards, and merely took bread and coffee, he looked well. The hermit did much to imitate his Divine Master, and had his coffin ready by him. I was told that he had a great abhorrence of *black;* yet, still I had courage to invade his retreat, which stood at the bottom of a little garden. His door, which possessed neither latch, handle, knocker, or bell, was shut. I tossed it with my hand, but, thinking he did not hear, I knocked again with my knuckles. On this, a venerable man, with long white hair hanging down his shoulders, and a snow-white beard descending to his stomach, made his appearance and awed me a little. He said, 'Had you not holy patience to wait five minutes for the door to be opened unto you?' I replied, 'Peace be to you and to this house.' This being a favourite expression of his he allowed me to enter. I said I was an Irish Monk, who came to pay him a visit. 'Are you,' said the venerable old man. 'But, sir,' he added sternly, 'why are you clothed in the enemy's colour, and why do you wear trousers?' 'Having come out of my monastery,' I replied, 'on particular business, I am reluctantly obliged to conform to public usage, otherwise I should not be allowed into the houses of gentlemen to whom I want to speak.' 'But,' said he, 'it is wrong for Religious to wear trousers.' I assured the hermit I did not wear them in the cloister, and I showed him my long white stockings at which he seemed pleased. After a moment's thought he said, 'I would wish to be a monk.' I told him I would admit him into my monastery. He asked me all about it, and how we lived, and inquired whether I knew the meaning of the flowing hair and beard. The hair, he went on to say, was an emblem of strength, and the beard, of wisdom; and he seemed disappointed that I should not have worn both as he did. He quoted Scripture freely, but gave it a perverse explanation; for instance, he said, that the Trinity consisted of one person and not three. Knowing that this hermit had some money, and as he had not made a vow of holy poverty, I asked him for a donation towards building Dr. Doyle's

Chapel. He said, 'Disturb me not, allow me to rest in peace.' I said no more on this delicate point, but after half-an-hour's conversation he handed me sixpence. He asked me had we any maid servants, and upon hearing that we had not he said, 'Good!' Next day I called to have some further conversation with him. On opening the door for me he clasped his hand to his lips, which he closed fast, and pointed to heaven, by which I understood he was in meditation. I withdrew, wishing peace be to him. I took an inside seat in the coach, having a bad cough. A lady and the Rev. Mr. Selwyn, a parson belonging to Gloucester Cathedral, were the passengers. I showed him Dr. Doyle's appeal, and he gave me ten shillings for the Chapel. . . . .

"The Irish absentees seemed terror struck at the idea of the Repeal of the Union. One said he would give me something but that he heard Dr. Doyle was favourable to that measure. He said that were J. K. L. to declare against it he would give him half his fortune. Mr. Berkley, an English Catholic, gave me £5. I called on some County Carlow gentlemen, but not one sou could I get from them. A gentleman in Yorkshire told me that an English pauper, who had only one penny in the world would lay it out on currants to make a pie. I offered sixpence to one, and she refused to take it, so I put it back into my pocket."

Thanks to the exertions of Syrenus and a few other devoted agents, the new Church advanced rapidly. In acknowledging £21 from one of his vicars, Dr. Doyle writes: "I hope our Chapel building may contribute to prepare for us a tabernacle in a more lasting city than we have here. I am sure it will disengage us from any superflous wealth which might embarrass our removal from the world. I infer from your silence on the subject of your health that it is good; may it long continue so, and assist you to lay up new treasures in Heaven."

On the 15th of November, 1830, Sir H. Parnell made one of the most memorable motions in Parliament, upon the question of the civil list expenses of William IV. In a House of 437 members, the Duke of Wellington and his colleagues were beaten by a majority of twenty-nine, and resigned accordingly.

It was a critical moment. The octogenarian statesman, Lord Grenville, writes: "Certainly it is a most terrible task that must fall upon their successors, be they who they may. God grant them wisdom to get through it for the safety of the country."* Lord Grey accepted the post of danger, and the minor responsibilities were undertaken by Lords Lansdowne, Althorpe, Durham,

* "The Courts and Cabinets of William IV. and Victoria;" London, 1861; vol. i., p. 138.

Melbourne, Palmerston, Goderich, Brougham, and J. Russell.—The Premier entrusted the Irish arrangements to Lord Duncannon, "who," writes the late D. O. Maddyn, "for peculiar reasons of a private character, had strong good will towards O'Connell. There were two vacant chief judgeships to be given away, and Lord Duncannon endeavoured that O'Connell should have official promotion from the Whigs." The chief seat in the Common Pleas had been just vacated by the retirement of Lord Norbury; but there was a possibility, that after O'Connell had occupied it for a few years he would have longed for his old occupation and resigned. A serjeantcy was we believe offered to him, which he declined. He rejected the coif, and donned the Repeal cap.

From *The Dublin Evening Post*, a very influential journal, the Repeal movement received considerable opposition. Its editor, the late Frederick W. Conway, headed one of his leaders with an extract from Dr. Doyle's celebrated pastoral to the Whitefeet, wherein the Bishop had mentioned, that the greatest cause of our national misfortunes had been removed, and the minds of men were engaged in devising means whereby the condition of the people might be bettered. "This," commented the editor, "is the eloquent and impressive language of one of the brightest ornaments of the Catholic Episcopal Bench—a man whose writings and example have done more than any other public man in Ireland to promote the great object of civil and religious freedom." Mr. Conway added: "We use the same language now, not to the professional agitators, whose trade is to speechify and inflame, but to the dupes whom those agitators are luring on to destruction. We tell them, in the words of Bishop Doyle, that 'the road to improvement in Ireland is now open,' and that if the proper and judicious course were taken, instead of cramming their heads with crudities, and inflaming the passions of the people with a bitter hatred against the peace of the country, the improvement would have begun, and capital would have flowed into the country."

Dr. Doyle promptly replied, in a letter dated Carlow, 24th November, 1830:

"SIR—I am very sensible of the kind manner in which you have introduced my name to the public. I am fully aware how little I deserve the high place you assign to me among the friends of Ireland; but I am anxious, nevertheless, to preserve whatever of 'good name' I may possess, and not to appear as compromising, by my present opinions expressed on the Union question, the sentiments written by me last year. At that time I endeavoured to persuade a rustic population, greatly injured and distressed, to

return from a state of almost open insurrection to a state of submission and of peace. For this purpose I placed before them my own hopes, which I thought were well founded, and I induced them, by writing and exhortation, to adopt my opinions. I then expected the 'Relief Bill' would be acted upon, that Ireland would be governed justly, and that her people would be rescued by Government from local oppression, and placed under the protection of equal and impartial law. I did expect that the Legislature would lose no time (for information it possessed in abundance) in removing the gross abuses which existed in our administration; in visiting and reforming all our Corporations; in repealing those laws which were most odious and oppressive to the people; and, above all, in providing a good system of education for youth, and some support, however scanty, for our hordes of destitute poor. I hoped for all this, and I infused my own hopes into the breasts and minds of many thousands. But were these hopes realised? was any one object of them verified? was a single step taken by Government which could lead me to expect that this system of governing Ireland had in any respect been changed? The Catholics and the friends of the Catholics (I say it advisedly) were excluded from all places of trust, honour, and emolument, as carefully as they had been under the Richmond or Talbot Administration. . . . . There was no change in the mode of exercising patronage; the Church Establishment with its tithe and vestry laws, and all the Corporations of towns and cities remained in their former state. The Grand Jury laws were not altered—the Subletting Act not amended—Mr. Brownlow's excellent Act not countenanced—the Galway Franchise Act thrown out by the Premier—the Kildare-place Society employed as it were by the Government, and paid by the people to disturb the peace, to spread abroad religious discord, and to mar the progress of education; but, above all, the ejected tenantry left to perish by thousands, and no provision made, or I fear seriously designed to be made, for the poor."

In reply to the objection that there was not sufficient time to effect all this good, Dr. Doyle replied that surely there had been ample time to effect a great portion of it, and to hold out a prospect that what remained to be done was in progress. He argued that an able man could, at any time during the last five years, have drawn up in one month "heads of bills" sufficient to renovate Ireland, and heal all her wounds. And referring to the then prevalent agitation, he said that all things ought to be tried before a nation should despair. Peace, property, and life were not to be put in competition with the total wreck of one's country. He thought it perfectly just, legitimate, and reasonable "to ascertain

by discussion whether such Repeal was practicable, and what effect it would produce on the fortunes of both islands." Dr. Doyle added that had not the affairs of this country been transferred to "the administration of men who have been the firm and consistent friends of Ireland—men in whom we have been taught from our youth to confide—I could, and probably would argue the question of Repeal, but I shall abstain from doing so, and resume my former hopes."

The Registrar of the Queen's College, Cork, in a letter to the author, says: "I remember an old friend of mine, the late G. Lynch, Esq., of Everton, to whom Dr. Doyle told that he had written a work upon the Repeal of the Union in 1830-1, but would not publish it till he saw what Lord Grey would do for the country." This work has never been published, but the manuscript is still in existence. In it the gifted writer labours to prove that our commercial intercourse with Great Britain, in the event of Repeal, would not be less profitable than at present; that a federal union of these islands, under one crown, would be more lasting than that which now exists; and that the agriculture, commerce, and consequently the strength of both countries, could not fail to derive considerable increase from the Repeal of the Union. O'Connell was willing to give any amount of money for this MS. in the year 1843. Its publication would have imparted an immensely increased impetus to the monster movement which formed the great event of that year.

The Dublin Evening Post published another leader in which Dr. Doyle's views were carefully analyzed: "As a man," wrote the editor, "for whom we cannot find any form of words sufficiently emphatic to express our respect and veneration—as Bishop Doyle appears to have thought that the Repeal of the Union was a subject open to discussion . . . . we shall take the liberty of debating the matter with him, in the certainty that in differing as we do from this virtuous and really patriotic Prelate, we may rest satisfied if we be wrong, in the kindness of his disposition—if we be right, in the candour which is the constant attribute of a generous and noble nature."

Dr. Doyle published no further reply. He did not consider the Repeal of the Union altogether practicable, but he regarded as despotic and unconstitutional the recent attempts to crush the people's rights to discuss and petition. The movement, therefore, had much more of his sympathy then than at a later period.

In December, 1830, Dr. Doyle had a correspondence with William Smith O'Brien, Esq., on the subject of a plan for the relief of the Irish poor, of which Mr. O'Brien was the author. The Bishop agreed with his able correspondent—that ratepayers only

should elect the committee; he thought that begging vagrants ought not to be tolerated, but that mendicants should have a domicile. Loan funds, he considered, were in most instances mismanaged. He found that the power which Mr. O'Brien proposed to give the committee—to lend to able-bodied poor—would create trouble, and that the sums lent might seldom be repaid. He saw no objection to the committee being empowered to provide for orphans and deserted children, nor in the provision to enable magistrates, on the requisition of the committee, to compel persons having sufficient means to support their children or parents; though it was a clause which if introduced might give occasion to unpleasant exposures, and excite angry and vindictive feelings. Dr. Doyle was glad that Mr. O'Brien agreed with him in the principle of dividing the burden of assessment between the proprietor and tenant.

In a second letter, Dr. Doyle availed himself of Mr. O'Brien's permission to offer his opinion at large on the various heads of the bill. He suggested that in the first section, "days" ought to substituted for "weeks," as distress was often sudden and urgent, or frequently borne till it becomes so aggravated that a delay of weeks might be ruinous to the poor. Dr. Doyle reminded Mr. O'Brien that in Section III., when enumerating the descriptions of property, he omitted tithes, which in England were subject to assessment for the poor. Dr. Doyle said that he was sure Mr. O'Brien did not intend to exempt tithes, and he expressed an anxious wish that it were possible to revive the claim to one-third of them, which the poor had formerly at common law. Dr. Doyle concluded by saying that, in the event of Mr. O'Brien's generous effort proving successful, he would confer on his country perhaps a greater benefit than she had hitherto received from the imperial legislature.

A third letter followed, in which the Bishop expressed his conviction that were the land-owners and land-holders to discuss together the question of poor-rate, no petition would be the result, or else two of opposite prayers; or if they did agree, it would be in a petition to seize upon the church property, and spare their own. Dr. Doyle, in reply to a request, went on to say that if the Government were to propose a plan of which he could approve, he might still render some service; but in supporting the recent distillery laws and the Subletting Act, he had exposed himself to the reproach or sarcasm of always finding in the vineyard only sour grapes. When he laboured in the former question he expected a drawback on the duty on malt used in breweries, that a wholesome beverage might be substituted for a maddening spirit; but the revenue, not the public morals, was the cherished object.

Mr. O'Brien's "Plan for the Relief of the Poor in Ireland, with observations on the English and Scotch Poor Laws, addressed to the landed proprietors of Ireland," was published by Milliken in 1831, and, as might have been expected from its importance, ability, and honesty, soon ran through more than one edition. Mr. O'Brien, in the preface, expresses his thanks to Dr. Doyle for many valuable suggestions.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Second Viceroyalty of Lord Anglesey—Appointment of Mr. John Doherty—Great excitement—Letters—Procession of the Trades to O'Connell's house prohibited—Awful exasperation of the popular mind—Important unpublished correspondence on the state of Ireland—Repeal, Tithes, and Reform of the Church Establishment—Exciting struggle between O'Connell and the Government—The Press prosecuted—Wars and rumours of Wars—Revolution rapidly succeeds Revolution—Ireland in jeopardy—Important correspondence with Lord ——, Sir H. Parnell, and Lord Plunket—The Yeomanry called out—Orange and green worn as a united emblem of National feeling—More important correspondence—Sketch of Mr. Secretary Stanley—Correspondence with Mr. Stanley, now Earl of Derby.

THERE have been few years in the recent history of Ireland, more big with events and trouble than 1831, of which the immense pile of correspondence before us is, in itself, a sufficient indication.

Lord Anglesey, who had so singularly endeared himself to the Irish people during the previous year, was appointed Lord Lieutenant, under the administration of Earl Grey. A more popular appointment it would have been impossible to make, but the effect was spoiled by fatal errors of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. On the 27th November, 1830, the Marquis writes to Lord Cloncurry: "The die is cast, and I am to resume my post among you. I know you regret it on my account, and so must every true friend of mine, but, called upon as I was, I could not bring myself to shrink from difficulty in time of need; and I shall buckle to with all my zeal, but, alas! with a very moderate share of health. . . . . I shall steadily go on upon my old plan of hearing all parties; and, being the tool of none, I shall do what I conscientiously believe to be best for the country, and leave the event and the issue to the Supreme Disposer of all things. With all these threatenings I, nevertheless, do not totally despair of controlling the angry spirits, and even the arch spirit; for the entertaining of which hope I am thought very weak. . . . . I go with but one object—the good of Ireland. I am not sanguine of success, because she appears to me to be torn to pieces by

factions (and there appears to me to be now one more than I left), but still I do not quite despair, for if I meet with fair play—if the conduct of the ill-disposed does not force forward measures of rigour—there is a growing spirit amongst public men to set a higher value on Ireland than has been heretofore shown, and a determination upon my part, and on the part of the new Secretary (as, indeed, there was on the part of the late one), and also on that part of the Government which is connected with the affairs of Ireland, to attend to her interests and not to allow, year after year, the recommendations of the several committees to lie on the shelves as a dead letter. . . . . My first anxiety is to tranquillize the *old ascendancy*. They shall never rule again, but they shall never be insulted by me."

While trying to avoid Scylla, Lord Anglesey's popularity was swamped in the tumultuous agitation of Charybdis. Few could grasp a sword with greater vigour, but in handling the helm he was weak and inefficient. Lord Anglesey was a good soldier, but a bad statesman. His head might sometimes err, but his heart was always in the right place. On Mr. John Doherty, who had just given effective annoyance to O'Connell, in the House of Commons, the Viceroy most indiscreetly bestowed the Chief-Justiceship of the Common Pleas; while the chief seat in the Exchequer became the property of Mr. Joy, a barrister of not less decided Tory politics. Speaking of Mr. Doherty's reply to O'Connell, in Parliament, on the subject of the Doneraile Conspiracy, the late D. O. Maddyn says, "So much polite venom was perhaps never uttered. The harshness of the insinuations against O'Connell was carefully veiled in conventional phraseology, but the criminatory character of the whole speech, with its jeering, scoffing, gibing tone, and its contemptuous insolence, have never been surpassed, even by the most approved masters of Parliamentary Billingsgate. It was certainly the greatest laceration O'Connell ever received." From this it may be inferred that the wrath of the people at Mr. Doherty's promotion soon gathered into a hurricane, which swept the land from Antrim to Cape Clear. The indignation, which the national party had been hurling on the head of Mr. Doherty, was now transferred to his Viceregal patron. Volumes of invective daily fell from their press and platform, and the yells of the infuriated populace well-nigh drowned the roaring ordnance which greeted Lord Anglesey's arrival. For this unpleasant reception he had been prepared, but he faced it with the nerve of a true Waterloo veteran. "I have had various kind letters," writes the Marquis, "warning me of what I may expect, and suggesting to me the landing where I am not expected, and proceeding secretly to Dublin. No! no! I will land

at Kingstown, and proceed unostentatiously to the Castle. Let no friend of mine come forward and mix himself up with my *unpopularity* (what a term for me to make use of among Irishmen !) I shall like to meet their hostile ebullitions alone and unattended. Even my curiosity is excited. I am anxious to see the thing. It will be curious enough to contrast the first days of 1829 with the last days of 1830; and the whole change of sentiment to be on the plea of a solitary law appointment! amazing! . . . . I am perfectly prepared for the worst that may happen, and shall present myself among you in all the consciousness of not *deserving* unkindness, whatever may be my lot; for if ever there was a sacrifice made for the benevolent intention of conferring a public benefit, I am making such a sacrifice."

In another letter, written immediately before his departure for Ireland, the Viceroy writes: "O'Connell is my *avant courier*. He starts to-day with more mischief in hand than I have yet seen him charged with. I saw him yesterday for an hour and a-half. I made no impression upon him whatever, and I am now thoroughly convinced that he is bent upon desperate agitation. All this will produce no change in my course and conduct. For the love of Ireland I deprecate agitation. I know it is the only thing that can prevent her from prospering; for there is in this country a growing spirit to take Ireland by the hand, and a determination not to neglect her and her interests; therefore I pray for peace and repose."

Lord Anglesey's prayer was not heard. O'Connell arrived, and speedily inflamed the multitude with the ardent passion by which he was himself kindled and inspired.

It has been said, that the popularity of an Irish Chief Governor is not worth a month's purchase; and the reception which Lord Anglesey met with was a striking illustration of the truth of that remark. "Frank, generous, confiding, and accessible," observes Mr. Maddyn; "gay, hospitable, and most liberal, and never equalled in an earnest desire to benefit the Irish people, for whose misery he felt with almost womanly tenderness, the Marquis of Anglesey was pelted by the Catholic populace in the streets of Dublin, and was violently abused, without intermission, by the Protestant press of Ireland!"*

A circumstance occurred a few days after the arrival of Lord Anglesey, which helped to increase his unpopularity. A meeting of the trades of Dublin had been advertised to assemble at Phibsborough, and to march in military order to O'Connell's house in Merrion-square, there to present him with an address on the subject of Repeal. Lord Cloncurry records, that sworn informations

* "Ireland and its Rulers," part i., p. 129.

were laid before the Lord Lieutenant to the effect that serious disturbances were likely to be occasioned by this proceeding;* and accordingly a proclamation forbidding the meeting and procession was issued, under the authority of the recent "Act for the Suppression of Dangerous Associations or Assemblies."

An influential statesman, a peer of considerable prestige, whose name we have been requested by his representative not to mention, opened a correspondence with Dr. Doyle on the errors committed by Lord Anglesey, and the consequences of them. The popular feeling had been roused to a pitch of unprecedented exasperation, which, in part owing to the then state of European politics, had assumed a formidable and dangerous character.

Through the courtesy of the representative of the noble Earl to whom we allude, the following interesting letter of Dr. Doyle has been placed at our disposal:

"Carlow, 30th December, 1830.

"My Lord—I agree fully with your Lordship in looking with alarm at the state of this country; but I am convinced that it is in the power of the Legislature to prevent those fatal consequences, which might seem to be connected, however remotely, with the agitation excited and carried on principally by Mr. O'Connell. It is, my Lord, to Parliament and their ministers, and only to them, that we can look for those measures which will give us repose. I might easily give strength and increased confidence to the agitators; but I assure your Lordship that were I found in opposition, at this moment, to O'Connell, I should be deserted by the men of my own household. The late and the present Government, aided by the House of Commons, have made him all-powerful in Ireland; but there is no danger of civil commotion at present, nor does any one think of resorting to force, so that the agitation will expend itself if Parliament do not continue to supply to the agitators new topics of excitement. But of this I entertain slender hopes, as no ministry appears to know fully the moral condition of this country, or to contemplate the adoption of such measures as would satisfy the people, and thereby render them indifferent to the Union question. The concession of the Catholic Claims was delayed till the people were made to believe that they themselves extorted it from Government; and when conceded, it came with reluctance and mixed with evil, being followed by a sort of persecution of the man whom the minister ought, at any price, to have conciliated.† The distress of the industrious and labouring classes has been growing regularly since 1814, or the conclusion of the war; but all the efforts made by your Lordship, and the other

* "Personal Recollections of Lord Cloncurry" (2nd edit.), p. 349.

† Across this sentence the noble lord has written in pencil, "most true."

noblemen or gentlemen who attended to the state of Ireland, to better the condition of the Irish poor, were coldly received or no way attended to. The Relief Bill was let to remain a dead letter, so far as depended on Government; and last year, in place of relief to the poor, or improvement of the country, we were threatened with increased taxation and the extinction of the press. I made representations in every quarter to which I had access, and in which I hoped they might be useful; but I nowhere received any assurance that the millions of my countrymen who were dying of hunger or sinking into poverty should be relieved. When these things were so, the Revolution occurred in France and Belgium; the newspapers applauded those exhibitions of popular power, and our people who, by the delay of Emancipation, were all made politicians, feeling their own extreme distress, and the abandonment of them by Government, were well prepared for any appeal to be made to them by O'Connell or by any other person. Does this surprise your Lordship? When this happened, the Duke of Leinster, not knowing or not duly estimating the public sentiment, convened a meeting with which your Lordship is acquainted. The Duke invited me to attend that meeting, but in reply I almost begged he would desist from holding it. I clearly foresaw that in place of arresting the agitation it would infallibly promote it; besides that it would render the aristocracy hateful to the people, and disable them from joining in the discussion of the Union question, and urging the argument against it on the sober-minded. In fact that Declaration threw the people entirely into O'Connell's hands. But as if some special fatality attended the present ministry at the moment when they sent here Lord Anglesey, whose popularity could have wrought wonders, they stripped him of all his moral influence by placing Mr. Doherty in a judicial station. I assure your Lordship that this man, besides being the personal antagonist of O'Connell, is looked upon by nearly all the people of the South of Ireland, as . . . . because he sought to convict men in Cork of a capital offence, whilst he was fully acquainted with those prevarications and that infamy of his own witnesses, which, when exposed by Baron Pennefather, deprived those witnesses at once and for ever of all credit with a jury. When governments proceed in such course, what can be done to serve them? I have here, and in all the country about me, endeavoured to palliate their conduct; and to put the Union question in abeyance, until Lord Anglesey's measures for the relief of Ireland are brought before parliament. If these measures be such as to ensure relief to the poorer classes and to the farming interest, we will have peace and the agitation will subside, I think, in despite of O'Connell; but if great and unpre-

cedented sacrifices are not made for Ireland, I fear that I am destined, as well as your Lordship, to see this country in a situation worse than in any she has been in our time. The people in parts of this county, of the counties Kilkenny, Wexford, and Tipperary, have, within the last fortnight, assembled in bodies of several thousand to demand the reduction of tithes, and in some places have resolved not to pay any tithe, until such reduction is made. These assemblages may be easily dispersed, but with the feeling existing in the country it will be quite impossible to preserve unreformed the Church Establishment. The example of the English labourers and the high wages extorted by them from the farmers, and the abatements made to these latter by the landlords and clergy, are becoming known to those of the same class here; the farmers are joining with them either avowedly or covertly, so that grievous oppression, or immediate and substantial relief must be extended to this country. I am tired, my Lord, of appealing to the religious feelings of men, who either have no employment, or labour during six days for five shillings; they cannot exist in that state, and it is almost a benefit that they follow O'Connell; for if they did not, they would rob and plunder, or destroy property—preferring death by the hands of the executioner, to death by cold and hunger.

"I have abstained from offering to your Lordship any opinion on the Repeal of the Union, because I feel it is both a delicate and difficult question, and that it is as yet in the power of Parliament to check or extinguish the agitation of it.—I have, &c.,

"✠ J. Doyle."

Dr. Doyle's noble correspondent thus replied:

"——— 4th January, 1831.

"Dear Sir—Your prompt reply to my letter demands my best thanks; and I am sorry to be compelled to add that the view you have taken of the subject appears to me to be, for the most part, perfectly correct. I hope, however, that you have overrated the supposed injurious effect of the Duke of Leinster's meeting and consequent declaration. I perfectly agree with you that the late legal appointments were fatal and ill-advised, and I heartily wish it were possible to recall them. But not being able to do the best, let us consider what is next best to be done. Lord Anglesey might have effected much good by the influence of his well-earned popularity, but this false step at starting has made him, instead of the best, one of the worst instruments to rule and pacify that ill-fated country in which (as was long ago observed by Spenser) "They say it is the fatal destiny of that land that no purposes, whatever, which are meant for her good, will prosper or take effect." Let

us not, however, altogether despair. In your intimate knowledge of the country, and in the sincere desire with which I believe you to be actuated to be useful to it, I have much confidence; and I shall have great satisfaction in being favoured with any communications on the subject which you may please to make. My means, as not being myself in office, must, of course, be limited, but by urging the truth to those in power I may possibly do some good. I have shown your letter to our friend, ——, who sees the subject in the same light as it appears to us. I am by no means surprised that you decline entering into the question of the projected Repeal of the Union, for I think it scarcely possible that you and I should see it in the same point of view. I am only anxious to impress on your mind, that be it right or be it wrong, it can never be effected, as O'Connell pretends, peaceably and without *much* bloodshed!"

O'Connell's "breakfast-meetings," which the Northumberland Administration had hesitated to suppress, were now grappled with by Lord Anglesey. By removing the tea-pot and hot water, he sought to check the violent language which was daily proving more and more dangerous to the public peace. During the first week of January, an immense assemblage of ardent Repealers gathered round the Tribune's breakfast-table in Holmes' hotel, including Mr. Montgomery Martin, who subsequently laboured so earnestly to write down Repeal. This demonstration was avowedly for the benefit of an orphan asylum, but in reality to advance the Repeal agitation. Mr. Stanley had just issued a circular-letter which called upon the magistracy to exercise their authority in putting a stop to every meeting having, in their judgment, a dangerous tendency. In reply to this document, O'Connell declared his intention of framing a "General Association for Ireland, to prevent illegal meetings and protect the exercise of the sacred right of petitioning." Lord Anglesey was not to be foiled by the ingenuity of the title, and he issued a proclamation not only forbidding the breakfasts at Holmes,' but the "new association to prevent illegal meetings." O'Connell, nothing daunted, replied that the law could not reach him as an individual, and he would appoint Mr. Dwyer his secretary, and substitute himself for the proclaimed associations. As he had long been the animating spirit of nearly every democratic association or meeting, this alteration made no material change; and the Viceory was now in turn foiled.

Ardent and exultant, the great Agitator invited his friends to meet him at a public dinner, where he took the chair, and fanned the popular excitement by a speech of persuasive and highly inflamatory eloquence. A fourth proclamation rapidly followed this

daring display; but O'Connell treated it with scorn, and appointed a committee of thirty-one to make preparations for a monster Repeal meeting. This body, presided over by himself, assembled on the following morning; but in the midst of their proceedings, Alderman Darley, J. P., and his colleague, Mr. Graves, entered the room, and ordered the committee to disperse. A long dialogue between O'Connell and the magistrates appears in the journals of the day. He told them that as the meeting which they undertook to scatter was not connected with, nor did any one in it belong to any association, assembly, or society, the magistrates might proceed at their peril. He eventually, however, submitted; but not without expressing a threat that a reformed Parliament would yet punish those who had caused the dispersion of a meeting assembled for a constitutional purpose.

Full of indignation, O'Connell seized his pen, and wrote a public letter, dated 14th January, 1831, in which he advised a rush upon the banks for gold. This was regarded by many persons who had only an imperfect knowledge of his policy as a preparatory step to sounding the tocsin of a general insurrection. Mr. Fagan, the biographer and kinsman of O'Connell, condemns this proceeding, and adds: "The consequences might have been most disastrous to the country."

Though muzzled by a proclamation, O'Connell continued, with great success, to agitate through the medium of the press. *The Freeman's Journal* was twice prosecuted for inserting his letters, and *The Tipperary Free Press* was assailed by three crown prosecutions. This attempt to crush the independence of the fourth estate damaged the Government seriously with constitutional politicians.

The British statesman of whom we have already spoken regarded these events with alarm. An unusual revolutionary spirit was then pervading Europe. Some brilliant successes had attended the efforts of Poland to shake off the Russian yoke. Belgium was severing its legislative connexion with Holland. Charles the Tenth's power had been annihilated for ever. Many of the Continental thrones were rocking on their base. The army of the Duke of Brunswick was defeated by the people; his castle was set on fire, and he had to fly for his life. At Dresden, the military having been driven from the town, the King of Saxony resigned his crown. All the German Principalities were in a state of perilous agitation; while in the Peninsula so much excitement prevailed that revolutions were hourly expected in Lisbon and Madrid. London had also shown so decided and daring a tendency to disturbance, that on the 9th of November, when the King had arranged to dine with the Lord Mayor, the Government

deemed it prudent to keep his Majesty at home, lest a bloody riot in the streets should be the result. "If firing had begun," said the Duke of Wellington, "who could tell where it would end? I know what street-firing is—one guilty man would fall, and ten innocent be destroyed."* In Ireland, as we are assured by the Duke of Buckingham, a common toast at public meetings was, "The Cause of the Belgians: may others imitate their bright example."

Men of perception saw that a judicious system of government was now urgently necessary to save Ireland. Dr. Doyle was confidentially appealed to for his opinion and counsel. From the following letter, addressed to him by the Peer already noticed, it may be inferred that his comprehensive grasp of thought on men and things was communicated with increased unreserve, force, and clearness. The tone of Lord ——'s letter is not surprising. "There appears," writes the Duke of Wellington on the 1st of January, 1831, "a sort of feverish anxiety in every man's mind about public affairs. No man can satisfy himself of the safety either of this country or himself."†

"9th January, 1831.

"Dear Sir—Having read again and again your able and interesting letter, with the attention which the importance of the subjects contained in it demands, I trust the anxiety I must necessarily feel to save Ireland, if it be possible, from the tremendous evils with which she is threatened, will be deemed by you a sufficient apology for obtruding myself again on your notice. If Ireland can by human means be saved in the present apparent crisis of her fate—if anyone can extricate her from the difficulties with which she is surrounded, I assert with confidence that you are the man; and, although I feel sensible of the little comparative value any efforts that I may be enabled to make may be, still I am confident, that the means I possess of confidential communication with persons in authority in this country, may perhaps enable me to co-operate with you in the good work of conciliation and peace.

"Let me then ask you, when you inform me that 'it is in the power of the Legislature to prevent these fatal consequences,' &c., that 'it is to Parliament and to ministers, and only to them, that we can look for those measures which will give us repose;' to what specific measures do you look, or what, in your opinion, will give peace, and 'cause the agitation to subside in spite of

* "Memoirs of Sir William Knighton."

† "Court and Cabinets of William IV. and Victoria," by the Duke of Buckingham. Lond. 1861, vol. i., p. 188.

O'Connell?' The present Government of Ireland is, I greatly fear, too far committed to advance with any hope of success, or to recede with any chance of an honourable or safe retreat. Lord Anglesey and O'Connell are at war, and each has drawn the sword—can the King's representative put his first into the scabbard? The course of events and the series of fatal errors, ending with the last of the late law appointments, are admirably and too justly described in your letter, as is also the existing state of Ireland, which they have, in a great measure, produced. Still I think, bad as its situation may be, that country may still be saved, and by your means. Write then, I beseech you, without delay, what in your opinion are the measures necessary for that purpose. There is one at which your letter glances, and in which I should perhaps be prepared to go a considerable length with you, but in which we should encounter deep-rooted prejudices and various difficulties—I mean the reform of the *Irish* Established Church; I say of the *Irish* Church, as contradistinguished from the English, which last, though also in need of reform, is by no means such a monster as that of Ireland. On this subject I refer you to my speech in the House of Lords in 1824, of which, having a copy before me, I send you a few pages; but what I am anxious to know from your authority is, what degree and kind of reform would be sufficient at this time to conciliate the Roman Catholics, without too much alarming the Protestants, who are perhaps more sensitive and unbending on this subject than, in sound policy and common sense, they ought to be. Tell me, at the same time, what other measures you would recommend, and be assured that any communication you may think fit to make to me in confidence shall either be kept secret, or communicated only within any limitations that you may require; and believe me, with real esteem and regard, &c."

On the very day that the foregoing letter was written, sentence of death had been pronounced against twenty-three persons, for creating a formidable disturbance in Gloucestershire. At Norwich there were forty-five convictions, twenty-six at Petworth, and at least a hundred others in different parts of England. It may be supposed that these unpleasant circumstances so near home, increased the alarm of English statesmen for the safety of Ireland. In the House of Commons, a few weeks later, the question was feverishly asked, whether a vessel with false papers, having on board several stands of arms, had been seized in the Shannon.

Sir Henry Parnell viewed with an equally strong feeling of anxiety the menacing aspect of affairs:

[*Private.*]

"London, 5th January, 1831.

"My dear Lord—Lord —— has been so kind as to allow me to read your excellent letter to him on the State of Ireland. It has given me very particular pleasure, because I find that the opinions I have of late been urging in all quarters about the government of Ireland, are so entirely supported by your high authority. I have not been idle in the cause of Ireland, and as I feel anxious that you should know, and be able to acquaint my friends with what I have done, I shall briefly mention the measures I thought it right to take since Lord Grey was appointed Prime Minister.

"I called on Lord Anglesey as soon as I heard he was to be Lord Lieutenant, and urged him in the strongest manner to conciliate Mr. O'Connell, and to give the Catholics the full benefit of the Relief Bill, by conceding the principal measures which are so anxiously sought for by them. I repeated my visits and entreaties according as I found there was a disposition to promote Mr. Doherty. When I failed with Lord Anglesey, I applied to Lord Melbourne, and spoke to Lord Palmerston to beg of them to interfere and prevent the consequences of O'Connell's return to Ireland in hostility to Lord Anglesey. The arrival of the news of Mr. O'Connell's reception in Dublin made a great sensation in London, and seemed to alarm very much the members of the Cabinet. On the Wednesday following I received a note from a member of it, who has the greatest influence of any of the ministers over Lord Grey, requesting me to call on him. Upon my doing so, he told me Lord D—— had mentioned to him the great alarm I felt about Ireland, and that he wished to hear from me what my opinions were. I told him at once that Lord Grey must retrace his steps and without delay; that the course Lord Anglesey was pursuing would throw all Ireland into the hands of Mr. O'Connell, and that the Repeal of the Union would be inevitable. That Mr. O'Connell would contrive to make this question take the place of that of Emancipation, and by managing it in the same way, force the Government to choose between the alternatives of concession or civil war. I was then asked what I thought should be done. I replied that I felt certain that it was not yet too late to stop Mr. O'Connell, and to satisfy and tranquilize the country; that Lord Anglesey ought to be recalled, Lord Plunket removed, and persons selected to conduct the government of Ireland, who were known and who possessed the confidence of the Catholics; that as to measures, the grant to the Kildare-street Society ought to be discontinued; that £50,000 should be given to the Catholic Bishops for promoting education, and to be at their own disposal; that the Vestry Act should be repealed;

and that other popular and useful measures should be adopted, such as the reform of the grand jury laws, public works, &c. I added that the office [of Under-Secretary] filled by Mr. Gregory should be given to a Catholic, and that three young Catholics of respectable families, in each county in Ireland, should be carefully selected and appointed to situations under Government.

"All I said was fully discussed by me and my noble friend, with great attention on his part and a considerable disposition to agree to many of my suggestions; his chief difficulties in acceding to some of them arose from considerations of a personal kind, with respect to Lords Anglesey and Plunket. I found that the appointment of Mr. Doherty was felt to be a great error, and I thought I discerned that Lord Anglesey had exceeded his powers in issuing the proclamation. My friend took notes of what I had recommended, and told me he would communicate it to Lord Grey. I left London the same day, and have not since heard anything more on the subject. I meant to write and urge again all I recommended to be done, for I can look forward to nothing but the most disastrous results as the consequences of the contentions between Mr. O'Connell and Lord Anglesey. I think there is reason to expect that Lord Grey will become alarmed about the safety of his administration before Parliament reassembles, and see the necessity of recalling Lord Anglesey. His Irish law appointments have from the first occasioned great disgust here;* from their appearance of being wholly uncalled for, and from their forming a new charge on the public purse. The disturbances which they have produced in Ireland will serve to render them still more unpopular here, and I do not think it at all improbable that, if Lord Grey shall persevere in governing Ireland by proclamations, there will be a vote of a majority of the House of Commons to censure his conduct. Lord —— showed me the letter he wrote to you last night. He is, I think, very capable of doing a great deal of good, and is quite right in his opinion and views; and, although not in office, he is on such habits of intimacy with the members of the Cabinet I have before alluded to, that your advice may be turned through him to the best account. I hope you will

* Mr. Blackburne, the present Lord Justice of Appeal, and Lord Chancellor of Ireland under the administration of Lord Derby, in 1852, succeeded Mr. Joy as Attorney-General. Mr. Crampton, an undecided Whig, became Solicitor-General. The abilities and services of Messrs. O'Loghlen, Perrin, Wallace, and Holmes of the liberal bar, received no recognition, with the exception of a coif for the subsequently famous Sir Michael O'Loghlen. Mr. Woulfe, a Catholic, and afterwards Chief Baron, was appointed Crown Prosecutor. Although Mr. Blackburne was and is regarded as an uncompromising Conservative, it is somewhat singular that he fully approved a very sweeping measure of Church Reform, which Lord Anglesey vainly urged on the attention of ministers. This fact transpires in a letter from the Marquis to Lord Cloncurry, dated 27th April, 1834.—W. J. F.

continue to give it to him, which you may do with perfect reliance on his prudence in making the use of it which you would approve.

"I am happy in taking this opportunity of letting you see that I am doing what I can to have matters better understood and managed as to Ireland. I feel that I acted with great good foresight in not accepting office under Lord Grey; I knew too well from his incapacity, as a leader of opposition, that no confidence ought to be placed in his ably filling the situation of Prime Minister, and I very much fear that all the good that ought to have followed from the removal of the Duke of Wellington will come to very little in Lord Grey's hands.—Believe me, my dear Lord, yours truly.

"H. PARNELL."

We do not think that Dr. Doyle altogether agreed with Sir H. Parnell, that Lord Plunket was unworthy of the confidence of the Catholic body. Dr. Doyle, to our knowledge, had a great respect for Lord Plunket, and felt that the Catholics of Ireland were under very considerable obligations to him for the many powerful appeals on their behalf which he had uttered in Parliament. We find among the Bishop's papers the following letter from Lord Plunket, written at a period anterior to the present date of our narrative, but sufficient to show that a mutual feeling of admiration subsisted between these illustrious Irishmen.

"Dublin, 30th November, 1822.

"DEAR SIR—I have had the honour of receiving your letter of the 21st, and the address to the lower orders of the people enclosed in it. I have read the address with the attention to which your name entitled it, and I cannot use terms too strong in expressing the gratification which it has afforded me. The sentiments and stile [*sic*] would do honour to a Fenelon or a Pailey [*sic*], and present a model worthy of being studied by all those who are desirous of uniting, with a sincere devotion to their own religion, that spirit of Christian charity and good-will to others, without which religion is an idle name. I am very anxious that it should have an extensive circulation, not only in this country but in Great Britain; it is valuable not merely with reference to the salutary effect it must have on the minds of the wretched people, who are involved in the lawless associations now subsisting and hitherto spreading in Ireland, but, perhaps, still more as a means of making the public acquainted with the strain of liberal and enlightened piety which belongs to a Prelate of the Roman Catholic Church. I trust, and indeed have no doubt, that correspondent feelings are entertained by the great body of the Protestants of these countries, clergy and laity; with such aid, under God's

providence, I look forward to the allaying, and at no distant period ending the dissention by which this unfortunate country is disturbed, so far at least as religious animosities (most irreligious) have had any share in them.

"I beg you to accept my thanks for your kind expression with respect to the testimony which I have always publicly borne to the excellent conduct of the R. C. Clergy; I could not have withheld it without a violation of truth and duty.—I have the honour to be, with sincere respect and regard, &c.,

"W. C. PLUNKET."

We have been enabled to recover another of Dr. Doyle's letters to the influential Peer already noticed. It is an interesting historic record of the state of public feeling in Ireland at the period in question. The Bishop freely condemns Lord Anglesey's last indiscretion in calling out the yeomanry—a body which had rendered itself specially notorious in 1798, by its ruthless persecution of the Irish peasantry. Dr. Doyle knew that their thirst for blood was not yet slaked; and he protested with all his might against putting power into the hands of a band personally and traditionally obnoxious to the people. But the Bishop's remonstrances were disregarded; and within the next three months his apprehensions were sadly verified by the dreadful tithe-massacre perpetrated by the yeomanry at Newtownbarry. It may appear strange that O'Connell, at this period, did not cooperate with Dr. Doyle in protesting against the resuscitation of this force; but as he was engaged in an attempt to coalesce with the Orangemen in forming a party of resistance to the Government, he hesitated to attack the yeomanry, though at a later period he very effectively did so. By O'Connell's desire, orange and green were daily worn as a united emblem of national feeling.

"Carlow, 13th January, 1831.

"MY LORD—I was honoured this morning by your Lordship's communication of the 9th instant. My letter of the 10th, which must ere now have reached its destination, has put your Lordship in possession of my opinion respecting this country, and of the course which appears to me most advisable to be pursued towards it. I wrote by the same post* to Sir H. Parnell, and stated to him freely my sentiments as regards the Irish Government and Mr. O'Connell. May I beg to refer your Lordship to that letter; for the few days, big with trouble, which have elapsed since the writing of it, confirm me in the opinion therein expressed. This is not the moment when Mr. O'Connell can be approached with

* Both letters were forwarded to the Cabinet and are not now accesible.—W. J. F.

any hope of conciliating him. The storm he has raised must be allowed to expend itself; nor will the peace of the country be endangered by the delay if Lord Anglesey do not continue, as he is doing every hour, to commit himself against the prejudices and partialities of the people. He need not descend to combat by proclamations against the speeches of Mr. O'Connell; such a warfare is disparaging to his office and character, nor can it be successful. His appointment of Mr. Blackburne to the office of Attorney-general is a new error in that line, considering how much of former errors might be repaired by a popular nomination to that office; but what I fear may lead even to worse consequences, if conciliation be intended, is the calling out of the yeomanry (your Lordship knows the class of which they are composed), and placing them at the disposal of officers and a magistracy, many of whom would be delighted to bring the Government into collision with the people. If O'Connell be tempted to use this as a topic of excitement (and he will if his desire to conciliate the Orangemen do not prevent him), he can throw the country into a flame at once. This subject is deserving of your Lordship's best attention. I am sure the public peace is not in danger. Let Lord Anglesey only stand upon the power and dignity of his office, using, as he does, language of conciliation until Parliament meets; and at that time, if the measures touched upon in my last letter, and such others as are analogous to them, including a revision of the corporation for the better fulfilment of the stipulations of their several charters, be offered to Ireland in a generous and confiding tone, I think the country would be righted; at all events, if she can be saved from a shock too dreadful to contemplate it is by such a course of proceeding. These, however, are measures; and as much almost depends on the men to be employed about them as upon the measures themselves. Sir H. Parnell, better perhaps than any other man, knows the position of the country, and how the Catholics as a party might be attached to the Government; and this is now an indispensable policy, for, though their power be limited, yet in opposition to them there is no moral force in Ireland. He also would be more likely than any other person whom I know to gain over Mr. O'Connell to an acquiescence in the measures of Government. It is, indeed, doubtful whether the latter can or cannot be prevailed on to relinquish his present projects for the great and substantial benefits to Ireland, which, I suppose, would be profferred; but I think, if the present Government can sustain itself in England, such a course of measures as I have hinted at would, if adopted towards this country, disable O'Connell from troubling her repose. It would arm against him, if found necessary, those

sincere friends of the present Administration, who, at present, are compelled to be mere spectators of the contest now raging. What your Lordship has stated of the Irish Church Establishment agrees in substance with what Mr. O'Connell has declared to be his own sentiments. If the principle of applying the Church property to the relief of the country, saving the interests of the present holders of it, were admitted, the details would be left to the discretion of Parliament without a murmur on the part of the people.

"I took occasion, last evening, when writing to Mr. Stanley on the subject of education, to advert to the calling out the yeomanry, and the confiding such a force to officers or magistrates, who for many years past have been religious or political partizans. I humbly besought the Lord Lieutenant not to do so till every other force was found insufficient to preserve the peace—a case which I knew did not at present, and I hoped would not exist—as the excitement in this and the neighbouring counties was not the effect of a seditious or treasonable feeling but the result of distress, and was now taking a peaceable direction. I had also, on the day before yesterday, a long conference with Mr. F——, a brother-in-law to Mr. O'Connell, and reasoned with him a good deal on the doubtful policy pursued by O'Connell; also on the probability that his opposition to ministers might deprive this country of very many beneficial measures, or possibly contribute to re-introduce the Tories to power. I made some impression on him which, without his telling me so, I am confident he imparted to Mr. O'Connell; but still he seemed inclined to brave the worst that might come in pursuit of the Repeal, and his purpose appeared to me to rest on a conviction that the present Ministry could not, or would not serve Ireland to the extent he thought I seemed to anticipate. I am fully sensible of the confidence with which your Lordship has honoured me; and your Lordship is so fully aware of the delicacy and difficulty of my position in the country, that it is unnecessary to remind you of it, knowing that the use you may think proper to make of what I have at present or hitherto written will be regulated by your Lordship's own wisdom, and the regard with which you have honoured, &c. &c.,

"✠ J. Doyle."

By the same post, Dr. Doyle unfolded his views to Sir H. Parnell; and the following correspondence ensued. The Bishop had heard from Mr. F. W. Conway that the Government had in preparation no less than sixteen bills likely to prove advantageous to the interests of Ireland:

"13th January, 1831.

"My dear Sir—You have, ere now, received my letter of the 10th. The strife between Lord Anglesey and Mr. O'Connell is becoming daily more bitter, yet still I think the recall of the former at this moment would not only be ruinous to the Administration in this country, but operate most injuriously to any future Government. We will, you may be satisfied, continue tranquil, unless in words, till Parliament meets, and then the future course of all parties must be regulated by the measures to be proposed by Government. I have in two letters to Lord ——, the one of the 10th, the other of this date, adverted to the plan of policy and some of the specific measures, which I think would tranquillize this country, and dispose Mr. O'Connell to listen to your reasonings or mine. I had a long conference on Tuesday with his brother-in-law, Mr. F——, which I related in substance to Lord ——, and I wish much for that reason, as well as for others, that you should see my letters to his Lordship. I do not know what Lord Grey may think of my opinions, but after Lord ——'s second letter I could not withold them. If anything could warp my judgment respecting the policy at this moment to be pursued, it would be what you tell of the probably future governors of Ireland; for need I say that such appointments would be to me the most grateful of any that could possibly take place. But until things are smoothed, and some prospect of peace appear, I should prefer the course I have pointed out to one which might involve in insuperable difficulties those with whom I would feel myself altogether identified. I have said to Lord —— all I thought of the Irish Church Establishment, the corporations, &c., and referred to you, as the person of all others, best acquainted with the state of this country, in reference to those who should be employed in carrying good measures into effect, and especially as to the Catholics—to conciliate whom has now become an indispensable policy.

"With every sentiment of respect and attachment, I have, &c.,

"✠ J. Doyle."

[*Private.*]

"London, 17th January, 1831.

"My dear Lord—I have received your letter of the 13th. I have heard nothing as yet of the result of my conversation with Lord Althorpe on Friday last. I believe the Ministers are incessantly occupied in receiving communications about Ireland, and in considering them. I think I can collect that this good has arisen from the agitation in Ireland—namely, a disposition to do many things for Ireland of a decided and substantial character, which otherwise would not have been attempted.

"Your opinion of the loyalty of the people, and unwillingness to have recourse to violence, gives me hopes that there will be time enough yet to conciliate before more difficulties arise in the way of this course of policy.

"Sir Robert Peel's friends are sanguine in their expectations that he will soon be again in power. I had a conversation with one of them this morning, and he assured me that it would be found that he was ready to go great lengths to gratify public opinion—even in Ireland. What surprises me most, is the conviction I everywhere hear in favour of a reform in the Irish Protestant Church Establishment. I succeeded yesterday in getting a promise from a person who has great influence with Lord Grey on Irish questions, that he would write to him to recommend him not to fill up the vacant See of Cork.

"Under all these circumstances, if you and others who have influence can impress the policy of patience with effect, we may see something very beneficial come out of all this turmoil.

"I am glad you have spoken to Mr. F——, for I shall think no plan of conciliation complete that does not make a friend of Mr. O'Connell.—Yours truly, "H. PARNELL."

The appeal to Lord Grey, that he would keep the See of Cork vacant, not only failed to prove successful, but a man was appointed to that dignity whose antecedents were utterly at variance with the cherished views of the liberal party. The clergyman selected to succeed Dr. St. Lawrence in the bishopric of Cork was the late Rev. Dr. Kyle, a strong Tory, who, during the previous year, had gone out of his way to oppose an address to Lord Anglesey on his departure from Ireland. Thus hostility to the Liberal cause met with substantial acknowledgment from the Whigs, and long-tried devotion to their policy was left without recognition. The way in which the claims of Drs. Sandes and Sadlier were ignored fully illustrated this perverse principle. They were Senior-Fellows of Trinity College, Dublin, and had suffered much obloquy by their advocacy of the Catholic claims, yet it was not until the administration of Lord Mulgrave that these highly distinguished men received any promotion.

It has since become evident, that an element in the policy of Lord Grey's administration was to have no party of support in Ireland. It aspired to govern the country by means of mingling the officials of both sides; but it was soon found that the clashing counsels which daily perplexed the Viceroy constituted a strong objection to the principle of a medley ministry. The absence of union, and consequently of strength, in the Cabinet was daily evidenced, to the detriment of the Administration.

Lord Anglesey observes, in the letter with which the present chapter commences, that there was a disposition on the part of the new Chief Secretary for Ireland to promote the interests of the country, and not to allow proper recommendations to accumulate on shelves and remain a dead-letter. Mr. Stanley possessed a judgment of powerful penetration, with a considerable facility in mastering details; but as his temper was somewhat reserved and dictatorial, he failed to prepossess the majority of those who had intercourse with the Castle. But popularity was not the idol of Edward Geoffrey Smith Stanley, and he scorned to employ the diplomatic arts of conciliation. A knitted forehead generally gave place to the theatrical smile and plastic posture of his predecessors. He loved labour, and the impress of care and work was stamped upon his brow. For the ordinary recreations of men he had an austere contempt; he gave few dinners, and the freaks and foibles of fashion were sternly condemned in his careless dress. In his energetic tread across the flags of the Castle-yard, and the authoritative strength of his masculine voice, self-respect and self-reliance were prominently visible. Amongst the gentry he acquired a reputation for eccentricity. He lived and walked alone. Sheil tells us, that he has often known him to walk fifteen miles along the high road, with a staff in his hand and a slouched hat on his head, and that he was designated as "the odd gentleman from England."

Mr. Stanley left much undone, which, in our opinion, he ought to have achieved during his official connexion with Ireland. He made many errors and few friends; but one cannot at least forget that he was the first minister who caused Orangeism to reel from the effects of a blow. What Wellesley and Plunket failed to achieve, Stanley accomplished. In crushing Orange processions he bestowed an important benefit on Ireland, and the moral courage with which he grappled with the hydra of the Church Establishment, although he failed to lay it low, deserves a warm national plaudit. But Mr. Stanley did not exclusively essay to destroy. His creations were marked by peculiar efficiency. The Irish Board of Works sprung up under his auspices; the physical resources of the country were developed; the Shannon Navigation scheme at last became a reality; and the proselytism of the Kildare-place Society received a fatal check by the establishment of the National System of Education. The political philippics which Baron Smith had been in the habit of enunciating from the bench, were put a stop to by Mr. Stanley. He viewed the practice with indignation, and trenchantly reprobated it in the House of Commons. It ought to be added, that Mr. Stanley built a house in Tipperary, chiefly with the object of giving

employment to the poor; but the act was pooh-poohed by his critics, who declared that Lord Strafford did the same.

Dr. Doyle knew enough of Mr. Stanley's character to feel convinced, that any views he might feel disposed to communicate to him would not fall on barren soil. The Earl of Derby has kindly placed at our disposal the following letters, addressed by Dr. Doyle to him, when filling the office of Chief Secretary for Ireland.*

"Carlow, 12th January, 1831.

"SIR—As the public are assured, not only by the opinions lately expressed in Parliament by his Excellency, the head of the Irish Government, but also by the principles of economy and impartial justice on which the present administration is founded, that the Parliamentary aid to education in this country will be henceforth applied providently and without religious distinction, I take the liberty of informing you of the extent to which such aid would be required in the diocess of Kildare and Leighlin. I do so at this time, when it is probable the attention of Government is directed to the Irish estimates of the current year, that knowing accurately the circumstances of even one section of this country with reference to education, you may be assisted thereby in forming a judgment of the wants of the entire. If in thus presuming to inform you I should appear officious, I beg you will impute my error or fault to the only motive which urges me—a sincere desire to aid his Excellency's Government in its purpose of promoting education in Ireland.

* From the high position now occupied by Lord Derby, the following correspondence with the author may not be devoid of interest:

"Knowsley, 1st November, 1857.

"SIR—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 29th ult.; but never having been in correspondence with the late Bishop Doyle, though taking a deep interest in the subjects which were so powerfully treated of by him under the signature of J. K. L., I am not able to afford you any materials for the work on which you are engaged.—I am, &c.,

"DERBY."

The author, however, having directed the noble Earl's attention to the passage referring to his Lordship in Dr. Doyle's letter, page 249, *ante*, the following letter and enclosures were the result:

"Knowsley, 27th November, 1859.

"SIR—In 1857, and again some months ago, you wrote to me on the subject of a letter received by me, as Irish Secretary, from the late Bishop Doyle, on which I was not able then to lay my hand. In looking over some old correspondence I have since found the letter referred to, of the 12th of January, 1831, together with another of a few days later, which explains the Bishop's views in still greater detail. I have had copies made of these letters, and have much pleasure in placing them at your disposal. The passages underscored are not so in the original, and the underscoring should be erased, as having been introduced by mistake in copying.—I am, &c.,

"DERBY."

The passages were underscored by Mr. Stanley's pencil, and show that the points made some impression on him.—W. J. F.

"The application hitherto of the public money by the Kildare-place Society, and the other various societies professing to promote education, has caused the erection in these diocesses of a great number of school-houses. These houses are generally of an excellent description, well furnished, and amply provided with school requisites. They are, however, in some instances shut up, mouldering to decay and altogether useless; but they are generally frequented by a few Protestant children of the middling or lower classes—sometimes of the lowest, such as *foundlings*, and in a few instances by some very poor Catholics, whose parents make, in sending them, a sacrifice of their religious feelings to the fear infused by their landlords, or to the hope of obtaining, in return for such compliance, food or raiment for themselves or for their children. If in any case these schools are attended by a larger number of Catholics, it is because the rules of the Society with which they happen to be in connexion are not enforced; or these children are *lent* obligingly to the master of the school (when the inspection day approaches), that he may appear to the inspector entitled to the donation usually granted to teachers in a sum proportionate to the number of the pupils respectively.

"I state these particulars not as an argument against any society; for if it were possible to convey to you a clear notion of the state of our poor children without even an allusion to those societies I would do so; but this succinct view of their position is required to render the knowledge of our wants clear.

"The consequence of this state of things is that, morally speaking, all the Catholic children of these diocesses have been left as to education, dependent on the narrow resources of the Catholics themselves. I have laboured as much as became me to supply the existing want. I have been well assisted by the C. Clergy and people; but we have been more successful in correcting or removing a bad system of education than in the establishment of a good one. We have within these few years suppressed numberless hedge-schools, and united, often within the place of worship, the children theretofore dispersed. We have built or enlarged sixty-five school-houses of good size; we have provided only a portion of those with good teachers, for we had not wherewith to pay respectable masters. Nearly all our schools are in an unfinished state; few of them are well furnished or sufficiently supplied with requisites, and I might say that in none of them is there a provision sufficient for the maintenance of a respectable master or mistress.

"I find it impossible without aid to establish or keep them on a proper footing, or to satisfy my own mind that the education provided for the middle or lower classes of the people is such as it

could and ought to be, whilst the pressure of the times disables us from making further progress in its improvement.

"You will from the above easily infer that a small sum is sufficient to keep in a good state the now well established system of education for Protestant children; but even in these diocesses, where school-houses and education are at least on as good a footing as in any other part of Ireland, a large expenditure would be required to establish such a system for the Catholics, especially if some means be not devised of uniting the children of the different religious persuasions in the same schools. Could this be done the school-houses now existing would, by a small expenditure, be made to accommodate all.

"The proportion of Catholics to Protestants in these diocesses is nearly eight to one. This knowledge may be useful to you, and with the same view I subjoin a list of the number of Catholic children in course of education in both diocesses in the spring of 1829. The numbers are extracted from returns made to me in that year by the parochial Clergy, preparatory to my drawing up for a special purpose a statistical view of the churches committed to my care. The numbers are round; but they are, I know, very nearly accurate. It is deserving, however, of special notice, that in the returns referred to there is no regular proportion between the number of communicants and the number of children at school; so that I frequently find a union of parishes consisting of, suppose, 5,000 communicants not having in a course of education a greater number of children than another parish, the number of whose communicants does not exceed 3,000.

"This does not, as I have ascertained, result from any error in the returns made to me, but from the neglect or inability of some parishes to educate their youth, especially the poor; and the general result which forces itself upon the mind is, that a large, a very large number of children in this, I might say favoured section of Ireland, are left destitute of the great blessing of education even in its rudest shape. Permit me also to observe, that the total number of those at school in 1829, was less by upwards of 4,000 than in 1827, at the same season of the year.

"His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, should you be pleased to direct his attention to the subject, will easily judge of the extent of our wants from the number of children now at school, from the limited number of our good schools, from the imperfect state in which all that appertains to them now is, and from the large number of the most abject and unfriended portion of those who look to his Excellency as to a father, who are left to grow up in a state of ignorance which cannot be contemplated without pain.

"I am glad to assure you, for the information of his Excellency, that the state of this and the neighbouring counties need not excite alarm in the mind of his Excellency. The existing excitement is not of a seditious or treasonable nature; it is the growth of severe want pressing on the population; it is taking, and will take, a peaceable direction, unless the poison of religious discord be infused into the minds of the peasantry. To avoid this I would most humbly suggest that until all other force was found insufficient (and I do not apprehend such a case does or will exist) one portion of the people—and that a religious portion—might not be employed to awe the other, and above all, that magistrates, known for years past as religious and political partizans, should not be employed to command any armed force.—I have the honour to be, &c.

"✠ J. DOYLE."

Dr. Doyle subjoined a list of the number of Catholic children then in course of education in the diocess of Kildare and Leighlin during the spring of 1829.

It appeared that the parish of Carlow contained 916 scholars; Tinryland, 600; Arles, 640; Killishan, 600; Rathoe, 263; Tullow, 970; Hacketstown, 610; Ballyadams, 930; Stradbally, 450; Maryboro', 913; Abbeyleix, 640; Raheen, 497; Mountrath, 350; St. Mullins, 500; Clonmore, 506; Myshal, 690; Clonegal, 500; Collieries, 342; Leighlinbridge, 862; Baltinglass, 909; Borris, 920; Ballinakill, 670; Ballyfin, 486; Graigue, 630; Paulstown, 364; Rathvilly, 1,000; Dionlichnass, 900; Kildare, 450; Naas, 473; Kill, 300; Rosenallis, 250; Portarlington, 1,230; Clonbullogue, 350; Monasterevan, 800; Ballina, 360; Carberry, 240; Newbridge, 305; Philipstown, 700; Geashal, 540; Mountmellick, 710; Sandcroft, 200; Edenderry, 650; Allen, 372; Cloncarlugh; 280. "Three parishes," adds the Bishop, "of which no return has been received, supposed to average 500 each—gives a total of 27,268 children at school."

The Bishop's sensible condemnation of the yeomanry force led to an investigation of its claims to support and sanction, which happily resulted, not long after, in the dissolution of that cankering remnant of the woes and heart-burnings of 1798. In 1831, the strength of the yeomanry amounted to nearly 20,000 men. Ulster contained 13,440 yoemen; Leinster, 3,513; Munster, 1,507; and Connaught, 1,393. No armed force could possibly be more injudiciously distributed. It had long been boasted that Ulster was the very focus and stronghold of loyalty; and Dr. Doyle often smiled at the ludicrous inconsistency of stuffing a province, so loyally disposed, with two-thirds of the yeomanry force of the entire Kingdom. Fermanagh was, of all other coun-

tries, the one most disturbed by faction; it possessed a yeomanry force of 2,089; while the entire of Munster or Connaught hardly contained half that number. The statesmen of that day must have been very short-sighted not to have perceived that each county seemed to enjoy the blessings of peace in proportion as it was relieved from the perils and heart-burnings incidental to the presence of the Orange yeomanry. As a force, it was not only useless but mischievous; and the expense of supporting it had been too long saddled upon the nation.

"Carlow, 17th January, 1831.

"SIR—The kindness with which you received my former communication, and the wish you intimate that I would suggest to you such thoughts on the subject of education as might occur to me, induce me to trouble you with this letter. I have so often on public occasions, as well as in private, expressed my anxious wish to see the children of the same country of whatever religious persuasion united at school, because there, and perhaps only there, the seeds of mutual confidence and affection can be sown in the hearts of the great mass of the people, that I need not now make any profession or avowal on that subject; but I may be permitted to express the pleasure afforded me by knowing from your letter that a like desire animates those whose good will, unlike to mine, is united with the power of carrying into effect views not more just than useful to this country. I have, indeed, in one respect been somewhat unfortunate, for I have not up to this moment been able to ascertain what the precise difficulty is which impedes Government in establishing here a system of education based on religious instruction, so regulated that each religious description of children might receive the latter at such time and place, and in such form or manner as their pastors respectively would prescribe or approve of. Pre-conceived notions, pride, a spirit of proselytism, self-interest, or passion, may raise obstacles to such a system; but a powerful Government, acting justly and impartially before an intelligent public, and in such a country as Ireland, whose inhabitants are proverbially attached to equal and impartial justice, would scarcely find it difficult to surmount such obstacles. To please all is impossible; but to satisfy all who desire to be satisfied, and whose opinion is valuable, appears to me in this matter to be quite easy. I may be in error, but I have not been able to think otherwise.

"*Mr. S. Wren's report of May*, 1828, *sets forth the principles on which education in Ireland might be honestly, and, for the state as well as for the people, profitably conducted.* Education for all without distinction, religion to be left not only free but untouched, except by the pastors of the children. A responsible

commission composed of men above all suspicion, and to whom the different Religionists could look with confidence—this is a basis on which the whole system would rest. The commissioners directed by Government, and acting under the control of Parliament, could, and I think ought, to be left to draw up their own rules and regulations. They should be able to extend aid to existing schools as well as to those to be built, *without the condition of the titles of such schools being vested in themselves.* They need not be limited to five or ten pounds in the matter of salary; and the time, and place, and mode of giving both literary and religious instruction might, with great propriety, be left to be *concerted between* them and the patrons or pastors interested *for the several schools respectively.* I am not surprised you do not despair of devising a system such as your mind approves. I am confident you will do so with ease to yourself and satisfaction to the country. What I could wish most earnestly is, that whilst engaged in providing what is of the first necessity, a good elementary mode of instruction, you might at the same time contemplate the establishment, at some period not remote, of a better order of education—without which a great deficiency will continue to exist in the political administration of Ireland.

"In the troubled times which have lately passed over this country, I wrote and had printed, but not published, the little *brochure* which I take the liberty of sending to you herewith. Should you honour it with a cursory view, you will be pleased to refer it to the time when it was written; since when the situation of this country, and the opinions, circumstances, and almost the characters of many individuals have undergone a considerable change. This *brochure* treats of a national institute for the diffusion of science among the middle classes of society.—I have, &c.,

"✠ J. DOYLE."

This communication was acknowledged by Mr. Stanley on the 21st of January, 1831, with a warm expression of thanks "for the suggestions contained in it," and a wish to see Dr. Doyle on his arrival in Dublin. This was a decided compliment, coming from such a man. Sheil says, that the Chief Secretary for Ireland is always on his arrival surrounded by men, each of whom has his peculiar specific for the evils of Ireland—but Mr. Stanley, instead of listening with the "sad civility" which would become the reception of such hints, "invariably intimated with some abrupt jeer bordering on mockery, his utter disregard of the advice and his very slender estimate of the adviser." No further correspondence seems to have passed between the Bishop and Chief Secretary. When Mr. Stanley's full policy became de-

veloped, Dr. Doyle was rather disappointed with it. In March, 1832, he addressed a severe public letter to the Chief Secretary. He told Mr. Stanley that he had trodden in the footsteps of those statesmen who had miscalculated almost every element of honour in Ireland, and were led by their own errors into a tortuous, inconvenient, perplexing, and unsuccessful course of policy. "With the best intentions towards this country," he concluded, "and vested with power at a period not unpropitious, you have effected but little for her settlement or future peace; nor am I one of those who rejoice at your failure; on the contrary I lament it, for I hoped anxiously you might succeed." To this letter we shall advert at length when the proper time arrives.

CHAPTER XXXV.

The struggle continues—Lord Anglesey insulted—Popularity of O'Connell—His arrest—"Say the word, and let us at them"—More arrests—The indictment—Letters—Incompetency of Earl Grey—Correspondence on the alarming state of Ireland—The Ministry declare their preference of civil war to Repeal—Desperate excitement—Dr. Doyle's anxiety for the country—Great fall in Bank of Ireland stock—O'Connell's trial—He out-manœuvers the Government and escapes—Correspondence—"I thank thee, O Lord, that thou hast not made me a woman"—Correspondence with Lord Melbourne, Sir H. Parnell, and R. Lalor Sheil—Perilous condition of the Government—O'Connell refrains from pressing the Repeal—His magic power—Bishop Kinsella's Priests all but burst through his hands—Letters on tithes and reform—Dreadful massacres at Newtownbarry and Carrickshock—The yeomanry are paid off with scythes instead of tithes—Correspondence with Sir J. Sinclair and Sir H. Parnell—Defeat of the Ministry.

THE conflict between the democratic party and the Viceregal Government continued to rage with exciting vigour. In the streets and in the theatre Lord Anglesey was hooted and insulted, while O'Connell became every day more popular. The Tribune and the Viceroy had both drawn the sword, and, as one of Dr. Doyle's noble correspondents observed, the King's representative would not be the first to put his sabre in the scabbard. On the 19th of January, 1831, the popular excitement reached a more than ordinary pitch of intensity, when the news became known that O'Connell had just been arrested in his own house. Mr. John O'Connell, in describing this arrest, designates as "bludgeon men" the officers who apprehended his father. Mr. Farrell, an old peace-officer, accompanied the constables, and on the plea of an attack of gout expressed a desire that O'Connell should ride in a hackney coach, and not compel the officers to

walk. "I am very sorry for your gout," was the reply, "but since the Lord Lieutenant has chosen to arrest me as if I were a common housebreaker, I think it right the whole city should know it—I must therefore walk." "The people were greatly excited," proceeds Mr. John O'Connell, "and by more than one tall fellow—particularly from among the butchers of Castle-market, several of whom had their cleavers under their coats—Mr. O'Connell was assailed with, 'Ah, Liberator, say the word; only let us *at them!*' My father saw plainly that the excitement amongst the people was at a most dangerous height, and this determined him to consent to give bail—his first intention having been to let himself be sent to prison."* An immense mass of people assembled, and the doors of the Police Office had to be barricaded. Messrs. Barrett, Steele, Lawless, Dwyer, and Reynolds—ardent partizans on the popular side—were also placed under arrest.

After a long discussion between O'Connell and the magistrates, he entered into securities to the amount of £2,000. Five days later Term opened, and the Grand Jury without hesitation found true bills against the traversers. During the interval, O'Connell published a letter in *The Freeman's Journal*, which pronounced that the real object of the prosecution was to prevent his forthcoming statement in Parliament against tithes and the Legislative Union. As a considerable portion of this letter was occupied by severe reflections on the illegality of the prosecution, the Attorney-General obtained an attachment against the newspaper, for a breach of privilege and interference with the cause of justice. The indictment against the traversers contained no less than thirty-one counts. The first fourteen charged them with having violated the provisions of the Algerine Act, and the remaining seventeen with fraud and duplicity against the Government. O'Connell demurred to the first fourteen counts, and pleaded not guilty to the others. Large masses of people began to pour into Dublin, and both the Government and O'Connell were in momentary dread of an outbreak.

On the 21st of January, Dr. Doyle addressed a letter to Mr. T. Brophy, chairman of a Repeal meeting at Maryborough, in acknowledgment of a vote of thanks which had been conveyed to him. The meeting sought to connect Dr. Doyle with the then agitation, by passing a vote of thanks to him for a remark in favour of Repeal to which he had given expression some time previously. Dr. Doyle's reply was guarded. He observed, that although politics formed no part of his profession, yet when the interest of those with whom Providence connected him required

* "Parliamentary Experiences, by John O'Connell, Esq., M.P.," vol. i., pp. 66, 67.

that he should advert to them, his chief object had been to inform those in power of the wants of the people, and to direct the people to seek by lawful means only that redress to which they were entitled. "It is grateful to me to have, by acting thus, deserved the approval of many, as such approval affords a sure pledge that in all their political pursuits they will no ttransgress any existing law; or be unmindful, in either their language or conduct, of the divine maxim, 'Fear God, honour the king;' and not only the King, but 'the rulers sent by him.'"

On the same day Sir H. Parnell writes:

"London, 21st January, 1831.

"My dear Lord—I have received your note referring to your communications with Mr. O'Farrell and the High Sheriff of the county of Kildare. I have made such use of an extract from it as might and ought to have a great influence on the ministry, but I fear they will do nothing right. Lord Grey believes that Lord Anglesey has made considerable progress in stopping Mr. O'Connell. I have reason to know this to be the case; and therefore it is clear that he is not competent, as a statesman, to make such a selection from the mass of contradictory statements which comes before him, of those facts which are sustained by good evidence, and which would lead him to draw just conclusions. But the arrest of Mr. O'Connell has, I fear, removed all hopes of anything like substantial conciliation being attempted by this administration.

"I left —— Hall this morning. Lord —— showed me your later letters, and remains very firm and zealous in endeavouring to persuade Lords Grey and Holland to change their course. I feel particularly thankful to you for the very kind and flattering manner in which you have mentioned me in one of your letters to him.

"It is very provoking, to see what an opportunity has been thrown away by Lord Grey of quieting Ireland, by starting in a proper way, and of carrying a number of good measures; and that there is now a prospect of government again falling into the hands of the old Government. The state of Ireland will lead to continued debates about it in the House of Commons, and to the derangement of the various measures which are promised for reform and retrenchment.—Believe me, my dear Lord, &c.,

"H. Parnell."

The Conservative aristocracy and squirarchy of Ireland were not slow in availing themselves of the vantage-ground which the conduct of the emancipated Catholics afforded them. Great Pro-

testant meetings were convened, and resolutions passed proposing a coalition with the Orange Society, "even at the expense," writes Lord Cloncurry, "of lessening their dignity by an alliance with the middle and lower classes of Protestants; without whose aid they were fully sensible they could do nothing."

The same post which brought Sir H. Parnell's letter, conveyed an important communication from a member of the Ministry, which led the Bishop to suggest to O'Connell the propriety of calming the public mind, and thus averting the calamities that seemed so imminent.

In the "Personal Recollections of Lord Cloncurry," we find the following letter from O'Connell to Mr. T. O'Mara: *

"22nd January, 1831.

"My Dear O'Mara—I do most anxiously wish to confer with Lords Meath and Cloncurry on the present awful position of public affairs, and the possibility of calming the public mind. I have had a communication with a person in the confidence of the Ministry, in England, but whose name I cannot disclose, who states distinctly, that all the Ministry desire is to postpone the Union question until those of reform, abolition of corporate monopoly, and reformation of Church abuses, are disposed of—thus leaving 'the Union' for the last. I think that this may be done by Lord Cloncurry and Lord Meath, in such a manner as to carry with them the public mind, preserving only just so much, or rather so little, of popular agitation as would *continue* the confidence of the people in the prospect of legitimate redress; such prospect being, in my mind, the only mode of preventing violence and outrage, and *probable* rebellion. I think that Lords Meath and Cloncurry are the only persons in Ireland who can *certainly* save us all from scenes too horrible to be thought of, but which will be accelerated by shutting the eyes to their imminent and approaching danger. I would wish respectfully to offer my assistance to Lords Cloncurry and Meath: they should have that assistance cordially and sincerely. I would either appear prominent or stay in the back ground; precisely as they wished. I would either agitate with them—or leave the entire and exclusive management of the necessary quantity of salutary agitation to them. I think I could give them much aid; and I am most desirous of throwing into their hands the full direction of all the influence which I may possess—whatever that be."

Two days later, Mr. O'Mara writes to Lord Cloncurry: "I never witnessed anything so turbulent and angry as the populace were in Dublin this day—not even in the height of '98."

* Mr. O'Mara was a well-known solicitor.

It is to be regretted that the letter to which the following is a reply was not returned by the Premier to Sir H. Parnell, but its gist may be gathered from the acknowledgment:

[*Private.*]

"London, 9th February, 1831.

"MY DEAR LORD—On my return to London, I found your note of the 28th of January. The contents of it are highly important, and have been of use to me in my interviews with some of the Ministers. The experiment of the statement has, I feel reason to say, been successful: it has produced conviction and alarm. I was invited to call on a leading member of the Cabinet on Sunday evening, and after an hour's conversation he asked me to dine with him on Tuesday, to meet another Minister, so that we should have an opportunity of talking over affairs without interruption. Our party took place yesterday, and led to a conversation of some hours' duration, in which I had an opportunity of urging all my views, and exposing several erroneous conceptions of what was the true state of the case. I have been confirmed in the opinion I have already expressed in a former letter, that the Government are as well disposed as possible to do everything they ought to do—but their fault is slowness. What ought to be done in a week, they have some half-digested notion of doing in six months; but circumstances of different kinds are accumulating to excite more activity. I feel no doubt, that if the people can be kept from open outrage, that all will end well. There must be some notion of looking to me to help them, by sending to me and speaking to me in the way Ministers do; and some of their own suggestions have exceeded my expectations.—Believe me, &c.,

"H. PARNELL."

On Tuesday, 8th of February, a distinguished Irish politician, still living, brought the recent proceedings in Ireland before the House, and warmly advocated a Repeal of the Union. In the course of his speech he was repeatedly called to order by the Speaker. Lord Althorpe, in reply, dwelt on the difficulty of maintaining a connexion between two countries of which each possessed an independent Legislature, and vindicated the conduct of the Government in availing themselves of all the means at their command to frustrate the attempt at separation. The Repeal of the Union meant the dismemberment of the empire. No man, said his Lordship, held civil war in greater detestation than himself; but even that he should prefer to the dismemberment of the empire. This declaration was received with loud and continued applause. Sir Robert Peel and other leading statesmen warmly echoed the sentiment.

"Carlow, 12th February, 1831.

"My Dear Sir—It is not easy to foresee what the effect will be in this country of the reckless speech of O'G—— M——, and of the position taken by Ministers: I fear the worst. No nation was ever awed into submission by words; and Ireland in her present state ought not to be set at defiance. There is a bad spirit gaining ground among us; and in place of its being checked by the proceedings in Parliament, I apprehend it will be strengthened. Even without new provocatives administered to us, it was impossible to judge whether, on the conviction of O'Connell, we were to have peace or a million of men in a state of insurrection. Providence may avert the evils impending over us; but Lord Anglesey and Mr. O'Connell have placed us in a state of unexampled peril.

"The views expressed in your statement are all sound. If acted upon when presented to Government by you, the country would have been successfully managed. At the present moment, I cannot see clearly how that may be done. The parties have proceeded too far to recede; and whilst they proceed there is no guarantee that the peace shall be preserved. No one who is now discontented will be satisfied with what Ministers have offered to Ireland; and of those who hoped in the Government, there are few who will go over to their side. The democratic party is becoming more and more bold; and if not awed by the threat of the Minister, which I think unlikely, will not be easily controlled either by law or force. The dispositions of the peasantry in Tipperary, and I believe generally in the south, as well as in the counties bordering on Dublin, are enraged against our rulers, and to a degree even beyond what I supposed the arrest of O'Connell would occasion. They talk openly in some places of marching on Dublin if O'Connell be imprisoned; so that till the threat is disposed of, all speculation about what is to be done may be suspended. You may easily suppose what my anxiety is in the midst of such and so imminent danger, and how deeply I lament that your advice was not attended to whilst yet there was time. Since I wrote to you, I heard from Dublin that my absence from the levee, &c, was felt by Lord Anglesey, and I was urged to go up to town and speak my sentiments to him; but, besides that I might be stoned if I were seen at the Castle, I had no reason to think that my opinion would be attended to. Had Lord Anglesey wished to see me, except for ceremony, it was easy for him to make such a wish known to me.—Ever, my dear sir, &c.,

"✠ J. Doyle."

The public funds, as is usual, indicated the feverish pulse of

the country. The Bank of Ireland stock declined immensely. On the 8th of January, 1830, it was £255¾; on the 22nd of March, 1831, it had fallen to £207.

In the meantime, O'Connell's trial approached; but the expiration of the Algerine Act, under which he was indicted, also drew near. He completely baffled his prosecutors—first, by demurring, then by retracting the demurrer and pleading "not guilty," and afterwards withdrawing that plea for one of "guilty" provided that Mr. Attorney-General Blackburne would allow a writ of error to be tried before the traversers were called up for judgment. This understanding having been come to, O'Connell contrived to get the trial postponed until the last day of the January Term. Sentence, therefore, could not be passed before the next Term, and until the writ of error had been argued. In the midst of these difficulties and ingenuities the Algerine Act expired, the 22nd April, 1831; and thus the Government was outmanœuvered by O'Connell.

The result of the conflict threw an immense increase of power into the hands of O'Connell; and the weakness of the Administration was not more evident than their alarm. As will be seen, however, he hesitated to avail himself fully of the triumph he had achieved.

Some one has said that politics tend to file the soul out of a man. Dr. Doyle's anxiety for the country, as exhibited in his communications with statesmen, made a serious inroad in that paternal and often playful correspondence which he had so long maintained with the convent girl, Mariana. A letter to her at this period, of which the late Rev. Dr. Harold was the bearer, observes: "I calculated upon seeing you at this time, and apologising in person for my long silence, but events and circumstances which I could not control prevented me from leaving home. Mr. Harold will help to satisfy you of my regret at not seeing you, and of all the pleasure which a visit to you would have given to me. He will also tell you I am quite well in health, and enjoying those moral and political tumults which bring fear and trembling to all sober and well-disposed persons. I really have nothing more to tell you of myself, and am at this moment so deprived of all sentiment as to be unable to induce you either to laugh or cry—two operations which you perform, as all things else, with a grace inimitable; thus proving that you possess in your own proper person those qualities which immortalized two sages of antiquity. Farewell, my dear friend; the world is in a state of what is called moral revolution, which is placing those who were uppermost lower down, and those who were depressed in a higher position. If it should penetrate your enclosure, I will doubtless find you a lady

abbess when I visit you next; and truly, whether abbess or not abbess, I shall be delighted to see you."

Another short note, written in the same spirit, observes: "Since the receipt of your letter I really had not time to reply to it; and as to your expectation of my providing for you a person to conduct a retreat, it has not been in my power to procure one to conduct our own—and surely you don't expect we are to improve on the Gospel, and love our neighbours better than we love ourselves. Your mention of Kilkenny and Ranelagh made me smile, and inclined me to say with the Jews in their daily prayer, 'I thank thee, O Lord, that thou hast not made me a woman.' The women pray, saying, 'I thank thee, &c., that thou hast made me what I am.' Do you and your dear sisters imitate these good daughters of Abraham, and leave us to be corrected in the next world, for we are incorrigible in this.—Yet I remain truly and affectionately your faithful servant in Christ."

The Bishop was not long permitted to enjoy an interval of repose from political care. It will be remembered that in his public letter of the 24th of November, 1830, he complained that the Subletting Act had not been amended. The Government would seem to have borne his wishes in mind, as the following letter from Lord Melbourne indicates:

[*Private.*]

"Home Office, 9th February, 1831.

"Sir—Although I have not the honour of any personal acquaintance with you, I am sure you will forgive me for addressing you upon a subject which relates to the welfare of your country, and upon which you are capable of affording me useful and important information. You are probably informed that we are engaged upon a revival of the law commonly called the Subletting Act, and for this purpose I am very anxious to obtain some certain and actual knowledge with respect to the real extent and effect of its operation. The perusal of your evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons in the last year, proves to me that no man is more intimately and practically acquainted with the state of Ireland than yourself. In that evidence I find, that 'this disposition (viz., to consolidate farms and eject the poor tenantry) was encouraged and aided by several legal enactments, among which I may specify Sir John Newport's Act, &c.; next the Subletting Act, and afterwards the Act annexed to the late Relief Bill, which disfranchised the forty-shilling freeholders.' I apprehend that since the clamour raised by Mr. O'Connell against the Subletting Act, any man who for any cause is removed from his tenement in Ireland conceives himself to be so removed

under the provisions of that Act of Parliament. What I wish to hear from you is, how many cases you actually know of your own knowledge in which tenants have been removed by their landlords by virtue and force of that law; and whether you can communicate to me the form of the notices which have been served, and whether their validity has been disputed and brought to trial; and before what courts and in what manner the questions have been decided? I have myself made much inquiry to this effect, but I cannot obtain authentic information of any single case in which prosecutions in ejectment have taken place under that law. This difficulty will, I feel confident, excuse in your eyes the trouble which I give you by this application; and I remain, with great respect, your faithful and obedient servant,

"MELBOURNE."

The reply to this letter is not within our reach. Lord Brougham courteously informed us, in reply to our application, that although one of the late Lord Melbourne's executors, the papers of that statesman are not now in his possession, having given them all up to the late Lady Melbourne.

"Home Office, 17th February, 1831.

"SIR—I beg leave to acknowledge your letter of the 13th inst., and to return you my thanks for the promptness with which you have replied to mine.

"Upon reading your communication, it appears to me that the effect which you ascribe to the Subletting Act is exactly that which the Legislature intended to produce. The object of the law was to prevent subletting for the future; an object which, according to your statement, is effectually attained by it. The objection generally urged against the law, and which it is intended by the new law to obviate, is, that its provisions have a retrospective effect; but with the working of the measure, as far as it is prospective, no interference is contemplated. Will you allow me to trespass so much further upon your time and intelligence, as to ask you whether you think the law in this point of view prejudicial or the contrary; and what is the nature and character of the enactment pointed at in your postscript, in which you observe that 'a law going directly and not circuitously to prevent the subdivision of land is what this country wanted and still requires.'

"I have the honour to remain, with great respect, your faithful and obedient servant,

"MELBOURNE.

"The Most Rev. Dr. Doyle."

It is somewhat remarkable that with so many eminent lawyers

in the country, Lord Melbourne should pass them by and apply to a Catholic Prelate for information on a legal question. But Lord Melbourne clearly saw, that besides the peculiar advantages Dr. Doyle possessed of gathering accurate knowledge on the operation of local laws, the style both of his spoken evidence and written arguments was that of a great constitutional lawyer. His frequent references to legal maxims and precedents, and the strength and conciseness of his deductions and conclusions, demonstrated his legal acumen and knowledge.*

While O'Connell's favourite motto was "agitate, agitate, agitate," Dr. Doyle's would seem to have been "educate, educate, educate!" In February, 1831, we find him entrusting to the care of Sir H. Parnell a petition, signed by all the respectable inhabitants of Carlow, on behalf of the free schools, in which 600 children were educated. The Bishop proceeds: "The unassisted support of those establishments press somewhat on the inhabitants; hence they feel strongly and express themselves freely regarding the education grant. It was mentioned to me from London before the recess, that Government would place at the disposal of the Lord Lieutenant, at least, £8,000 of the money hitherto voted to the Kildare-place Society, to be employed in establishing or aiding schools; but to be given only upon the joint requisition of Catholics and Protestants willing to act on the principles laid down in Mr. Spring Rice's report of 1828. I notice this because if entertained, one remark from you will expose the futility if not folly of such a scheme; for who in his senses will expect that the Protestants who now enjoy the entire education fund, and to whom the greater part is to be continued, will unite with the Catholics to subvert a system most favourable to themselves, and for the purpose of introducing one which would be the reverse? There is no use in expecting peace in this country, if Government do not abandon party and sectarian views.

* During Dr. Doyle's earlier visits to Dublin, whenever he had an hour of leisure at his disposal, he would invariably spend it beneath the galleries of the Four Courts, watching with intensity those great forensic combats in which Gould, Wallace, O'Connell, Joy, or Blackburne, prominently figured, and listening to the lucid legal expositions of Plunkett, or the silver tones of Bushe's eloquence. But it was often his unpleasant lot to witness the judicial bench degrade itself, and blind bigotry cast aside all disguise. Dr. Doyle, in his letter on the character of the laws and the administration of justice, written during the year 1824, says: "I have sometimes sat for hours in courts of justice, both in Dublin and in the country; I have heard witnesses examined, lawyers declaiming, judges charging, juries bringing in verdicts; and I have observed, in many cases, the influence of the penal code working throughout everything I heard or saw. But what seemed to me most lamentable was, the unconsciousness of this influence which sometimes seemed to prevail, whilst at others it escaped, as it were accidentally, or was unblushingly avowed and acted upon." The reader is also referred to vol. i., p. 126, and vol. ii., p. 128, *ante*.

We have in these diocesses nearly 30,000 Catholic children in a course of education; school-houses unfinished, unfurnished; school requisites and competent teachers wanted—and yet no aid!"

A correspondence ensued, in which the matters alluded to by the Bishop were more fully discussed. Addressing the same party, 8th March, 1831, Dr. Doyle goes on to say: "I do not understand where the difficulty lies in the case of Kildare-street. If the grant be withheld from them, and vested in commissioners, there is probably not a single school in connexion with that society which will not gladly seek and receive aid from such commissioners; so that there is no necessity of reducing by degrees the grant to Kildare-place, as was done in the case of the charter schools, for these latter were old establishments, filled with children who could not be handed over to a new department. The schools in connexion with Kildare-place, however, are mere day schools dispersed through the country, and receiving an irregular sort of aid, which may as conveniently be administered to them by one set of men as by another."

The biographer of Sheil tells us that the long day-dream of his youth and manhood was a seat in the House of Commons. In 1830, he contested Louth with Mr. M'Clintock, a Tory, and Mr. R. M. Bellew, a Liberal. The effect of the division in the popular ranks was the defeat of both Whig candidates. Mr. Sheil then visited Meath, where a sharp contest was anticipated. Mr. Lawless at the last moment withdrew, and Mr. Sheil would have willingly taken his place, "but blind suspicion prevailed," writes his biographer, "and he was actually advised by those who were solicitous on his account, not to provoke insult by appearing in the court-house or the street. . . . . To disappointment was added the sense of ingratitude and injustice; and his child-like delight may therefore be conceived when a communication was made to him, early in the year, that Lord Anglesey was willing that he should be returned for Milborne Port, a borough in Dorsetshire, one of the seats for which belonged to the Marquis."*

As Sheil's letters are scarce, we give the following communication *in extenso*. Mr. M'Cullagh, in the preface to his "Memoirs of Sheil," tells us that he was not "a letter writer;" "writing upon ordinary subjects was irksome to him, and hence the comparative scarcity and the almost invariable brevity of his epistles. When excited by some sudden piece of news, he would sometimes sit down and indite to a friend 'a telegraphic dispatch.' But there were few, even of his intimates, to whom he wrote at any length on the topics that most interested him."

* "Memoirs of Sheil," by W. T. M'Cullagh, vol. ii., pp. 84, 85, 91.

[*Private and confidential.*]

"London, Athenaeum Club, 25th February, 1831.

"My dear Lord—I expect to be in Parliament before a week will elapse. I do not go in free, but I believe that I shall have liberty enough to do good. I intend to devote particular attention to the subject of education. The Government mean, as far as I can collect, to appoint commissioners, and give them nearly £9,000 for the Catholics. This is to be distinct from the Kildare-street Society fund, which is to be *gradually* extinguished. I shall use every exertion to have some of the Catholic Bishops named commissioners.

"May I beg of your Lordship to give me your views respecting education, and to refer me to such documents as you conceive I may successfully employ. Your opinions respecting Poor Laws I of course know through your evidence, but you could serve me much, and perhaps render some benefit to the public, by furnishing me with materials in a regular form. I know that your Lordship will excuse this trouble on account of your regard for me, besides the service which you may render to the country, whose interests you have so much at heart. Pray direct under cover to E. Geoffrey Stanley, Esq.,* M. P., Irish Office, London.

"The present Government are, I think, in a perilous condition. Their financial measures have failed, and exasperated the monied interest. There is a reaction respecting Reform. I very much doubt that they will succeed in carrying the question through the Commons. A dissolution seems to be a formidable expedient. It would infuse a large share of republicanism into the House. The King may startle at this result, and put in Sir Robert Peel. These are the observations made in the political coteries. I do not think that the Whigs will *venture* to touch the Church; they have every disposition, but they are holding fast to their places, instead of spreading out their hands to pull down what might bury them in its ruins.—Yours most faithfully,

"Richard Sheil."

It was not the fault of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland that the Government should have shrunk from effecting a radical reformation in the Irish Church Establishment. Lord Anglesey, writing to Lord Cloncurry, 14th March, 1832, says: "There is not a syllable in your letter in which I do not concur, nor a sentiment expressed, nor a suggestion made, that I have not urged over and over again upon Ministers; and not merely to Lord Grey and Mr. Stanley, but to other members, begging of them to

* Now Earl of Derby.—W. J. F.

aid me in carrying forward the *whole* tithe, and Church, and Bishop's land-measure."

Immediately after the settlement of the prosecution, O'Connell proceeded to discharge his parliamentary duties. The question of Reform engrossed a considerable portion of his attention; and in one speech, which consumed three hours in the delivery, he very effectively exposed the abuses of the borough-mongering system.

Notwithstanding his recent triumph, O'Connell refrained from pressing the Repeal agitation. George Ensor wrote a public letter, reproaching him with having deserted the Repeal cause; but his biographer asserts, that in the course he pursued he acted with "prudence, good sense, and foresight." "The first intimation of this policy on the part of O'Connell," adds Mr. Fagan, "was manifested in his address to the electors of the Queen's County, in favour of Sir H. Parnell. It was altogether a Reform address: Repeal was not even alluded to. Again, in his letter to the people of Ireland, after the dissolution, Repeal was not mentioned: it was all Reform."*

This change of policy proved, on the whole, satisfactory to Dr. Doyle. Writing to Sir H. Parnell, 8th of March, 1831, he says: "I am exceedingly glad that O'Connell is found manageable. I supposed, if there were a chance of bringing him to think rightly, it would be in London, when separated from sycophants and the mob. Everything should, however, be done to gain him; for from what occurred lately at Kilkenny, and what I noticed to you in my last, I am convinced that he has the power of disturbing the peace, and totally deranging the affairs of this country. Lord Duncannon would, without doubt, have lost his election if the Priests had not been withheld from opposing him; and I think from what I heard and saw in Kilkenny, where I spent the last week with Dr. Kinsella, that at the next election they would there, and probably elsewhere, burst through the hands of the Bishop."

O'Connell, in a public letter dated 5th of April, 1831, throws some light on the causes of his hostility to Lord Duncannon. "Lord Duncannon is certainly an excellent man. There does not live a more estimable gentleman—but he joined the Ministry before they published their comprehensive and most patriotic plan of reform. I opposed Lord Duncannon, because I did not believe that a Ministry which confided the affairs of Ireland to Lord Melbourne, Lord Anglesey, and Mr. Stanley, capable of bringing forward any other than a delusive plan of reform. That Ministry has nobly vindicated itself from these, my suspicions."

Dr. Doyle, in the same letter to Sir. H. Parnell, from which we have just culled an extract, says: "The plan of Reform is well

* "Life and Times of Daniel O'Connell," by Wm. Fagan, M.P., v. ii., pp.102-3.

received in Ireland, except by the steady opponents of all improvements; even here, and in Kilkenny the corporations can give it no opposition. They were prepared for some encroachment on their monopoly. For my part I did not anticipate so radical a measure, nor can I say I wished for it."

Touching the Tithe Composition Act, Dr. Doyle said: "This Act should be made compulsory, and some means found of lightening the pressure of it. There is a very extensive combination against the payment of either tithes or a composition for tithes existing at the present moment. Government has assembled in the County Kilkenny a large military or police force, to awe the people into the payment of them. This proceeding will not be successful. The Clergy should be instructed to make abatements and keep things quiet; but there is a military spirit in the Government, which creates the necessity for employing force."

This "military spirit" found a vent, three months later, in the slaughter of eighteen persons who had assembled at Newtownbarry, with a view to resist the hated impost. The people, while endeavouring to rescue some cattle which had been impounded by the tithe proctor, came in fatal collision with the yeomanry; and before the year terminated a similar conflict took place in an adjacent county, not less calamitous in its results. The foresight evinced by Dr. Doyle in his appeal to Mr. Stanley, some months previously, will doubtless be in the recollection of the reader. At Carrickshock, during the same year, the people slaked their vengeance in a terrible triumph. A number of writs against defaulters were issued by the Court of Exchequer, and entrusted to the care of process-servers, who, guarded by a strong police-force, proceeded on their mission with secrecy and despatch. Bonfires along the surrounding hills, however, and shrill whistles through the dell, soon convinced them that the people were not unprepared for their hostile visitors. But the yeomanry pushed boldly on: their bayonets were sharp, their ball-cartridge inexhaustible, and their hearts dauntless. Suddenly an immense assemblage of peasantry, armed with scythes and pitchforks, poured down upon them—a terrible hand-to-hand struggle ensued, and in the course of a few moments eighteen of the police, including the commanding-officer, lay lifeless on the plain. The remainder consulted safety in flight—marking the course of their retreat by the blood which trickled from their wounds. In the *meleè*, Captain Leyne narrowly escaped with his life.

A coroner's jury pronounced this deed of death as "Wilful murder against some persons unknown." A large Government reward was offered, but it failed to produce a single conviction.

All this while Lord Anglesey was devising a number of

measures calculated to prove advantageous to the country, and pressing them without intermission on the attention of Ministers. Writing to Lord Cloncurry, 15th July, 1831, he says: "Can you dine with me to-day—I have much to talk to you about. I also ask Blake. Be prepared for education, poor laws, employment, Newtownbarry, Castlepollard, Orangemen, yoemanry, and the d——l else besides." Dr. Doyle was given to understand that many valuable measures should be carried, if O'Connell ceased to embarrass the Government by agitating the Repeal of the Union. He was also assured by Lord Anglesey, that "it was the continued excitement and unceasing agitation which pervaded the country that prevented the influx of English capital since the passing of the Relief Bill, and the promotion of Irish manufactures which would be the natural consequence." Under some of these impressions, we find him thus addressing the Right Hon. Sir John Sinclair:

"Carlow, 8th March, 1831.

"My dear Sir—I do hope earnestly that the regard with which you have honored me may not be diminished by any cause. The occasional interruptions of our correspondence cannot affect it; still less can they alter, in the slightest degree, the exceeding respect with which your kindness to myself—but still more, your unwearied efforts to serve this country—have inspired me.

"I am very much of your opinion on the Union question, as to the difficulty or impracticability of repealing it. I will do all I can to cause the agitation of it to subside. Good measures by Government will quiet the minds of the people; but if longer neglected or ill-treated, they could easily be led, in despite of me and of such as me, to adopt any plans, however absurd, which would hold out to them a hope of relief."

The following letter, from the honorable member for the Queen's County, strengthened Dr. Doyle's hopes in the good intentions of ministers:

"89, Jermyn-street, 17th March, 1831.

"My dear Lord—Since I received your letter, I have had a long conversation with Lord Brougham about education, &c. Although he and some other Ministers display a readiness to agree to do all that is required, the measures which are brought forward show the old character of making the least possible amount of concession; but an end, I now have reason to think, will be put to all this, for there seems to me to be no doubt that a great change will soon be made in the present Cabinet, so as to bring the advice and influence of Lord Brougham into operation. The support of Government to Sir John Newport's motion about

'first fruits,' will, I think, be followed by some effectual reforms. "An offer was made me last week of the Office of Secretary-at-War which I declined; principally on account of my disapprobation of the new measures of finance.—Believe me, &c.,

"H. PARNELL."

Before this letter reached Dr. Doyle, the ministry were beaten on the timber duties by a majority of forty-six. A dissolution seemed inevitable.

"Carlow, 24th March, 1831.

"MY DEAR SIR—I am glad you declined taking the office vacant by the retirement of Mr. Wynne, because I think some place to which more power is attached must await you, if the present administration or the chief portion of it continue in office; and besides this reason, there are persons among your constituents who might be so foolish and perverse as to make a show of contesting your election, if your seat were vacated. The late majority against ministers has excited here considerable alarm, for no one is insensible to the evil of a dissolution in the present state and temper of the country; let us hope it may be avoided without an abandonment of the measure of Reform, which would be a still greater evil. I am of opinion that to mismanage the education affair at this moment would be most injurious to Government, and increase exceedingly the embarrassment of their friends here; it would irritate a great number of people—and never was repose more wanted.

"What I mentioned to you of tithes in my last, has produced its ordinary result. On yesterday, a most brutal murder was committed in the county Kilkenny, near Gowran. The victim was employed, I heard, levying distress for tithes. There is a radical error in the mode of conducting the affairs of this country.

"I lament exceedingly the death of the estimable Lord Darnley; I fear the precarious state of public affairs, especially in Ireland, preyed on his mind and impaired his constitution. The country has sustained a great loss by his removal to, I hope, a better world; nor can I cease at any time to recollect the many marks of his Lordship's confidence and regard with which he has honored me since 1825, when I was so fortunate as to be made acquainted with him. May I beg you will have the kindness to present my best respects to the present Earl, and to assure him how sincerely I condole with his Lordship.—I have, &c.,

"✠ J. DOYLE."

On more mature reflection, Sir H. Parnell decided upon accepting the Secretaryship-at-War, which being a financial rather than a strictly military office, seemed specially suited to the taste and

capacity of that distinguished individual. "In accepting office," he wrote, "it is my intention not to deviate in any manner from that line of conduct which has been approved of by you at so many elections for the Queen's County; but to use all the influence which the holding of office will give me, in promoting those measures for the public good which I have already supported. My opinion on Parliamentary Reform is known to you. With respect to tithes, I hold the same opinion now as I expressed in the House of Commons, when I brought forward motions on this question in the year 1809, 1810, 1811, and 1812. On other subjects connected with your interests, I entertain well-grounded expectations that satisfactory measures will be proposed by Government. It is with this hope I have accepted office, and by continuing to hold it will depend upon this hope being fulfilled. The department at the head of which his Majesty has been pleased to place me is connected with a large portion of the public expenditure, and will afford me an ample opportunity of giving effect to those principles of economy which I have endeavoured, by my votes in the House of Commons and elsewhere, to introduce into the management of the finance of the state."

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Dr. Doyle's new work on Poor Laws and Church-property—The orphan daughter deliberates whether she shall surrender her life to hunger or her virtue to sale—Telling retorts and stubborn facts—Curious picture of peculation in Ireland—Church property originally held in trust for the poor—Dr. Doyle's description of himself—His scheme of recovering the Church property before a Court of Equity—Hostility of the Irish people to tithes noticed by Giraldus Cambrensis—Remarkable letter from O'Connell, avowing that Dr. Doyle had convinced him—Letter from the Earl of Shrewsbury—Dr. Doyle flings his energies into the struggle for Reform—He denounces the oligarchy—Correspondence with the Viceroy—Despair of the anti-Reformers—Pastoral address to the freeholders.

Anxious to give the Government every assistance in carrying the "satisfactory" measures, noticed by Sir H. Parnell, Dr. Doyle published in March, 1831, a letter addressed to the present Lord Monteagle, "On the establishment of a legal provision for the Irish poor; and on the origin, nature, and destination of Church property." The work was of considerably larger dimensions than its unambitious title of "letter" would seem to indicate. It occupies one hundred and thirty-three large octavo pages, and includes two distinct essays—the first on the Poor Laws; the second on the tithe question. Among the reasons which induced Dr. Doyle to address his work to Mr. Spring Rice, was the un-

wearied attention with which that able statesman had investigated the state of Ireland; the extensive knowledge which he had acquired of that state; his ability and desire to improve her condition; but above all, the patience with which he had "at all times listened to my crude opinions, even when those opinions differed very widely from your own."

The question of making a legal provision for the Irish poor had remained as yet undecided. The committee of inquiry on the subject had abstained from any specific recommendation to the House of Commons, and rested satisfied with referring to the evidence as reported. Dr. Doyle felt that it was essentially desirable, under the circumstances, to lay before the public a lucid summary of the arguments contained in that evidence. He enumerated with great candour the various points employed by the opponents of a poor-rate, and unfolded in reply to them a wonderful array of conclusive reasoning. It transpired, among other startling facts, that the orphan girl—well born and educated, beautiful and young—often deliberated whether she should surrender her life to hunger or her virtue to sale; and that the labouring classes subsisted on a species of food capable only of supporting animal existence in the lowest state.

Dr. Doyle made no assertions of the truth of which he had not personal cognizance—thus, at page 37, he writes: "How often have I seen the wife or daughter sit hungry by the father's side, whilst he, resting from his labour, partook in sorrow of the scanty meal; and how numberless are the instances where the parent abstains altogether from food that his children may not die of want." The Bishop impressingly laid down the great moral principle, that—not to feed the hungry man in the day of his utmost need was to imbrue our hands in his innocent blood!

The work contained telling retorts as well as stubborn facts. A favourite objection to the Poor Law was, that "a provision would tend to narrow the exercise of charity, and to weaken the ties of neighbourly kindness." Dr. Doyle wished that it were in the power of Parliament to obtain a return of the sums expended in works of charity by those who, with much apparent godliness of manner, brought forward this objection. He had often heard and read of discussions on the subject, but he never heard this objection proceed from any person eminent for disinterestedness or noted for kindness or compassion to the poor. There was a class of cold politicians who loved to refer the dying pauper to that manna which public improvement might eventually rain down. They were men, Dr. Doyle said, who calculated human labour and human life as they would bales of cotton and quarters of wheat; who look upon the labouring classes as articles of merchandize, or

machines for creating wealth; and who would calculate on the extinction by hunger of a surplus population, as the house-wife calculates the lives of bees to be smothered for their honey when their work is done—preserving only so many stocks as will be necessary to yield to her a similar increase on the coming year.

Another objection to a Poor Law was, that, in the event of a provision for the poor being established by law, there could not be found in the several districts of Ireland persons fit and able to carry into effect the provisions of such law. In replying to this prediction, Dr. Doyle gave his opponents the benefit of a very curious picture of the administration of public money in Ireland: "This objection is the most specious of any we have met with. It deserves attention; it deserves to be temperately discussed. There can be no doubt that, till within these very few years, every administration of public money or business in Ireland was most corrupt. There was no faith kept with God or man by those to whom the public interests, or any portion of them, happened to be committed. From the highest tribunals to the lowest collector of excise—bribery, extortion, perjury prevailed. In all the public offices peculation and plunder were reduced to system—openly avowed and acted upon. The commissioners at the different boards were as regularly feed by those who had business to transact with them as they were paid by Government. But the Government itself was the great debauchee! There was no job too gross, no proceeding so licentious, no abuse of power or patronage so glaring to which its active agency or tacit sanction was not extended. The Church was in perfect keeping with the State—the public offices were dens of thieves—the courts of justice with their purlieus were sinks of corruption—and the grand juries throughout the country invited, by their practice and example, the suitors or claimants at every court of assize in Ireland to disregard both truth and justice, to commit perjury, and to plunder or oppress their neighbour. There is no exaggeration, no high colouring in the foregoing statement. The truth of every portion of it is either already recorded in evidence reported to Parliament, or could be proved by ten thousand living witnesses. This then being, till lately, the state of Ireland, and of the administration of all her public affairs, it is no wonder that men doubt whether money could be levied equitably and expended honestly and impartially, even for the benefit of the poor. Let it however be considered, and in the first place, that, until within a few years past, an exceedingly small fraction of the people of this country held exclusive possession of the administration of public business in all its diversity and ramifications. That fraction of the people lived by their offices, pensions, sinecures, or employ-

ments; they alone constituted society in Ireland; they were all sharers alike in oppression, and each took his portion of the spoil produced by it. They were not ashamed of each other—for no man blushes at his own theft in a company of thieves. There was no Government to exercise control. The business of Government was to divide among them their ill-gotten store. There was no court to which they could be cited—for they themselves filled the bench and composed the juries: there was no tribunal created by public opinion to which virtue could appeal from oppression, or before which profligacy might be arraigned and convicted. No! for there was no Press but that worked by the hireling of corruption; or if another press only breathed on gilded or ermined crime, it was subdued, prosecuted, persecuted, and extinguished. But as the people of this nation multiplied, they waxed strong; they caught a glimpse of knowledge, as Moses saw the Deity, whilst it passed by; and the multitude warmed and invigorated by it overthrew and broke down that fortress of corruption which had held them so long enslaved. This popular might, operating upon Parliament, has bid a new order of things to arise in Ireland. The Government is already more than half emancipated from the slavery of corruption—the courts of justice are being gradually purified; the boards and public offices are everywhere cleared or clearing out; peculation is now obliged to work in secret. Public monies are now accounted for; jobs, to pass current, must be highly varnished, and a decree, though not yet published, has gone forth against the evil deeds of grand juries. Nay, it is even allowed to tell the world, that the Irish Church Establishment must yield to common sense and public interest, and that it is too revolting to allot the tenth of the lands and produce of the most fertile, but poorest, nation in Europe to a clergy whose followers do not amount to even a tithe of the people. There is, finally, a tribunal already established by public opinion in Ireland, and, though it may not yet be formally recognised as the *custos morum* or *vindex injuriarum* of the country, it undoubtedly already exercises the powers and privilege of a supreme court."

Dr. Doyle proceeded to say, that every candid man would admit that though, at a period not remote, no public fund was or could be well managed in Ireland, it did not follow that such fund might not in future be well administered. An unshackled press, and a Parliamentary inquiry, had succeeded in breaking up and subduing one of the strongest combinations ever existing in any country.

The system of Poor Laws which Dr. Doyle desired to see established in Ireland, was utterly dissimilar to that in force in the sister country and since extended to Ireland. With surpass-

ing eloquence and force he besought the Government to avert famine, to stop the current of disease, to arrest the bitter curse, the troubled commotion, the ill-suppressed sedition of those who were maddened with hunger, and almost driven to despair. A Poor Law would take away no capital; it would not raise money to be poured into the Exchequer, or remitted to absentees, or expended in luxury. On the contrary, it would be employed in producing food and raiment, and in feeding the industrious; whilst it supported the poor. He called for a Poor Law which would gladden the heart of the widow, be a staff to the aged, and a resting place to him who had no home—that would shelter the homeless, clothe the naked, feed the hungry, comfort the afflicted, and relieve the distressed. He demanded a Poor Law which would put an end to vagrancy, separate the impostor from the virtuous, compel the idler to do his work, and remove from the turbulent the food of sedition.

An influential foe to Poor Laws had asserted, that the poor possessed no just claim to a provision at the expense of the rich. The gifted Prelate declared, that for the last ten years he had been frequently urged by his feelings to discuss in public the rights of the poor; but he had been withheld from doing so by a reasonable dread, that if those rights were known to the mass of the people labouring under privations often insupportable, suc h knowledge might be misapplied; and that men taught to distinguish between moral and legal rights might be led to violate the latter, at any hazard, when freed from the apprehension of offending against the former. He deemed it wise to parley with error, to appeal to public policy, to the interest and duty of the Government, and to direct at the same time the minds of the people to the power which impended over them, to the sources of hope which were discoverable, but above all to those principles of the Christian religion which lead its followers to derive good from evil, and to convert the trials of this life into the means of sanctification in the next. But the Prelate's patience was sorely tried when he found it asserted broadly, and in the midst of the Gospel light, that a man may be let to perish of hunger without any violation of justice. Dr. Doyle displayed a profound knowledge of the principles of political economy in the arguments which followed. He clearly demonstrated that no theory could supercede the obligation of a government, whether Christian or infidel, to provide for the starving people.

Some pampered pedant had advanced it as his opinion, that "voluntary contributions, or the alms of their own class, ought to support the poor." "I have often pleaded for the indigent," said J. K. L.; "I have sometimes wept over their distress; I never

hesitated on my own account to share with them my scanty pittance; but I confess that I have not, to my recollection, solicited in their behalf the goods or money of the industrious classes, without feelings of indignation mingled with remorse. Were all the men of Ireland of my way of thinking, they would in ordinary times have no charity-sermons, no houses or institutions supported by the voluntary gifts of the industrious; but in place of these, in lieu of extorting by sermons, and collections, and never-ending appeals to the precepts of the Gospel, money from those who cannot afford to bestow it, and from whom it is little short of injustice to receive it, they would assail the Legislature by constant petitions, and the Government by strong remonstrance on behalf of the poor. They would insist with the Apostle, 'that some should not be eased and others burdened, but that there might be an equality.' They would teach the poor themselves to abstain from violence and be submissive to the law; but also tell them, that they had higher claims to relief than those arising from the exhibition of their distress. But above all, they would proclaim from the house-top, in the hearing of the rich and of the poor, of the princes and of the people, that Church-property was held in trust; that it was bequeathed by our ancestors in part, and principally for the education and maintenance of the poor, and that so long as the state withheld it from them the people should not seek for rest, nor the Government enjoy repose."

The Bishop then entered on the second portion of his task, and proceeded to set forth, in luminous language, the origin, nature, and destination of the property which had been confided in trust to the administration of the Clergy in the different ages of the Church. In handling this topic Dr. Doyle was peculiarly at home. The old canons of the Church had long been familiar to him: they formed a portion of that history of the human race from which much wisdom may be learned; and he regarded them as the index of the growth, maturity, decay, and ruin of institutions, which once filled the places since occupied by other powers. Such of these canons as related to Church property had produced both good and evil; but to a dispassionate mind, reviewing the history of Church and State from the period of their union, it was impossible to banish the conviction that rich benefices, and especially tithes, had proved more hostile to Christianity, and more mischievous to the Church, than the darkness of paganism or the sword of the infidel. But if the Spirit of Christ could not exclude enormous wealth from the sanctuary, it secured to his indigent members a participation in the spoil; and the same law which enforced by excommunication the payment of tithe to the Priest commanded that Priest to dispense, in mercy and humility, their own portion to the poor.

Dr. Doyle hurriedly glanced at the Revolution as it effected these countries, and observed that the results of various conflicts was to leave England and Ireland subject to the monstrous tithe-system, unmitigated by any one of those redeeming qualities which, up to the sixteenth century, had commended it to the toleration of the people. He then entered on his inquiry, but previously bespoke the candour as well as the attention of his readers.

"I am a churchman," he wrote, "but I am unacquainted with avarice, and I feel no worldly ambition. I am, perhaps, attached to my profession, but I love Christianity more than its earthly appendages. I am a Catholic from the fullest conviction, but few will accuse me of bigotry. I am an Irishman hating injustice and abhorring with my whole soul the oppression of my country; but I desire to heal her sores, not to aggravate her sufferings. In decrying as I do the tithe-system, and the whole Church Establishment in Ireland, I am actuated by no dislike to the respectable body of men who, in the midst of fear and hatred, gather its spoils; on the contrary, I esteem those men, notwithstanding their past and perhaps still existing hostility to the religious and civil rights of their fellow-subjects and countrymen; I even lament the painful position in which they are placed. What I aspire to is the freedom of the people; what I most ardently desire is their union—which can never be effected till injustice, or the oppression of the many by the few, is taken away. And as to religion, what I wish is to see her freed from the slavery of the State and the bondage of mammon—to see her restored to that liberty with which Christ hath made her free—her ministers labouring and receiving their hire from those for whom they labour . . . . that thus religion may be restored to her empire, which is not of this world, and men once more worship God in spirit and in truth."

Many pages full of pith and point, logic and learning followed. Dr. Doyle argued that by the common law of England the poor were still fully entitled to their portion of the tithes. He had examined all the statutes affecting the Church, from the 27th of Henry VIII.—which first transferred to that Prince the property of some monasteries—up to the 43rd of Elizabeth, which created a new provision for the poor; and, unless the latter can be said by implication to have repealed their legal right to a fourth part of the Church revenue, he knew of no statute or usage which could at present bar that right. He used the word "usage" because it is a maxim in the common law of England that no lapse of time or possession can create a title by prescription against the Church, unless the adverse possession is proved to exist from the time of

Richard II. or Henry IV.; and, as the right of the poor to their share of the Church revenues was strictly and legally an ecclesiastical right, they ought not to be excluded from the possession and enjoyment of what the law had assigned to them. "I was myself," he adds, "once nearly resolved to try this right in Ireland, by having a bill filed in a Court of Equity; but Lord Manners was Chancellor, and the temper of the time was unfavorable."

This scheme occupied Dr. Doyle's mind to a considerable extent about the year 1824. He consulted Sheil on the subject, who, in a carefully digested written opinion, expressed his conviction that if the right were tried before a proper tribunal it would prove successful. But the Chancellor was Lord Manners, of whom we have spoken in a former chapter; and Dr. Doyle clearly saw that the strong political bias of that personage constituted a formidable impediment to the success of the scheme.

From this topic Dr. Doyle passed to the examination of the state of Church property in Ireland—"the only Christian country which enjoyed, up to the period of the English invasion, a total exemption from tithe;" and the Bishop showed very conclusively that the law of tithe, whether civil or ecclesiastical, had never, either in Catholic or Protestant times, the assent of the Irish nation: "They have always been at war with it," he wrote, "and I trust in God they will never cheeerfully submit to it. It was imputed to them as a crime by Giraldus Cambrensis that they had never paid tithe, and would not pay tithe notwithstanding the laws which enjoined such payment; and now, at the end of six hundred years, they are found to persevere, with increased obstinacy, in their struggles to cast off this most obnoxious impost. There are many noble traits in the Irish character, mixed with failings which have always raised obstacles to their own well-being; but an innate love of justice, and an indomitable hatred of oppression, is like a gem upon the front of our nation which no darkness can obscure. To this fine quality I trace their hatred of tithe—may it be as lasting as their love of justice!"

The Bishop concluded by saying that he thought the tithing ought to be abolished utterly and for ever, and a land tax—not exceeding one-tenth of the value of the land—substituted for it. The produce of this tax and the Church lands—placed at the disposal of the Parliamentary Commissioners—would enable them to provide amply for the support of the poor, and to promote works of public necessity or national improvement. Dr. Doyle had by no means exhausted his views on this question. He promised that, should he have leisure, he might at no distant period resume the consideration of Church property, with the civil and ecclesiastical laws

relating to it. "Should I do so, many thoughts, which now I can scarcely allow to escape me, will be stated at length, and these laws which at present I can only allude to will be exhibited in full view, as pillars in the mighty edifice that they had so long sustained." But this labour was too much for the Bishop's jaded life; and during the three remaining years of his existence, he published no other works on tithes, although, in 1832, he spoke against the system with an energy and learning peculiarly his own.

This publication brought Dr. Doyle a considerable accession of fame. Its power was recognised as universally as its brilliancy. Perhaps a more striking instance of its irresistible force could not be mentioned than the fact that O'Connell, whose hostility to the Poor Laws had long been formidable, avowed himself completely convinced, and declared that he was ready to relinquish the pursuit of his favourite project, the Repeal, and co-operate with all the energy of which he was master in the great and good work pointed out by Dr. Doyle. We readily insert the interesting record of this memorable conversion. Coming from a man whose profession had rendered him familiar with all the subtleties of logical science, the following admissions, in favour of the irresistible force of Dr. Doyle's reasoning, are certainly very remarkable:

"London, 29th March, 1831.

"My Lord—You have convinced me—your pamphlet on the necessity of making a legal provision for the *destitute* Irish poor has completely convinced me. The candour and distinctness with which you state the arguments against that provision, and the clear and satisfactory manner in which you have answered and refuted those arguments, have quite overpowered my objections, and rendered me an unwilling, but not the less sincere convert to your opinions. I candidly acknowledge that you have done more—you have alarmed me, lest in the indulgence of my own selfishness as a land owner, I should continue to be the opponent of him who would feed the hungry and enable the naked to clothe themselves.

"My Lord, I am much pressed in point of time—but I feel it imperative on me to announce this my conversion, with a view to endeavour to render it useful. I am not an admirer of that species of conviction which contents itself with mere mental gratification. You will not be surprised that I do not estimate too highly the value of 'faith without works,' and you will, therefore, be prepared to find me ready to endeavour to realize that which I believe to be salutary to the people—the poor people of Ireland.

"The scenes which you have *actually* witnessed—the misery which you have *actually* beheld—the woe which you have *actually*

wept over—the famishing children—the starving parent—the perishing youth—the young blood running cold, chilled by penury—the aged sinking into the grave under the pressure of hunger—avaricious cruelty thining the folds of their population, and starvation filling the churchyards with emaciated victims! I cannot, my Lord, endure to look at the picture you have drawn from the life, and strewed with real dead. I will not bear it without at least a struggle, and now I offer myself—all that I have of energy and perseverance—to the cause which you support and ornament—the cause of the poor, the destitute, the famishing—the cause of the unjustly afflicted man—the cause, am I at liberty to say it without profaneness—the cause of God.

"Let us see, my Lord, what is to be *done*. We must proceed cautiously and deliberately it is true, but we must proceed incessantly, vigorously, perseveringly. There is no time to be lost. I was long of opinion that the Repeal of the Union, giving as it would—AND YET WILL GIVE—to Ireland the protection of a domestic legislature, and necessarily resident proprietary, would supersede the necessity of any legal or compulsory provision for the Irish poor. But the Irish aristocracy have, in such comparative numbers, arrayed themselves round the stifling policy of Lord Anglesey's government, that they necessarily retard that which, ultimately, they cannot possibly prevent. In the meantime, the people are perishing; want and corroding misery are daily extending. The cry for relief is urgent and incessant, and we cannot wait until the heartless shall be put down by popular sentiment, and overcome by the slow although certain march of constitutional exertion.

"We *must* come forward at once. The people *must* be fed. The tithes do certainly afford a great and natural resource, or rather a crown rent. As a national commutation of tithes, less, much less, than the tenth of the fair rent-roll will be abundantly sufficient; in fact, the one-half of the actual weight of the tithes. Next, the estates of absentees should bear a double proportion of this crown rent, or land tax. Indeed a treble proportion would be but strict justice. Let me be asked how we could effectually raise this treble land tax on the estates of absentees. I answer, by referring to the facility with which the double land-tax was raised for more than a century, on the estates of English Catholics.

"Before the week closes, I intend to be in Dublin, and immediately to commence operations to bring into practical effect your benevolent views. . . . . I could expatiate on the necessity of a prompt exertion, but it is indeed obvious. I believe—I really believe, that Lord Anglesey means well. I give him credit for good motives. I give him, unaffectedly, that credit; though great

personal vanity working in a mind of small power necessarily obscures his views; but conceding purity of motive, I am bound to say, that my thorough and sincere conviction is, that since the days of the ill-fated Stratford there never existed a single governor of Ireland whose policy was so unequivocally calculated, without his knowing it, to effectuate permanent mischief to Ireland. It must be so always with those who refuse to allow the public sentiment a voice, and universally imagine that when they stifle the words of complaint they extinguish the causes of irritation and suffering, or diminish the anxiety for redress.

"Turning away from these delusions, let us contemplate the sad state of Ireland. The fragments of the old party of intolerants, sore after the recent victory gained over them by liberality and justice, are ready instruments in the hands of even an unskilful governor. They have supplied materials to oppose a temporary but delusive resistance to the national will. During the continued struggle the people are scarcely heard crying for bread, and there is none to break it to them. Let us, my Lord, attend to their cry, and whilst we pursue, as reason and conviction may dictate, our respective views of other measures for national relief, let us combine, as well as we can, good men of every party, sect, and persuasion, to afford relief to the aged, the sick, the destitute, and the famishing.

"The Irish aristocracy—and a poor aristocracy they are—have opposed the popular demand for domestic legislation. They have opposed that measure which, above all others, would be most calculated to afford profitable employment to the poor. Let us see what we can substitute for it. Let us now press forward that substitute, backed as it will be by the craving demands of famishing millions.

"The British legislature is quite prepared to give us a Poor Law. I do not know any one subject which would be half so popular in the British House of Commons as a Poor Law for Ireland. We have only to ask for it, and we may be certain of obtaining it. But let us not ask for it until we have so matured our plan that we may not introduce evil in the place of doing good, or aggravate any part of that misery which it ought to be our sole object to relieve. But I have run on longer than I intended. My leading objects were to thank you for that pamphlet which has worked my complete conversion; and to offer you my active and persevering exertion to carry into effect your plan of relief for the persons in the world who require it most.

"I have the honour to be, with lively gratitude and profound respect, my Lord, &c.,

"DANIEL O'CONNELL."

The following letter from a highly distinguished Peer, with whom O'Connell had a warm pamphleteering controversy a short time afterwards, forms an interesting companion to the Tribune's communication :

"Alton Towers, 5th April, 1831.

"My dear Lord Bishop—I have just procured your admirable letter to Mr. Spring Rice, and have devoured it with the avidity which I always bring to everything that falls from your pen. God grant that it may find good ground in which to produce its fruit. But there is a selfish apathy about our legislators which astonishes and confounds. Were it otherwise, is it possible to conceive that Ireland would be thus abandoned in her distress—that myriads of the King's subjects should be suffered, by that government which is established for their protection, to starve in the midst of plenty—to remain idle under abundant means of affording them profitable employment—to be destitute of all things when they had only to open their stores and dispense their blessings. What this portends your Lordship is much fitter to say than I am. To me it is inexplicable and amazing. But I begin to think that an English Parliament will never learn how to feel for Ireland. Yet where are her own representatives? How comes it that out of the talent and public virtue which she sends forth—perhaps far beyond her quota—to the great council of the nation, there should be none to stand up for the rights of the poor? Is it that they too, being landed proprietors, are infested with the sin of covetousness, are enamoured with high rents and large returns, and are unwilling to share the produce of the soil with the needy and the infirm, and the unfortunate? Are they fearful to defend the rights of the poor against the state, lest the state should say, 'They are yours—see you to them?' The lamentable condition of the labouring poor in this country, and the melancholy events of the last winter consequent thereon, ought to have indued our rulers with at least common foresight and circumspection. Abstracting from morality and religion, where is the policy in allowing the process of disorganization to be going on from day to day, unconscious of the hour in which the explosion may take place, without applying the corrective? It is this dangerous state of things which lately induced me to write a few suggestions, which I take the liberty of sending. I had intended to have remarked upon the destination of Church property, and the rights of the poor upon it, in the same spirit as your Lordship (would to Heaven I could do so with the same force); but I judged it more prudent to abstain till after the passing of the Reform Bill. I am, however, delighted that *you* have done it, and that so ably and so beautifully. What a system to have en-

dured so long—what a monstrous shame that it should still find abettors and supporters! . . . . . .
With a largely increasing population, accompanied by a diminution of profits upon every branch of industry or commerce, it must be a difficult matter to induce those who still possess the means to expend their capital in employment. Accustomed to enormous profits under the paper system, they lose courage and spirit in proportion as the incentive is lowered.

"To meet this state of things it appears to me that compulsory measures are necessary. I have proposed that each man should have a right to demand labour, just as much as he has a right to demand sustenance, and I have apportioned the beer duty (say three millions and a-half) as the means of meeting these exigencies. Public works carried on upon a large scale have always this inconvenience, that they congregate together an immense number of disorderly persons at a distance from their homes, who are obliged to lodge in public-houses, where the temptation to vice is almost sure to be more than a match for them. The great object should be to afford employment to the labourer within reach of his own hearth. Public works in Ireland may be very suitable, however, for particular districts, and not subject to the inconvenience I have mentioned. That employment must be found for the people, if social order is to be preserved amongst us, there can be no doubt; but I fear that Government will provide it in too limited, too partial, and too transitory a manner. I agree most perfectly with all that your Lordship has said—and said so beautifully and so forcibly; and I regret much that I have not the opportunity (without extreme inconvenience) of expressing such sentiments in Parliament—though I must confess that my regret is much diminished by the certainty that it would produce no result. It is a most disheartening task to speak justice to the unjust, mercy to the selfish, and truth to those who will not believe. God grant that I may live to see these countries governed by a spirit of equity and justice, which, I am sorry to say, I have never yet observed amongst public men. However, if ever we are to have it, I think we have a chance of it now. The Reform Bill is a most efficient measure, and, I trust, a pledge of the sincerity of those who have proposed it. There is another reason why I often wish to be nearer Parliament—to oppose those abominable Divorce Bills which are so frequently and so scandalously brought before us; though in this case, as well as in the other, I am consoled by the reflection that my exertions would be vain. However, I hope to be in time to make a beginning before those are passed which are now before the House.

"It will give me the greatest pleasure to learn that distress in

Ireland is on the decrease. I hope the subscriptions will turn out well. As yet I have sent nothing, having no property in Ireland, and innumerable claims upon me here, which keep me very poor. Irish landlords should be *compelled* to do their duty, if they will not do it otherwise.

"Excuse me for troubling your Lordship at such length. May I ask, in conclusion, to what period you allude in pp. 61 and 62? Should any circumstance bring you to England, I hope I need not say how happy we should be to receive you here.

"Believe me, my dear Lord Bishop, with the highest respect, &c.,

"SHREWSBURY."

One solitary vote carried the English Reform Bill; but General Gascoyne having moved an amendment in committee, to the effect that the number of representatives for English and Welsh boroughs should not be diminished, it passed, after a protracted debate, by a majority of twenty-two. The King was a staunch reformer, and he regarded the conduct of the borough-mongering Senate with feelings of disgust and indignation. He came down suddenly to the House on the following day, prorogued Parliament, and, on the 22nd of April, a dissolution was proclaimed.*

Both sides vied with each other in the promptitude and vigour of the preparations which were forthwith made for one of the most desperate and expensive contests on record. Upon the issue of this memorable struggle depended not only the fate of parties, but a nation's cause. In the question of Reform was involved the property, the freedom, the lives of the people. Dr. Doyle flung all his energies into this great constitutional struggle. Like Cæsar on the plains of Maida, he hitherto fought for victory; but now he fought for life. In pursuing this course he promoted the dignity of the Crown, the independence of the Legislature, the interests of commerce and agriculture, the liberty of the press and of the subject, and peace and good-will among the nations of the earth. That a reformed Parliament, speaking the sentiments of an enlightened people and enacting laws for their good, should of necessity promote these boons, there was no reasonable doubt. A meeting of the freeholders of Carlow was held, with a view of concerting measures to restore the independence of the county, and to ensure the return of members pledged to support the King and his ministry in their efforts to reform the Parliament.—Anxious to promote the objects of the meeting, Dr. Doyle

* The singular fact has been asserted by Mr. O'Neill Daunt—we know not on what authority—that the King's impatience to achieve Reform was so great, that he wanted to drive down to the House in a common "jarvey" to dissolve the refractory Parliament. (See "Ireland and its Agitators," p. 171.)

enclosed £10: "I regret," he said, "that circumstances do not allow me to subscribe a larger sum, as I deem no sacrifice too great to be made for the attainment of a purpose so salutary as that of restoring to the people of these kingdoms their due weight in the Legislature.

"An oligarchy has usurped the just and constitutional power of the King and people. This usurpation has corrupted the nobility—oppressed and impoverished the people; it has burthened the nation with an insupportable debt, confirmed or introduced every imaginable abuse; and sustained them by foreign wars, internal corruption, and a system of taxation the most oppressive to human industry.

"This oligarchy has by many bad laws abridged the liberty of the subject, retarded the progress of every social improvement, and reduced the industrious and labouring classes of the community to difficulties of distress or to utter destitution; they even attempted lately to cramp the freedom of the press, that the complaints and sufferings of the aggrieved might not be circulated and made known. But the people of the whole Empire have revolted against this domination, and, headed by the best of kings and a virtuous ministry, are now in conflict with this oligarchy for the recovery of their rights.

"That the cause of the nation must be triumphant, is as certain as the rising of the sun; but whether that triumph shall be obtained by peaceable means, or through a sea of blood, depends mainly on the issue of the present elections. This issue, therefore, is a cause of life or death to the people; and the man is a traitor to his own interests—to the interests of his children and of his country—who does not exert whatever power or privilege he may possess to support the best of kings and his ministers, in their present contest with a powerful and despotic party.

"Justice, honour, loyalty, the safety of the State, and the future peace and happiness of this country, are all committed on the present election. If the people be wanting to themselves, oppression, bloodshed, and civil war, are, I fear, not far removed from us. If the cause of Reform succeed, peace and happiness await the country.

"I need not add, that whosoever is not pledged to support the King and his ministry in their plan of Reform is in reality opposed to all Reform; for that plan of Reform which is supported by the Crown and its ministers can alone succeed by peaceable means. Hoping that wisdom, which is unanimity, will govern your proceedings.—I remain, &c."

Dr. Doyle observes, in a letter to Sir H. Parnell, written

during the previous February, that if Lord Anglesey really wished to confer with him on public affairs, it was easy to make such a desire known. Within a short period from this date, it would seem that the Viceroy opened a correspondence with the Bishop. The following fragment of a letter to Lord Anglesey, throws some light upon the present stage of our narrative:

"My Lord—I avail myself of your Excellency's permission to write on any matter deserving the attention of your Excellency. My object at present is to beg the favourable attention of your Excellency to a memorial from the committee of the liberal candidates for the representation of this county, which is forwarded this evening to the office of the Chief Secretary. This memorial prays for the immediate appointment of two justices of the peace, who would attend during the coming election to administer the usual oaths to the R. C. voters, or for such other arrangement by your Excellency as would disable the anti-Reform partly from impeding, by artifice, the progress of the election. The motives of the memorialists and the reasons alleged by them are pure and well-founded, and though I pray your Excellency may have their request granted, I feel confident that the merits of the case themselves would move your Excellency to have that done which may be of the utmost necessity—nay, of vital importance in the impending contest. Though your Excellency will probably be supplied with abundant details and representations of the excitement prevailing here, you will suffer me to state what appears to me the true position of the contending parties. The opponents of Reform are the large, rude, small gentry; with few exceptions a class not enlightened, but long accustomed to domineer over the other classes. The former endeavoured to stifle every expression of public sentiment on the Reform question; but having failed in that, when the Parliament was dissolved, they sought by threats and intimidation to lead the tenantry to support the candidate opposed to Government. The middling classes, composed chiefly of Catholics and Protestant dissenters, encouraged by me, resolved to withstand this usurpation of right, and, through many difficulties, have organized a force sufficient, in my opinion, to secure the return of one, and most probably of two members pledged to the support of Government. The adverse party are enraged, and not only have recourse to a religious cry, but charges . . . [The remainder of the letter has been lost.]

In labouring to promote the great question of Reform, Dr. Doyle did not feel himself justified in venturing on the platform; but in every legitimate exertion short of that personal display he indulged with a hearty earnestness. He wrote up the movement,

sometimes under his own signature, but more generally under a *nom de plume*. He proved that he who refused to support the King and the people was not only pledged to uphold the dominion of a corrupt and despotic oligarchy, but had conspired to sustain every old abuse, to introduce new modes of plunder and oppression, to arm citizens to spill each other's blood, to shackle the press, and immure in dungeons every advocate of freedom, to commit the nation to never-ending wars, and to devour, under the name of loans and taxes, the fruits of all the nation's industry.

The great party against which Dr. Doyle had arrayed himself was agitated with rage at finding its title to power denied, and that the whole nation, headed by the Sovereign, had resolved to destroy that power, and re-establish the Government of the country, on the basis of right and justice. But despair was mingled with this feeling of rage; they poured out their treasures to corrupt; they resorted to intimidation against those whom they had long oppressed. Wiles, intrigue, bribery, threats, promises, rewards, were all employed by the anti-reformers as their natural allies; but it became fatally evident, notwithstanding, that victory had abandoned them. Dr. Doyle, in a paper before us, predicts the character of the exertions to which the opponents of Reform would be certain to have recourse: "They will resort, without shame, decency, or remorse, to any and every means whereby the strength of the country can be divided and their own defeat retarded. They will libel the innocent and applaud the guilty. They will speak of the throne, whilst they war against the King; of chartered rights, whilst they attempt treason by invading the privilege of the people to select freely their own representatives. They will call the endless oppression of tithes and vestry cesses by the name of the Church, and invoke religion, whilst they belie their neighbour and sow dissension among brethren. They will declaim on the constitution, as if the constitution signified the power of a plundering oligarchy to make laws and execute them in despite of the Sovereign and all the millions of free-born subjects over whom he rules! They will do all these things, and whatever else rage and despair can suggest to their infuriated minds. But their days, nevertheless, are numbered—their overthrow is certain; and their body, like the body of some hideous monster, will in a few days lie lifeless, and be gazed at by the victors with mingled feelings of horror, scorn, and disgust. The youth of the country will assemble about it, and ask each other—is this the beast that trampled on our fathers, that made widows of our mothers, and drank our brothers' blood? Is this the beast that provoked nations to war against each other;

that polluted religion by its lusts, and committed fornication with all the Kings of the earth? Is this the insatiable beast that devoured the earnings of the poor, that swallowed up the fruit of the nation's industry, that bound down the neck of England with an insupportable debt, and gave to Ireland a stone or a scorpion when she asked for bread? They will ask each other—is this the monster that corrupted the Legislature, put manacles on the kingly power, debased the nobility, and tempted the people to hate and persecute each other? The youth of the country will ask these questions, and they shall be joined by the old men—their fathers and grandsires—who will assure them that all this was but too true; that the dominion of this monster was worse than even their conception of it, and the deliverance from its power—its defeat and destruction—a boon from heaven granted to the magnanimity of the best of kings, to the wisdom and energy of his councillors, and to the union and courage of a loyal and virtuous people.

Dr. Doyle proceeds to observe that every man in the country felt that he had been, to a certain degree, plundered and enslaved. Should the faction, therefore, appeal to its prescriptive rights to keep British subjects for ever in a state of vassalage, even their own mercenaries would revolt: "If they claim to exercise over their tenantry a feudal or tyrannic power—if they call upon them to prostitute their votes because they are tenants—to sell the liberties of their country because they and their fathers were blinded and oppressed—then the faction proclaim their own infamy. They confess that tyranny is a governing principle of their life, and that a *free*holder, in their estimate, is only *free* to prostitute his franchise to commit treason against the constitution, and perpetuate the degradation of his country. But if such principles be proclaimed by the faction—if their strength reposes on such a basis, who can fear the result? For is it now, when light and truth pervade the world—when nations who have delivered themselves from bondage cover the Continent, and, with drawn swords and shouts of victory, proclaim to the world that man is free—is it at such a period that in these kingdoms, the home of freedom, men can be enthralled or led to combat for an oligarchy against truth, honour, religion, reason, liberty, and independence? What then remains to the faction?—despair!"

This paper was published anonymously, but the scriptural allusions which it contained was almost sufficient evidence in itself to establish Dr. Doyle as the author. Speaking of the oligarchy, he said that the decree of their destruction had doubtless been sealed above, and their despair resembled that of Lucifer, when hurled by the Archangel from the height he occupied to the depths of the abyss!

Dr. Doyle's pen sped rapidly in furtherance of this great question. He declared that he who did not pledge himself to support the Reform Bill of Earl Grey was opposed to every boon and blessing. He called upon his countrymen to cast to the winds those religious bickerings which had so long blighted the land and divided the people's strength. The excitement which pervaded the ranks of both parties at this crisis may be inferred from the earnestness of the Bishop's language, and the asperity of many of his points: "Whilst the enemy is in our front," he exclaimed, "and our very existence, as it were, at stake, we will not be so senseless as to cast away our arms, or turn them against each other. In despite of our enemies we are one nation—we must stand or fall together. Let us, therefore, reform our own minds, and learn even at this the eleventh hour that we were divided only to be subdued—that our divisions hitherto enslaved us—that religious bigotry was the weapon of our destruction—and that union alone can restore us to life, to health, and to vigour. Let the people know no division but that which separates the faction from those who love the constitution; let there be no division but between the sons of freedom and the slaves of the oligarchy—between the subjects who support the king and his government, and the rapacious faction which would enslave both king and people."

He did not forget the Prelate in the Patriot. Whilst the general election impended, he republished his pastoral instructions relating to freeholds, which he had addressed to the people during the previous year. The object was to instruct them in the duty which they owed God, and to guard them, as far as possible, against the crime of perjury. Were he silent, and that they erred through ignorance, he should be an accomplice in the sin of his flock; and he felt that their blood should, under such circumstances, be required at his hands; whilst, on the other hand, if he pointed out to them their duty, he might claim the merits and the reward due to those who instruct others unto justice. He prayed that God might enlighten the poor people, clear away their doubts, and give them strength to fulfil His will. The Bishop's instructions were well-timed and useful. "If any one of you," he said, "should unhappily have been led by fear, or hope, or through ignorance to register a freehold which you have not, or to swear falsely respecting such freehold at the time of its registry, you may know that it is not now lawful for you to tender the vote or exercise the franchise which you obtained by such false swearing."

Other instructions of a similar aim followed. The Bishop begged his flock to be admonished by him, who discharged an

embassy from God towards them, and not to place their conscience in the keeping of those selfish and worldly men, '*who oppressed them by might, and drew them against the judgment-seat*,' for they cannot defend themselves or you on the day that we must all appear before the judgment seat, not of sheriffs or magistrates, but of Christ." Having given an exposition of the bribery oath, Dr. Doyle explained, that in all elections every voter is under a moral obligation of supporting the candidate who to him appears most worthy. Any deviation from this principle, whether by hope, or fear, or threat, or reward, involved a moral transgression.

There was also published, anonymously, a long dialogue between "a Bishop and a Judge," of which Dr. Doyle was known to be the writer. Baron Smith had rendered himself conspicuous by the political animus of his judicial charges, and Dr. Doyle, in this dialogue, very effectively satirized the Baron's weakness. Various public matters were reviewed, including the continental revolutions, the Reform Bill, the Church question, and the changes in the domestic policy of Great Britain.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Triumphant issue of the Elections—The new Members for Carlow—R. L. Sheil—Letter from General Sir J. Doyle—Notice of Sir Milley Doyle—Letter to his niece—"A nuisance of the Altar and a tyrant of the Bench." Correspondence on the state of Ireland—Not a Catholic on the judicial Bench—Magisterial corruption—Facts about Sir H. Parnell—The Irish Reform Bill—Letter to a person who desired to embrace the Catholic faith—Letter to his niece—Description of Dr. Doyle at the head of his own table—His modesty in the drawing-room—His awful austerity of manner on some occasions, and almost womanly tenderness on others.

THE result of the Irish elections proved highly satisfactory to the popular party. In Dublin the Corporation sustained an extraordinary defeat. The genius of Orangeism was vanquished in its loftiest and strongest hold. Messrs. Moore and Shaw, the hereditary champions of ascendancy, were overthrown. "It was imagined," said Sheil, "that the position in which they stood was impregnable; but Reform has scaled the fortress, and planted the green flag on the proudest tower on which the standard of the Williamites ever waved!" Mr., afterwards Judge Perrin, and Sir Robert Harty were returned by the liberal interest. Among the phenomena in political conversion which took place in Dublin, was Major Sirr, the Fouché of the Irish Rebellion. He voted for the popular candidates, and his example was followed

by other quondam champions of the ascendancy. The result of the election throughout the country generally was not less signal and satisfactory. Mr. Sheil, in an interesting paper, contributed to *The New Monthly Magazine*, on the Irish elections, writes: "But what shall I say of the county of Carlow? what of Sir John Milley Doyle and of Mr. Walter Blakeney? and what, above *all*, of their nominator, who turned them into Members of Parliament with a single touch of his magic crozier—Dr. Doyle? Strange vicissitudes! Who could have conjectured that a 'bachelor of Coimbra,' and afterwards a Priest in some part of Wexford, and then a Professor of dogmatic divinity at the sacerdotal College of Carlow, should now with a mitre lofty as that of Becket (although without a gem in it) on his brow, and a Pastoral staff of Bellarmine potency in his hand, legislate for the passions of the people, and not only summon and dismiss at his bidding the popular emotions, but without a stretch or effort, and by the simple intimation of his will, accomplish that which not a Peer in the empire could have effected? Where is the man, except James, Bishop of Leighlin and Kildare, who could return two county members? Even the great Daniel himself could not achieve so much in any single Irish county. He can recommend the principle, but not prescribe the men; but the episcopal Augustinian can with a hint of his sacred predilection return two members without a struggle."

Sir John Milley Doyle and Mr. Walter Blakeney, a Catholic gentleman of Carlow, were not only placed in Parliament by Dr. Doyle, but Mr. Bruin and Mr. Cavanagh, the heads of the Protestant local aristocracy, hesitated to enter the lists against them. Until the last moment, however, Colonel Bruen had an idea of coming forward, and vigilant caution and vigorous effort were still necessary on the popular side. In the midst of his canvass, Sir Milley was cheered by the following note from the Bishop:

"Braganza, Carlow, 2nd May, 1831.

"My dear Sir—I am sincerely glad of the success which attends your canvass. I continue to give you all the aid in my power, and, though great difficulties are to be surmounted, I feel the utmost confidence that the united exertions of the friends of Reform will be successful. Do not, I pray you, relax in your exertions. You may depend on mine."

We find among the Bishop's papers the following characteristic note from General Sir John Doyle, uncle of the new member, Sir Milley Doyle:

4, Somerset-street, Portman-square, 16th of May, 1831.

"My dear Bishop—

"Nil desperandum te duce."

"You have nobly upheld the champions of your selection. You have triumphantly supported the good cause, and with it have reburnished the armour and restored the banners of our common clan.

"Accept, I pray you, the heartfelt thanks of an old and zealous friend of Ireland, the expression of his admiration of your splendid and useful talents, and his gratitude for your combined and efficient friendship to his near and dear relative, who feels it as he ought to do—and that speaks volumes. I am so fatigued with writing all day, and the postman is so clamourous for my letter, that I have only time to assure you of the best regards of, my dear Bishop, yours most gratefully,

"J. Doyle, *General.*"

A few words concerning General Sir John Doyle may not prove uninteresting. Having served with distinction in the American war, he was elected, in 1782, Member of Parliament for Mullingar, in the Irish Parliament. He generally sat with the Opposition, and advocated with energy and fluency the Catholic Claims. At this period he enjoyed the confidence of the Prince of Wales, who made him his private secretary; and when Catholic hope was brightened by the appointment of Lord Fitzwilliam to the Viceroyalty, Colonel Doyle, as a friend to Emancipation, received office under that short but memorable rule. He continued to act as Secretary-at-War for some time under the administration of Lord Camden; but the liberality of his sentiments led to his removal, and the gallant Colonel resumed the profession of arms. In 1797, he became a Brigadier-General, and during the harrassing Egyptian campaign of 1801, he eminently distinguished himself. In 1805, he received the baronetcy, which became extinct at his death in 1834.

Sir John Milley Doyle, K.C.B., the new member for Carlow, was the nephew of General Sir John Doyle. He had served as a major-general in the Portuguese army; was aid-de-camp to the Emperor, Don Pedro; became a colonel in the British army in 1825, and received a cross and clasp for his services at Fuentes D'Onor, Ciudad Rodrigo, Vittoria, the Pyrenees, and other engagements. From the profusion of his military decorations, he used to be nicknamed the "Walking Wellington Testimonial."

The result of the election in Wexford gave great satisfaction to Dr. Doyle. In a letter to his niece, we find the fact recorded:

"Carlow, 26th May, 1831.

"My dear Mary—You may be assured I participated both in your anxiety during the late elections, and in your joy at the result. I am very much obliged to you for your letters, and delayed writing to acknowledge them until I should receive that other letter which you promised; but your promise was like most of those made at elections—*not* to be relied on; and having despaired of its fulfilment, I hasten to congratulate you and all our friends on the issue of our struggle against the old and irreclaimable enemies of our country. I should never again have boasted of my native county had she not acted now as she has done, for I knew the power was in her if she had only virtue to exert it; and if she had not, I would resign her to the Saxons or Normans, and attach myself to some more Celtic soil. I have, however, been spared the pain of separation, and will continue attached to the county of my birth. Our victory here was signal. We had no aid but God and our own strength; but when a good cause is well conducted it succeeds in spite of all opposition.

"The affairs of Ireland are beginning to improve; but they are only beginning. We have many difficulties to contend with, and if we relax we will be thrown back; for our enemies, though now defeated, have still great resources, and have no notion of quitting the field. You have an excellent representative in Mr. Walker; and I trust Mr. Lambert will realize all your hopes of him.—Write me that long letter you promised when your head is composed. Tell John, Richard, and all my friends, how delighted I was with the exhibition of their patriotism. Say everything kind for me to your mother and to the family at Piercestown.—Affectionately yours,

"✠ J. Doyle."

Charles Arthur Walker, of whose future career Dr. Doyle wrote with confidence, fully realized the Bishop's anticipations. As one of the most enlightened and consistent friends of liberal progress in Wexford, Mr. Walker has long enjoyed general esteem and popularity. His parliamentary career was honest and distinguished. He lost no time in preaching the necessity of reforming the Irish Church Establishment, and on the 14th of February, 1832, we find him concluding an able speech with "the sentiment of a learned and respectable Prelate—'May our hatred of tithe be as lasting as our love of justice!'" Mr. Walker proved a zealous disciple of the patriot Prelate. The late Right Hon. R. L. Sheil writes: "Mr. Walker found in an English parson, settled in a good living in his neighbourhood, no other pastoral quality than a peculiar genius for the shearing of his flock. This shepherd of the people was also a Justice of the Peace. This nuisance of the

altar and this tyrant of the bench was resisted by Mr. Walker. He turned his weapons against himself, and dragged him into the Ecclesiastical Court as a delinquent against decency, and a mocker of the name of God. After having broken many hearts, it became his turn to perish of that malady which he had so often inflicted. The *arte perire suâ* was a just retribution."

On the same day that he addressed his niece, Dr. Doyle wrote the following able letter to the new Secretary-at-War:

"Carlow, 26th May, 1831.

"My dear Sir—Though I have some business in Dublin, and intended, when I had the pleasure of seeing you, to be there next week, I will defer my visit until the fever of politics shall have somewhat subsided, and the town be less agitated than it now is. I should be exceedingly glad to avail myself of the opportunity, which meeting you in Dublin would afford, of recurring to the affairs of this country before your departure for England; for in your absence there is no person here to whom I would communicate my mind freely, except the Lord Lieutenant; but his station is so high, and his Excellency's knowledge of me so slight, that intercourse with him could not be free of restraint. You must see, as I do clearly, that the present calm here is one of suspense rather than of repose, and that good dispositions or intentions, if not speedily followed by good measures, will be accounted as nothing. It is useless to repeat what, in my opinion, those measures ought to be; but if they do not go directly and immediately to the substantial relief of the industrious and poorer classes of the people, the most extreme and violent measures will be agitated, and with perilous effect. To prevent this you ought, in my opinion, to urge incessantly the state of Ireland, and the proper means of settling the system of her Government, on the ministry. Leaving out of view the laws which now exist and require so much amendment or alteration, the whole machinery of the Government itself is Tory and partial. The country is covered with a military force called police, and I believe in my conscience they are one of the chief causes of discontent and disturbance.* The expense of maintaining them is enormous, and

* It would seem that Dr. Doyle found it necessary to bring under the Viceroy's notice some objectionable conduct of which he conceived the police and their officers guilty. The author of this work having heard that an able letter of Dr. Doyle's, having reference to the police, was preserved in the Castle of Dublin, he applied for a copy of it to General Sir T. Larcom, who thus replied:

"Dublin Castle, 29th August, 1859.

"Sir—I have laid before the Lord Lieutenant your wish to possess a copy of the letter referred to; but his Excellency finds that it contains the names of persons yet living, and local circumstances to some extent existing still, and that it would not be proper therefore to furnish a copy."

every addition made to their numbers is but an addition made to the causes of discontent; they are all of the Orange or *ci-devant* ascendant party; they must be so while the selection of the men is vested in the local magistracy, and few or no Catholics among the officers. Discipline may and does restrain them to a certain extent, but does not remove that distrust or lurking hatred which appears whenever they come into collision with the people. But besides, why should we have a military police? They are required only to support odious and unjust laws, or the unfeeling severity of such men as the gentry of Clare. Even in the present state of the law and of Ireland, perfect peace could be preserved if one-half of the magistracy were deprived of their commissions of the peace; the few horse-police reserved to carry messages, and the execution of writs; the maintenance of order at fairs and markets entrusted to some ten or more special constables selected in each parish from among the farmers' sons, who would serve voluntarily and without pay if the country were freed from the expense and annoyance of the police establishment.

"If it be possible to induce Government to legislate for the public good, and to confide in the people, let them cease to watch them like thieves; let them cease to appoint to public and prominent situations their own enemies and the old oppressors of the people; let the Catholics receive proofs, not professions, that they are thought worthy of confidence, and the present calm may not be the presage of a storm but the commencement of a season of repose. It would be to me, and to some thousands of persons who think and feel as I do, the most painful event that could happen, to be obliged to combat those whom we now, with all our hearts, support and defend; but certainly I should rather die in the last ditch of my country than submit to arbitrary or partial Government. You know all my sentiments, and you have had many opportunities of judging how, justly or otherwise, I have estimated the state of this country, and will therefore be enabled to urge your own views as if sustained by the experience and knowledge which my situation affords."

Dr. Doyle might well complain that while Catholics were excluded from all situations of trust, their old enemies and oppressors daily received office. Not only in 1831, but during several subsequent years, there was not a single Catholic on the bench, and Mr. Sheil complained that "out of twenty-six stipendiary magistrates recently made, not one was a Catholic." It is curious to contrast the present judicial strength of the Irish Catholic body with its poverty under the administration of Earl Grey. Eight out of twelve of the Irish common-law judges are now Roman Catholics, including two of the three chiefs—viz., Chief-Justice

Monahan and Chief Baron Pigott, Judges O'Brien, Fitzgerald, Ball, and Keogh, and Barons Hughes and Deasy; Mr. Attorney-general O'Hagan being also a Roman Catholic; it is not improbable that ere long the proportion will be increased to three-fourths instead of two-thirds.

Dr. Doyle felt hurt, on national quite as much as religious grounds, at the system of invidious exclusion from office which characterized the Grey administration. Strange as it may appear, there was not one Irishman, at the period of which we write, permitted to hold any office of political trust in the Irish executive; although Ireland, admittedly, formed an important portion of the empire. But to resume the Bishop's correspondence with Sir H. Parnell. "The Newtownbarry affair," to which he alludes, is noticed at page 272 of this volume.

"Carlow, 8th July, 1831.

"My dear Sir—I was much gratified by the receipt of your letter. I was beginning to fear that Irish affairs could not be attended to by the Ministers. I am glad to hear of a prospect of improvement; but here at home there is a good deal of what it is difficult to understand. The Newtownbarry affair was a certain, if not necessary effect of the proceedings of Government with respect to the magistracy, the constabulary, and yeomen.

"Last Christmas, when Mr. O'Connell was forcing Government to adopt strong measures, you recollect how I besought Mr. Stanley and the friends of Lord D—— to send here a few regiments of the English militia, if necessary, to strengthen the military, and not to call out the Orange party in the person of the yoemanry. But at that time they feared O'Connell over much, and precipated themselves into new difficulties of greater and more lasting magnitude. They made themselves the debtors of a party with whom they should have no connexion, and thereby committed themselves to sustain old abuses, to oppose the just wishes of the people and of the enlightened public, and here they are now pampered with a magistracy as ignorant and corrupt as can well be conceived, and which they fear too much; with a constabulary and yeomanry all Orange, who hate the Government with all their heart and soul, and take their instructions more from Lord Farnham and associates than from Lord Anglesey or his colleagues in office. This armed banditti, urged by their leaders, are at this moment using every possible exertion to excite the people to insurrection, thereby to defeat the Ministry and Reform; whilst the mass of the people have resigned all confidence in Government, as if leagued with their inveterate foes, and are at this moment more liable to be led astray than they were at any period those ten years past, if some Mr. O'Connell appeared to merely give a direction

to their passions. This is the real state of Ireland now, so far as the administration of its affairs and the temper of the people compose its state; and I need not add, that order can never arise out of such a state of things. As to trusting to the ordinary course of law for redress of wrongs, &c., it is a weakness approaching to fatuity. There is not a sheriff in Ireland who is not too strong for the judges of assize. Even the assistant-barristers cannot do justice in the smallest things where party spirit enters; nor are they all inclined to act justly; and as for the magistrates, their corruption, like the wisdom of Solomon, surpasses all that has been told of it. I assure you that even in this country it is quite shocking.

"I wish to God you thought with me on Poor Laws. I think your present project without them will be quite nugatory. You will find that on no other basis can the settlement of this country be built. That and the Reform of the Church Establishment are as necessary for Ireland as air and water. The present system will certainly produce war, or bring in the Tories.—Affectionately yours,

"✠ J. Doyle."

Some facts about Sir Henry Parnell, who shared the friendship and confidence of Dr. Doyle, may enhance the interest of this correspondence. He was the great grandnephew of Dr. Thomas Parnell the friend and contemporary of Swift and Pope, and the youngest son of Sir John Parnell, Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer; but his eldest brother havingbeen born a cripple, and deprived of the use of speech, the family estates were settled on Henry by a special act of Parliament. Educated at Eton and Cambridge, where he highly distinguished himself, he was first returned to Parliament at the general election of 1802, for the borough of Portarlington. In 1808 he published his "History of the Penal Laws against the Roman Catholics," a work which did much in preparing the public mind for their final and satisfactory settlement. Sir Henry's papers, in *The Edinburgh Review*, also conduced to this important result. He clung with zeal to the Catholic question, when most others, from apathy, treachery, or despondency, had deserted it. The empty benches, to which he was often doomed to address himself on the subject of Catholic Emancipation, would have disgusted or disheartened a man of less moral determination. Impressed from an early period with a conviction of the immense power of moral and political science, he produced, in 1824, his work on "The Principles of Currency and Exchanges," which ran through four editions. In his labours as a writer and a senator he was influenced neither by a desire to court popularity or to advance the views of any party. He looked

only to principle and to the promotion of the public interests. Sir Henry also published works on "Banking" and "Financial Reform." The latter contains a considerable amount of accurate and well digested information on the income and expenditure of the British empire, and shows what reforms might be made by an honest government, without impairing security at home or tarnishing the national honour abroad. For many years this work continued to be the manual of these who would retrench without robbing, and amend without pulling down.

The exclusion of Sir Henry Parnell from Lord Grey's Government was considered a fatal error and defect, and the reparation made at the eleventh hour diffused general satisfaction through the country. In 1832, he resigned the Secretaryship-at-War, because the ministry would not concur in his estimates, and he had the independence to vote against them on the Russian Dutch Loan question. On the formation of Lord Melbourne's administration in 1835, Sir Henry was appointed Paymaster-General of the Forces, and Treasurer of the Ordnance and of the Navy, which offices he continued to hold until June, 1841. Honestly and intrepidly pursuing his schemes of economy, he urged with some success many radical reforms. On the 11th of August, 1841, he was raised to the Peerage as Lord Congleton. The author of "Random Recollectious of the House of Commons" says that as an orator he had a fine clear voice; but he never varied the key in which he commenced. "His utterance is well-timed, and he appears to speak with great ease; but his gesticulation is too tame for his speeches to produce effect." Sir Henry was not less gentlemanly in appearance than in reality. His stature was of the middle size, rather inclining to stoutness. "His complexion is fair," observes Mr. Grant; "his features are regular, with a mild expression about them, and his hair is pure white." Sir Henry had married, in 1801, Catherine, granddaughter of the Prime Minister, John, Earl of Bute. At the time of his death, in 1842, he was grandfather to the Marquis of Drogheda and to the Earl of Darnley.

On the 26th of May, Sir Robert Peel, aided by all the available strength of the Conservative party, gave the second reading of the Irish Reform Bill a determined opposition. They dreaded any increase of popular influence in the Irish representation, lest it should be brought to bear on the Church Establishment which had already begun to totter. Be this as it may, Mr. Sheil justly complained that the Irish Reform Bill was a measure by no means calculated to satisfy the expectations of the people of Ireland. It was easy to plant a thorn in the hearts of the Irish people—but not so easy to pluck it out.

The next document which we find in our portfolio is a letter to a young lady who desired to embrace the Catholic faith. Its paternal expressions and spirituality of thought are calculated to relieve effectively the angry clangor of politics, which have been so long falling upon the ear:

"June, 1831.

"On my arrival here this afternoon I was gratified by the receipt of your letter, and I give thanks to God that, as I find by it, He has not only opened your heart to receive His truth but also strengthened your faith. It is thus by His own power, and not by the persuasive words of human wisdom, that He reveals His truths, not to the prudent of this world, nor to those who are wise in their own conceits, but to the little ones, who, with simplicity of mind and with hearts cleansed of guile, seek the ways of God as men seek for gold. Were you disposed to dispute I should not probably write to you at all, for I am deeply impressed with the justice of St. Paul's remark: 'if any one love disputes we have no such custom, nor (has) the Church of God;' and though faith is from hearing, and comes generally from God through those commissioned to preach his Gospel, yet it is entirely a gratuitous gift of God freely bestowed for the sake of Christ, and seldom imparted to any others than those who, excited by grace, pray for it, and receive it into an humble heart. This conviction on my part has always rendered me averse to religious controversy. I put no trust in it, and were I to undertake it I should not probably conduct it well. I content myself upon nearly all occasions with a simple exposition of the doctrines of the Church, being assured by Christ that she cannot *err;* but when called upon, as I am by you, to give an account of those doctrines, I do so with the utmost freedom and with entire sincerity; thus endeavouring to water what some better hand has planted, and leaving to God to give or to withhold the increase as it pleaseth Him.

"It is time after this long preface to reply to your letter, and tell you why you believe there is a purgatory, or place in which some just souls are detained after death in a state of separation from the perfect union and full enjoyment of God.

"The reason why we believe this is, because the Church of God has always believed it: it was believed by the faithful before the coming of the Redeemer, in His time on earth, and since His ascension, without any interruption. This is testified by all the liturgies in the Christian world, wherein prayers for the dead are inserted as a part of the canon or rule, prescribing what was to be done by the Bishops and Priests when offering the sacrifice or celebrating the Eucharist. The doctrine identified with this practice must then be holy and true, because the Church of God

cannot consistently, with His promise to her, believe or practice anything which is opposed to true faith or pure morals. As to the texts of Scripture bearing upon this doctrine, they may be clear or they may be obscure, or hard to be understood, but they cannot be rightly interpreted unless in a manner agreeable to the doctrine held in the Church, for the Scriptures and the right interpretation thereon, belong equally to the Church, and whosoever wrests them to any other sense only wrests them to their own perdition, for none of them are of private interpretation; the interpretations of them and of any part of them belong exclusively to the Church or to that ministry in the Church which Christ commissioned to teach His doctrines to all nations, even to the end of the world.

"So true it is, my dear child, that when sectaries rejected the interpretation of the Church of these words of Scripture, 'This is my body;' they (the sectaries) attributed to them more (it would seem increditable, but it is true) than one hundred different meanings.

"The Church has not defined the meaning of all the texts adduced by you, and, therefore, I cannot tell you with certainty what it is; but I will tell you what occurs to me from my reading, when reading and teaching was my profession.

"'The blood of Christ cleanseth from all sin. Having by His own blood entered once into the holy place, He obtained eternal redemption for us.' This truth is the great basis of our religion, and is defined by the Church as showing the all-sufficiency of the atonement made by Christ on the cross; but though He thus died for all, all is not sanctified by His death, but only they to whom the mercies of His death are applied—to wit, they who believe and are baptized, and who by grace keep His commandments and persevere to the end in the observance of them; so the doctrine of atonement has nothing to do with that of purgatory more than with any other of the institutions of Christianity, which are ordained for the recovery of the sinner, or with the greater sanctification of the just within the Church.

"'Being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ;' and 'Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord, from henceforth they may rest from their labours.'

"The first of the above texts has reference to the excellence of the new covenant, founded, not by Moses, but by Christ, who reconciled to His Father, by the blood of His cross, all mankind, who by believing in Him, and observing His laws and ordinances, live and die in peace with God. Here, as in the former case, the Apostle discusses a great and fundamental truth without prejudice to, or even reference to, any other of the manifold tenets or duties

of the Christian religion, which tenets and duties he discusses or inculcates at other times and in other passages of his writings. The drunkard, for example, and the liar may believe in Christ, but they are not in peace with God; and though they had been once justified yet they shall not, unless through repentance, enter into his kingdom.

"The second of the above texts may be understood of all those who die in the state of grace—for they are truly blessed, they rest from their labours in this world, they are secure of future bliss, and the happiness of such of them as are detained in purgatory, though incomplete and joined with suffering, is greater than any to be found on earth. The text may properly be understood as spoken to the nobler portion of the elect who actually possess God, as the better portion of anything is sometimes in the Scripture language made to represent the entire. The various and almost capricious interpretations given to other passages referred to by you only serve to satisfy you of what I first said—that no Scripture is of private interpretation, and that when men undertake to define its meaning, instead of seeking that meaning from the Church, they become lost in their own intentions—are always learning and never come to the knowledge of the truth. The safe and simple rule is 'to ascertain what the Church has defined, and believe it,' for it must be true, as Christ came in the flesh; and all interpretations of text which are not in accordance with her doctrine must be erroneous.

"I have, I fear, tired you with this long letter, but it will, I hope, be acceptable to you, though it may bring fatigue. I shall be glad to hear from you, not in controversy, but to assure me that you serve God, and endeavour by piety of life and constant prayer to deserve from Him that he would increase your faith and bestow on you every good gift.—Believe me, &c.,

"✠ J. Doyle."

The following note is addressed to his early correspondent, Mary Coney:

"Carlow, 16th July, 1831.

"My dear Mary—I am almost angry with you for not letting me know when the doubts you mention of my dispositions occurred to you; and, only I am sure they arise in part from your great affection and interest for me, I would be distressed at your having for a moment entertained them. They are, I assure you, totally unfounded; and if there was anything in any part of your conduct which appeared to me not right, I would immediately tell you my sentiments. But I well know who has made you think thus, and it was but reasonable they should observe in me the change

which age, care, and the thousand trials of life, have certainly produced in me. I myself feel that change, and that I have become almost another but not a better man in the last twenty years; but if there be anything in me uniform, it is my interest and affection for you. If you do not visit Harrowgate, go to Lucan; the spa there is also sulphureous; but Johnstown is a chalybeate—like Cheltenham or Leamington—the town and country about abominable, whilst Lucan is very agreeable. I am thinking of going to Leamington for two or three weeks in August."

"Hospitable, courteous, and communicative at home," observes the late Bishop Clancy, "Dr. Doyle seldom or never dined abroad except at the College, where he was in the habit of coming (when in health) and spending a few hours in the evening, two or three times a week. His habits were most abstemious; he was up at six o'clock in the morning, and for the latter part of his life did not use spirituous liquors. He was literally a prince at his own table—not so much in the costly quantity or quality of his hospitable board as in his own dignified solicitude for the comfort and ease of his guests. Thomas Moore has happily compared him to St. Basil; and some of his ecclesiastical acquaintance recognised many traits in the person and character of Dr. Doyle which confirm the analogy."

Dr. Doyle has been occasionally pronounced by his adverse critics to have been vain, fond of hearing himself talk, and not indisposed to inhale the adulation of the censor. The reverse, however, is the fact. He hated to be made a lion of, and, as Bishop Clancy assures us, "he seldom or never dined abroad." On one occasion, when in Dublin, he was prevailed upon to dine at the hospitable table of the late M. Corcoran, Esq., Clerk of the Crown, with whom he had been extremely intimate. After dinner the gentlemen adjourned to the drawing-room, where some ladies had also assembled. "Dr. Doyle," observes a fair informant, "said not a word, but sat with his eyes fixed upon the ground like a timid *debutant*. Singular emotions were awakened within me when I contrasted his meekness and modesty in the drawing-room with the denunciative severity and awful austerity of manner, that so often impressed his audiences elsewhere with the idea of an almost supernatural agency."

Dr. Doyle knew not what *mauvaise honte* meant, and it is hardly necessary to say that his retiring demeanour in the drawing-room was merely the result of a sense of duty. In his diocesan statutes for the observance of the Clergy we find: "Remember that an ecclesiastic, whether officiating in the sanctuary or

dwelling in the midst of the world, should appear to be a man of superior mind and exalted virtue; a man whose example can improve society—whose irreproachable manners can reflect honour on the Church and add to the glory and splendour of religion; a man whose modesty should be apparent to all men as the Apostle recommends, and who should be clothed with justice according to the expression of a Prophet."

"The awful austerity of manner," noticed by our correspondent, was generally assumed by an effort, and cannot therefore be fairly regarded as an index of the Bishop's heart, which often betrayed almost womanly tenderness. Dr. O'Grady writes: "On taking leave of the Bishop, I knelt and implored his benediction. When I stood up he placed his arms on my neck and closely embraced me, while tears fell from his eyes. I never felt as I then did, nor can I ever since revert to that moment without feeling emotions indescribable."

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

How Dr. Doyle could argue orally and in writing simultaneously—Another letter to Lord Farnham in reply to an attack in the House of Peers—The Tithe System severely handled—Government may be honoured while reminding it of its duties—Bishops' lands—Lord Althorpe's Bill for reforming the Church Establishment—Death of Archbishop Magee—Bishop Bathurst—Revival of Canonical Synods in Ireland, and a revised system of Church Legislation framed—Imposing ceremonial at Maynooth—Dr. Doyle elevates the condition of Curates—Indulgence to the Regular Clergy—Men drop by thousands into a grave dug in the most fertile soil of Western Europe—Sir W. Scott and Dr. Doyle agree on the necessity of Poor Laws—Speech of Mr. Sheil—Anecdote—Severe letter to Mr. Senior—"Famine holds her feasts"—Petition of the Catholic Prelates to Parliament—His fatal disease stings him with its presence—Letter to Miss Anderson—He pays his devoirs to Lord Anglesey.

THE reader does not need to be reminded that Dr. Doyle wrote with the utmost fluency, but it is possible he may have yet to learn that, like Cæsar, who could read, write, and dictate at the same moment, our Prelate possessed and exercised the wonderful power of examining students while epistolary composition flowed *currente calamo* from him. "He would put," observes a Priest, "a succession of the most knotty questions to us, involving a most remarkable retentiveness of memory, and his pen running all the while. He could preserve in his mind the two distinct trains of subtle argument at the same moment." One of the most striking instances of this peculiar gift occurred at the present period. We allude to his celebrated letter to the Earl of Farnham. Canon Pope was an eye-witness of the achievement.

This Peer, whom Dr. Doyle had addressed so trenchantly in February, 1827, on the subject of his proselytising efforts at Cavan, was now sufficiently indiscreet to draw the wrath of J. K. L. again upon him. His Lordship delivered a speech in the House of Lords, which specially charged Dr. Doyle, not alone with being the head of a conspiracy formed in Ireland to resist the payment of tithe, but of being the cause of the slaughter at Newtownbarry. Lord Farnham further complained that Dr. Doyle had lately been invested with the commission of the peace.

Our Prelate, in a letter, dated 29th July, 1831, replied to Lord Farnham. He reminded that pious Peer how, in a former communication, he had predicted the issue of his evangelical labours. Was there not some reason to fear that this, his second letter, might presage the coming ruin of what Lord Farnham had taken so untowardly under his protection? But the Bishop preferred to discuss rather than prophesy future events. "I would not, my Lord, for your estate accept and exercise such commission. I am forbidden to exercise jurisdiction of any sort in criminal cases connected with blood; but, independent of this prohibition, the 'commission of the peace' is not compatible with that higher commission which I hold. Even if I were a private individual, I could not but feel that the office of what is called 'justice of the peace' has now-a-days ceased, in Ireland, to confer honour on those who hold it. Nay, if that office were accepted of by any one of the numerous Clergy subject to my control, he should cease to hold his spiritual office in conjunction with it. The Clergy throughout the world have been too long labouring to serve two masters; they should now make their selection of one of them, for the spirit of reform being abroad, 'it is time that judgment should begin from the house of God;' and I would sooner dissolve my little church establishment than suffer the Clergy of it to bear two incompatible commissions."

But this part of the charge was of minor importance. Dr. Doyle had much reason to complain that he should have been attacked where he could not be present to defend himself, and cover with shame and confusion the slanderer of his reputation. He had been stigmatized as the head and life-blood of a conspiracy. Dr. Doyle reminded his noble assailant that secresy was the soul of conspiracy, and that conspirators often tasted blood to confirm their iniquitous league. Startled, he asked himself, "am I then such a man—such a monster as this charge inflicts?" Conscience—that herald of future judgment—acquitted him. He was no conspirator. Unwilling to be profane, he was yet obliged to say: "I have spoken openly to the world, and in secret spoke nothing."

It was quite true that Dr. Doyle had frankly adverted to the tithe system as unjust in principle and odious in practice—as an impediment to the improvement of Ireland in peace, as well as in agriculture—as injurious to the best interests of religion, oppressive to the poor, inconsistent with good government, and intolerable to the Irish people. In justification of those strong phrases the Bishop detailed many striking proofs of their truth, from the tithe laws enacted in the Irish Parliament to the Battle of Skibbereen; and he inquired whether the recent slaughter at Newtownbarry was the effect of a cause different from that which produced the former collisions. The exaction of tithe was incompatible with the peace of Ireland. It had been hated and resisted before J. K. L. was born, and it would be cursed when he lay in his tomb. That the system was not less injurious to agriculture than to peace he clearly demonstrated. He had seen the hay left to rot and the field untilled, rather than pay the tithe of the produce to the Parson. But was it not self-evident that if culture created ten pounds' worth of produce from an acre of land subject only to £1 annual rent, that the tithe of this produce was taken, not from the land or its value, but from the seed, labour, and capital employed in producing the crop.

Some persons, anxious to relieve the tithe system from the charge of injustice, declared that it was sanctioned by law, and ought not therefore to be denounced. Dr. Doyle admitted that the law sanctioned it—but the law had also sanctioned the burning of witches, and the persecution unto death of men, women, and children for following the dictates of their own conscience. Law sanctioned the slave trade, and all manner of monopoly, of feudal tyranny, of rapine, prostitution, and fraud. There was nothing in the history of mankind so absurd or iniquitous which might not, at one period or another, claim the sanction of the law. The laws might be as replete with error or injustice as any other human institution, and their amendment or repeal could only be obtained by exposing their pernicious effects. But was it then permitted, he asked, to coerce Government or resist the law? By no means. It was criminal to do either; for governments should be honoured as representing the State and preserving, by a power ordained by God, the rights of all citizens. But Government should be admonished of its duties, and instructed as to all the grievances of the people.

Dr. Doyle observed that the full amount of the Church property in Ireland had never yet been ascertained. All the returns made respecting Bishops' lands and the rentals of them were fallacious. These lands amounted to two-elevenths of the entire kingdom. The incomes of the sees consisted not so much

in the return of rents as in renewal fines. The estimate of the value of their rents might be justly appreciated by the quarter of a million of money which several of the Bishops had been enabled to amass in a few years, after maintaining the charitable institutions which bear their name, and exercising that hospitality for which they were distinguished. Dr. Doyle indignantly denied that Ireland—the poorest country in Europe—could support an affluent and luxurious priesthood, which did not profess the religion of the people or minister to the wants of the poor.

The Clergy of the Establishment expressed themselves in high wrath against Dr. Doyle's letter. He was inundated with stinging retorts. We quote a few amusing paragraphs from a letter jointly addressed to him by Dr. Daly, now Bishop of Cashel, and the Rev. R. J. M'Ghee: "Your attack upon the revenues of the Established Church is but natural. If you are true to your principles you consider all its members heretics, accursed by an infallible decree; and it was a more easy and popular method to direct your efforts against its property than its principles. . . . .

"But it is not vague accusation you bring forward in your letter; you come to matter of fact. This, Sir, is an important point to attain. You state that the ministers of the Established Church '*take the blanket from the bed of sickness, the ragged apparel from the limbs of the pauper, and sell it by auction for the payment of tithe.*' . . . . You, Sir, professing to be a Christian Bishop, openly appeal to the Government to overturn the property of the Church, and you solemnly pledge yourself as to the facts of a most atrocious series of cruelties and oppressions, and you most solemnly declare that *you state these upon the evidence of your own eyes.* Now, Sir, you are defied to substantiate with *dates, names,* and *places,* the 'instances' which you assert you have *so often seen.* . . . .

"You stand spiritually aghast at the imputation of accepting the commission of the peace, as being totally incompatible with that high and holy commission which you profess to hold; and you reprove in no measured language the sinful secularity of Protestant clergymen for assuming an office so inconsistent with their profession. But, Sir, if it is incompatible with the sacred office to endeavour to preserve the public peace, is it reconcilable with its functions to use all diligence to disturb it? . . . .

"It is painful, Sir, when the general interests of men are concerned, to be obliged to direct their attention to an individual; but the rank which you hold in this unhappy country renders this necessary on the present occasion. Your opinions are looked up

* Surely many documents similar to that printed at vol. i., p. 298, might be quoted to support this allegation.—W. J. F.

to by a poor, infatuated people as possessing something little short of infallible authority in politics, in morality, and in religion; and it is of vast importance to their temporal and eternal interests to examine, in the light of truth, the object of their veneration. It is but a short time since the Roman Catholics of Ireland were in a situation very different from that in which they now appear, and it is but a few short years since you appeared as the prominent advocate for their political claims, and the conciliatory supplicant of Government for their Emancipation. . . . . .

"Tithes may be abolished—the property of the Church, with all other property, may be trodden under foot; but truth—eternal truth—shall triumph in the conflict; and we shall rejoice in any event, however injurious to the temporal prosperity of the Church, which shall issue in the vindication and diffusion of her principles, and bring salvation to our poor benighted countrymen, whose intellect, whose freedom of thought, whose 'whole body, soul, and spirit,' you, Sir, and your coadjutors are bowing down beneath a yoke that keeps them in bondage here, and is calculated to bind them in chains of outer darkness for eternity. . . . .

"What do the ministers of the Established Church do for Roman Catholics? Alas! Sir, they have failed indeed in their duty. There is much that they ought to do, and much that they do not do. They do not denounce with bold and apostolical fidelity, in every quarter of the land, the principles and superstitions that bury it in darkness and ignorance, and hopeless misery and ruin. They do not stand forth and summon you, Sir, and all the Priests and Bishops of your Church, to vindicate before your fellow-creatures and your God the spiritual tyranny with which you presume to shut up from man—from freeborn, rational, immortal man—that Word and that Salvation which is the birthright of the poorest Roman Catholic in Ireland. They do not 'lift up their voice like a trumpet, and show the people their transgressions,' and draw '*the sword of the Spirit which is the Word of God*,' to hew the chains of mental bondage that fetter and enslave their countrymen. But now, Sir, you have given the word, and challenged them as to what they do for the Roman Catholics. Let him who is the minister of falsehood now shrink back from the conflict in the open light of truth. . . . .

"Do not tell us we are *heretics*, unworthy of an answer, unworthy of the condescension of your mighty talents; if so, appoint men less worthy and more suited to such an ignoble task—but remember that the more vile we are, the more is a man who calls himself a Christian Bishop bound to labour for our salvation."

It having been remarked to Dr. Doyle that the Clergy of the Established Church spoke ill of him, and wrote some very offen-

sive pamphlets against him, he replied: "Many of them are young men not occupied with business, who know a little of theology, and having got a good classical education, they employ their time and their talents in defending, as they imagine, the cause of their Church, and in avenging the injuries which they suppose I have done to it. But they are mistaken. I hate their excessive Establishment, because it is injurious to this, an agricultural country, blasting the capital and industry of the peasant as well as the soil, and also because it has induced them to form an alliance with the Orangemen, who are the sworn enemies of our rights, and of the peace and happiness of Ireland. But though I think Dr. Jebb could scarcely find one amongst them, except himself, to suit his character of an Irish Clergyman of the Establishment, and considering them as oppressive by the nature of their tenure and income, rendered odious to us by their tithes and detestable church-rates, yet I respect them generally as a class of men eminent, many of them for their domestic virtues as well as for their literary acquirements."

Dr. Doyle's strong truths against the Establishment worked their way steadily. Within the next twelve months Lord Althorpe had prepared his bill for reforming the Church. By this measure Church Cess was to be altogether abolished—a relief to the amount of £80,000 per annum. Twenty-two Archbishops and Bishops were reduced to twelve, and a general tax on all Bishoprics, from five to fifteen per cent., was imposed. All sinecure dignities were abolished, and where no duty had been performed, nor minister resident for three years before the passing of the Act, commissioners received full power to suspend the appointment, whether in the gift of the Crown or Church. The 11th section of the bill provided that the proceeds on Bishops' leases should be paid to the State, and applicable to any purpose connected with the Church. There were several other reforms enumerated, and the bill thus concluded: "The commutation of tithes for land, and the laws of enforcing residence and prohibiting pluralities, to be the subject of another bill." This measure, after receiving violent opposition in the Lords, passed into law, with a few amendments, made by the present Earl of Derby, for the purpose of guarding against the principle of appropriation.

The death of Dr. Doyle's early opponent, Dr. Magee, in August, 1831, caused a vacancy to occur in the Archbishopric of Dublin. Lord Grey offered the see to Dr. Bathurst, Bishop of Norwich, a staunch advocate of civil and religious liberty and a personal friend of Dr. Doyle's. Dr. Bathurst, speaking of Dr. Doyle in a letter dated 15th May, 1824, pronounces him to be the most learned and agreeable Catholic Bishop he had ever met. Lord Grey writes:

"My dear Lord Bishop—I have just heard of the death of the Archbishop of Dublin. I have so little hope that you will be inclined to succeed to him that I feel some scruple in making you the offer. On the other hand, I cannot lose the opportunity of showing my respect for you personally, and my sense of the great public benefit which would be derived from the appointment of a Prelate distinguished by so many virtues and by such high qualifications. To the people of Ireland the known principles and uniform conduct of your Lordship could not fail to recommend your appointment as the best that could be proposed." Dr. Bathurst, however, was in the sear and yellow leaf, and he felt little disposition to grasp a crozier with an enfeebled hand, as he died soon after. A Priest heard Dr. Doyle say that had he been in London, he thought it likely that Dr. Bathurst would have sent for him with a view, like Bishop Ives, to embrace Roman Catholicism. This step has since been taken by nearly all Dr. Bathurst's grand-children.

In the fourth chapter of this work we referred at some length to the Synod of 1614, and to the relaxation of discipline which it reluctantly sanctioned in the suffering Church of Ireland. The revival of Canonical Synods in the ecclesiastical province of Dublin was slow and cautious. Not until the year 1831 can it be said that measures were earnestly adopted to remove the tarnish which had gradually overspread the brilliancy of the Irish Church. "A great work," writes Monsignor Meagher, "was to be performed—on the successful execution of which the welfare of religion in their Province for ages, perhaps, depended. Numerous important changes were called for—ancient and once valuable customs to be superseded cautiously; interests and feelings of great consideration to be managed with adroitness and delicacy." To Dr. Doyle and his zealous colleague, Dr. Murray, the success of this great and holy undertaking may be directly attributed. All the preliminaries of a sound and permanent system of Church legislation having been attended to, Archbishop Murray, attended by his suffragans, Drs. Doyle, Keating, and Kinsella, commenced a series of mature deliberations and pains-taking inquiries. "They were all men of singular eminence and worth," writes Monsignor Meagher—"one of them among the chief lights of the Western Church—the great Dr. Doyle. The objects to be attained were, substitution of ordinances, in stricter conformity with the canons of the Church at large, for local practices introduced in periods of disaster, and establishment of a uniformity of discipline in matters of more prominent importance throughout the province."

The labours of Dr. Doyle and his colleagues to enact a system of legislation in accordance with the ameliorated condition of the

times proved eminently successful. The diocesan statutes of which we have already spoken were the work of his master-hand. For zeal, learning, and wisdom, they have never been surpassed. They bear, in many places, a strong resemblance to the celebrated Synodical Statutes of the Church at Milan, under the illustrious Borromeo. "Its golden maxims have been followed by still more golden results," writes Monsignor Meagher; "with devout alacrity its prescriptions were accepted, and with fidelity they have been adhered to. When about to render his soul into the hands of the Pastor of pastors, there was no other circumstance of his episcopacy which yielded Dr. Doyle so much unmixed delight as the recollection of the part he took in preparing and promulgating that code of wisdom and piety."

In July, 1831, four diocesan Synods were held throughout the Province with great splendour and solemnity. That at Maynooth lasted from the 19th to the 22nd inst. Nearly a century and a-half had elapsed since a Synod was held in this province. One hundred of the Clergy attended. It was opened by a solemn procession from the hall of theology to the chapel, consisting of cross-bearers, Curates, Parish Priests, Superiors of Religious Orders, Canons, officials of the Synod, the Archbishop, and Deacons, in red vestments. The aid of the Divine Spirit having been solemnly invoked by a Mass to the Holy Ghost, the Creed of Pope Pius IV. was sworn to, first by the Bishop on his knees and then by each of the Clergy present. The decrees of the Council of Trent were then recited, and the constitutions of the diocess read aloud. But it is probably unnecessary to detail the remainder of this elaborate ceremonial.

As the reader has already seen, many wise reformatory regulations had been effected in his diocess by Dr. Doyle long before the publication of the statutes. There is one fact connected with his executive career as a Bishop which, as we do not happen to have noticed it before, may now be mentioned. One of his earliest acts was a successful effort to increase the independence and elevation of the working Clergy of the diocess from being mere hired servitors. "I know no rat so unfortunate as a poor Cu-rate," observed one of them. There is some truth in the joke. The Curates had long been paid by agreement—each Parish Priest making his bargain on the cheapest terms. Under Dr. Doyle's regime and since, each Curate received a fourth of the parish dues, if he resided with the Pastor, and a third if he lived elsewhere. Dr. Doyle in a letter to Archbishop Murray, now before us, says: "With us, the Curate living apart from the Parish Priest receives one-third of the emoluments, and thereout pays £25 to the second Curate, who is supported by the

Parish Priest without charge." This arrangement, without doing injustice to any other class, secures the independence and respectability of the men who do the hard work. The same distribution of parochial dues was introduced into the diocess of Ossory by Dr. Kinsella, the friend and pupil of Dr. Doyle.

Our Bishop proved himself equally indulgent to the Regular Clergy, who had suffered much in by-gone times from the caprice or cruelty of Bishops. The Rev. James Crane, O.S.A., of Ross, writing to the author, says: "Dr. Doyle not only gave me faculties in his diocess, but also gave faculties to all members of this house, who should enjoy the faculties of this diocess without any application to him; which extraordinary privilege was continued by his two successors, Dr. Nolan and Dr. Haly."

Having contributed so largely to set his country free, Dr. Doyle now laboured to make her freedom a substantial not an empty gain. He continued in his exertions to uproot the abuses which the tyranny of ages had sown in the institutions of the land; he toiled in the teeth of earnest opposition to better the condition of his humbler fellow men, by tearing from selfish opulence the pittance of the poor; he extended with a lavish hand the blessings of order, and diffused the lights of education among the people—that they might appreciate its worth, and improve its advantages, and shun the errors which had so often exposed them to its loss.

The leading subject of his thoughts and correspondence, however, was a provision for the poor. Few will be disposed to cavil with him for pursuing this course, although at the time there were persons found to object to it. To whom are the poor to look, if not to the ministers of religion, for support and protection? Before a Bishop receives the imposition of hands, he solemnly and publicly promises to be a protector to the widow and orphan—a guardian to the poor and helpless. "But," writes the late Bishop Kinsella, "he ventured, in his ardent zeal for the impoverished people of this country, to go one step farther—and this it was that brought a tempest on his head. He suggested that there were certain public funds a part of which was originally destined for the support of the poor, and he claimed for the poor that these funds should be appropriated to their original object. This was the sin that self-interested persons never forgave; it was by touching this sore point that he raised up a host of enemies, who never ceased to malign his motives and to misrepresent his actions."

Dr. Doyle's labours in private to promote a legal provision for the poor were hardly less extensive than his public efforts in the same direction. The Knight of Kerry, writing to the author, 20th

December, 1860, observes: "As soon as I am able I shall look through my father's papers; and if I can find Dr. Doyle's letters, I shall be most happy to send them to you. I have a perfect recollection of having seen one very long one on Poor Laws, which struck me as particularly interesting." This letter was probably addressed to the late Knight of Kerry, when he filled the office of Vice-Treasurer of Ireland.

Dr. Doyle and Sir Walter Scott had, several years before, concurred as to the necessity of Poor Laws for Ireland, though different motives may have led them to the same conclusion. Sir Walter, writing to Miss Edgeworth, 4th February, 1829, says: "If Ireland were to submit to some kind of a Poor Rate—I do not mean that of England, but something that should secure to the indigent their natural share of the fruits of the earth, and enable them at least to feed while others are feasting—it would raise the character of the lower orders, and deprive them of that recklessness of futurity which leads them to think only of the present."

"Official men, both Whig and Tory," writes Mr. Torrens M'Cullagh, "supported the Malthusian theory of allowing misery to burn itself out. O'Connell and his disciples advocated a Repeal of the Union. Wise and practical men of all parties among the middle classes, and the pious and benevolent among the Clergy of all persuasions, urged that while politicians were wrangling about remedies for the future, and economists were contending about the abstract definitions of wages and rent, it was a scandal and a sin that a people should be suffered to rot by thousands into a grave dug in the most fertile soil of Western Europe. Dr. Doyle gave valuable evidence before the committee in support of the Christian as opposed to the scientific and red-tape theory; and to this Mr. Sadler alluded in an elaborate speech on the 29th August, which he concluded by moving a declaratory resolution—'That it was expedient and necessary to constitute a legal provision for the poor of Ireland.'"

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in reply, hesitated to gainsay the existing destitution, or the duty of Parliament to alleviate it; but he did not then see how a remedial measure could be carried into operation. Mr. Sheil started to his feet, and made a brilliant speech in favour of the position taken up by Dr. Doyle. "The two witnesses," he said, "most conspicuous were Dr. Chalmers and Dr. Doyle, who, dissenting in opinion coincided in humanity, vied with each other in lofty faculty and in pure emotion—differed in dogma but agreed in benevolence, and exhibited such a union of truly Christian attributes that they should reconcile the two religions of which they are the ornaments, and induce Rome to forgive Geneva, and Geneva to pardon Rome. When men so dis-

tinguished took views so opposite, it was difficult to arrive at a conclusion free from doubt. He thought, however, that Dr. Doyle must be allowed to have as a witness this signal advantage—he spoke of what he had seen; the other of what he had heard. Dr. Chalmers talked of human nature; Dr. Doyle of its peculiar modification in his own country. Dr. Chalmers was afraid of congealing the pure sources of gratuitous benevolence. He did not know that in the heights of society in Ireland the moral temperature was already below the freezing-point, and that there was a crust of ice upon the fountain of sympathy which charity could not melt, but which the law perhaps might break."

Men who were critics by profession do not seem to have entertained that high opinion of Dr. Chalmers' evidence which Mr. Sheil so warmly expressed. *The Morning Chronicle*, 18th January, 1831, then under the editorial management of the late Mr. Black, observes: "We have from time to time, for some years, looked with attention to the exertions of the Irish Priesthood, and, whatsoever others may think of them, we consider many of them to possess talents of the first order, both for speculation and action. Who is there of the Established Clergy, either of England, Ireland, or Scotland, for instance, to compare with Dr. Doyle? Compare his evidence on the Poor Law Committee with that of Dr. Chalmers, for instance, and his superiority appears immense."

Dr. Doyle disliked to see or hear himself eulogised. The Rev. James Maher, one day, began to read aloud for the Bishop some articles of a highly complimentary character. The Priest had only proceeded a line or two when Dr. Doyle exclaimed, "Stop that nonsense."

Dr. Doyle wrote powerfully on the Poor Law question during this year, although he generally came to the discussion of such matters exhausted by the professional labours of the day. On the 3rd of September he addressed a letter to the editor of *The Times*, in reply to a leading article and some extracts from Mr. Senior's work on Poor Laws, which appeared in that influential journal. Mr. Senior had charged Dr. Doyle with using declamation in place of argument. "I respect you as a public writer so highly," said Dr. Doyle, addressing *The Times*, "as to feel anxious to set myself right in your opinion. Mr. Senior, in his present work, and in his answers to certain questions proposed to him by Mr. Wilmot Horton, has erred so widely through ignorance of the state of Ireland, and has evinced, especially in the questions above-mentioned, so much absurd bigotry in his estimate of the Catholic Clergy, that if the limits of a short letter, such as I intend this to be, allowed me to express my thoughts fully, I would probably

furnish to him just cause to judge correctly of the use to which language called declamatory may be applied."* . . . .

Dr. Doyle declared that all his evidence relating to this subject, during a difficult and protracted examination by able men holding opinions adverse to his, were employed in justifying the principle of the plan noticed elsewhere, or in replying to the objections brought against it. "These answers of mine are upon record. They contain arguments which, in whatever language they may be clothed, whether clear or obscure, vague, or precise, plain or declamatory, have not hitherto been refuted. Mr. Senior has not refuted any one of them. He insinuates that I have exaggerated the distress of our poor. How does he know? Is he, buried in the dens of the inns of court or vending political economy to beardless youths at a *coterie* in the 'west end,' or I, visiting the hovels and communing with the hearts of the Irish poor—is he or I the better judge? And who is Mr. Senior, and who am I—why he should presume to question a statement vouched by me? My arguments are not to be admitted because I entertain a horror of infanticide. My reason is not purified by philosophy, because I look upon it as a crime to promote concubinage, to check by artifice the legitimate procreation of the human kind, or believe that if any one be not born again of water and the Holy Ghost 'he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.' I may in all these opinions be extremely silly—very superstitious—perhaps an idolater, but that is no reason why my arguments in favour of the poor should not have the weight they merit. An atheist may cavil at the consequences which flow from the existence of God, and of his attributes; he may discover many apparent inconveniences inseparable from the order of things established by the Supreme Being, and argue from them against his very existence; but such wisdom is folly: so, without comparing small things with great, I contend it is folly to argue against the justice and wisdom of a provision for our poor, if the arguments adduced in support of their rights cannot be replied to otherwise than they have been by Mr. Senior and the disciples of his politico-economical school."

* In these remarks the Bishop would seem to have displayed his usually accurate perception of character. Exactly twenty-nine years afterwards we find, in a Dublin morning journal, the following paragraph: "It is stated in circles likely to be well informed that the Government have determined to supersede Mr. Senior, the junior Poor Law Commissioner for Ireland. It has transpired upon inquiry that to him is chiefly attachable the major part of the blame of the recent anti-Catholic proceedings of the Board, and that he is mainly accountable for the letters bearing the signature of Mr. Banks, which have brought so much obloquy upon the working of the system, and rendered it so obnoxious to the people of this country." We omit some severe criticism which follow.

Dr. Doyle went on to say that he had long been accustomed to defamation. In 1825, he had heard two Right Honorable gentlemen imputing to him, in the House of Commons, bad faith and disaffection, "and," he adds, "I heard one of them speaking of me the foulest falsehood with regard to a matter of fact; it was thus my arguments were replied to then; thus they are every day replied to by a swarm of things that creep and die in Ireland; and is it thus also that my arguments in favour of the poor are to be answered? Dr. Doyle is vague and declamatory—he exaggerates and has ulterior views; he has given no specific plan of relief for the poor; let his reasoning be disregarded, his arguments despised, and let the poor and their advocate perish together."

Dr. Doyle's pleading for the suffering poor rose to a tone of manly indignation. He complained that political economy was perverted, argument slighted, false pretences and professions advanced, and that men without bowels of mercy, without hearts of flesh, or consciences accesible to remorse, continued, like Nero—who fiddled while Rome was burning—to speculate on theories whilst famine held her feasts, and disorder approaching to anarchy desolated the fairest portion of this empire. Had the measure of Reform, really difficult and complicated, thus lingered under "consideration," what should have been the consequences?

"I have stated in my evidence," he writes, "how, and in what the improvement of Ireland is apparent; but I have maintained, and without any profession of sincerity which I was not entitled to make, and without any profession of knowledge which I did not actually possess, that this apparent improvement covered debility and decay in the classes of the people which ought to be substantial, just as the *rouge* on the face of a French coquette hides for an hour the furrowed palor of her worn cheek. But this simile, no doubt, is also declamation; and to show how inapplicable it is, some political economist, out of the depths of his wisdom, will observe that 'Poor Laws would ruin Ireland.' There, however, he leaves his assertion, as the bird of fable or history leaves her egg to be hatched into life by the sun's heat or to perish. He does not condescend to utter any of the proofs so familiar in the groves of his sect. Supply and demand, checks of superabundant population—level, transition, or perhaps clearance of land, and free trade, may be uttered by him in an undervoice intelligible only to the initiated; but press him to argue the question, and the whole vocabulary vanishes into thin air. Nothing can be more contemptible than to see young boys and superficial men charge themselves with the destinies of nations; and because they are vested with a little brief authority, or seated in some chair of metaphysics, vend their undigested learning as arguments against truths as old

as the sun, and as necessarily true as that God is the author of society and the Lord and Father of the human race.

Dr. Doyle concluded with a telling allusion to "those who purchase the consolidation of farms, the amassing of wealth, or the enjoyment of luxuries, with the blood of the poor." It was evident, by the force and closeness with which Dr. Doyle met and rebutted his opponents, that he felt his positions to be as immoveable as the rock of truth whereon they were based.

In September, 1831, a petition from the Catholic Bishops, in favour of a legal provision for the poor, was presented to Parliament. In its generosity of purpose and courageousness of expression it is not difficult to recognize J. K. L. "Petitioners have never ceased to hope that the great cause of political and religious discord in Ireland being removed, your honorable House would, without delay, devote its attention to the wants which prey upon the laborious and destitute classes of the Irish poor; that you would not suffer famine to ravish a country not only fertile and productive, but abounding with provisions; nor permit disease to grow and spread itself amid a healthful and vigorous population entrusted by Providence to your superintending care; for petitioners humbly submit that to your honorable House it most especially appertains to so apportion the burdens of the several classes of the community, and so to regulate the enjoyment of property in the commonwealth, as that the poor be not goaded by want into acts of outrage, or let to perish unheeded by those whom their toils had enriched. . . . .

"God, may it please your honorable House, is the Father of the indigent: it is by His power you legislate. He is provoked to anger when the poor are neglected or oppressed; 'He transfers kingdoms from one people to another, because of injustices, and wrongs, and injuries, and divers deceits.' Your honorable House should fear Him, and ensure His protection to this mighty empire by extending your care to His poor."

From his letters of this period we find that the fatal malady, which eventually killed him, was, even already, stinging him with indications of its presence. Writing to Miss Anderson, the Bishop's former ward, 6th October, 1831, he assures her that he has been "very unwell." "I do not like to receive gifts," he adds, "for I think it is somewhere written, 'they corrupt the heart;' and I sometimes endeavour to decline them when offered. Should that by which you would testify your kindness and that of your dear sister, be of very small intrinsic value, I will receive it with thankfulness. Should it be otherwise, do, my dear child, bestow it on some person more worthy of you and it; but do not suffer this suggestion to lead you to think that I am not grateful

for your good will, and truly interested in your present and future welfare."

On 11th November, Dr. Doyle is announced by the newspapers as having accepted an invitation to dine at the Viceregal Lodge on the previous day. The company we are told consisted of Lord Cloncurry, Archbishop Murray, Dr. Ponsonby, Lord Bishop of Derry, and the Right Hon. A. R. Blake. Dr. Doyle paid his *devoirs* to Lord Anglesey, but could not have remained for dinner, for when Mr. Finn accused him of partaking of viceregal hospitality, the Bishop replied that he had never dined with his Excellency although repeatedly solicited to do so. In his evidence on tithes (3244), Dr. Doyle makes the same assertion.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Moore's "Life of Lord Edward Fitzgerald"—Dr. Doyle protests against the Imputation on Neilson's fidelity—Letters from Dr. Macneven, Thomas Moore, and Richard Lalor Sheil—The tithe question—Disagreements between the Viceroy and Chief Secretary—Letter from the Chief Remembrancer—Notice of Mr. Blake's services—Letter affecting matters of Conscience—Letter from the Earl of Shrewsbury on the obligation of his Parliamentary Oath—Important correspondence with the Secretary-at-War on the State of Ireland—Dr. Doyle visits the Collieries and surveys the bloody corpses of the Whitefeet—His address to the Conspirators—Sir John Harvey's account of the Bishop's visit to the Collieries—The flag of Repeal again unfurled—Dr. Doyle consulted as to whether the Attorney-Generalship ought to be offered to O'Connell—Important correspondence—O'Connell's attack upon Dr. Doyle—The Bishop is offered patronage and place for his friends but austerely rejects both.

At this period of general revolution and excitement Moore's "Life of Lord Edward Fitzgerald" was published, and had no inconsiderable effect in fanning the flame of popular feeling in Ireland. An ambiguous passage in the work was liable to the imputation of seeking to cast the suspicion of betrayal on Samuel Neilson, one of the staunchest disciples of the Patriot Chief. It naturally gave offence to the relatives and friends of Neilson. William John Hancock was amongst the former, and Archibald Hamilton Rowan amongst the latter. Both communicated to Mr. Moore their surprise at an imputation which they felt convinced Neilson did not deserve. Hamilton Rowan wrote direct to Mr. Moore. Mr. Hancock—the nephew of Neilson—sought the influential interposition of Dr. Doyle, who thus acknowledged his letter.

"Carlow, 30th November, 1831.

"My dear Sir—I am not acquainted with Mr. Moore, but I send by this night's post, to one of his intimate friends in

London, the copy you placed in my hands of Macneven's letter. I added my own conviction of poor Neilson's innocence of the guilt imputed to him, and that he would even deliver up his own life if by doing so he could have saved that of Lord Edward. Mr. Moore, I have no doubt, will reconsider the passage in his book, which has given so much pain to the descendants of one of those brave men, whose greatest fault was to have loved their country too well."

This letter shows Dr. Doyle's accurate perception of character. It was not for thirty years after that the Cornwallis correspondence appeared, revealing that Francis Higgins was the person who received the Government reward for the betrayal of Lord Edward Fitzgerald.

The following is the letter from Dr. Macneven, which Dr. Doyle forwarded for the perusal of Mr. Moore. Both communications have been kindly placed at our disposal by William Neilson Hancock, Esq., LL.D., the grand-nephew of Samuel Neilson:

DR. MACNEVEN TO WILLIAM BRYSON NEILSON.

"New York, 11th May, 1806.

"My dear William—The receipt of your letter gave me great pleasure. I was glad to find that you remember an old friend, and that your mother, self, and sisters are all well. I have the best wishes for ye on your own account, and certainly not a little on that of your excellent father's. I hope you will always imitate his integrity and honour; but be more careful of your health. I am told that ill successes have made some apostates in Ireland, from the cause of truth and virtue; God forbid that a son of Sam. Neilson's should ever be of that number; but remember that prudence is also a virtue, and that while it is fit you should be silent under an established despotism, you need never approve of it nor give it your support. When I publish my history I will certainly send you a copy, but this cannot be for a long time to come. I must live by my profession, and cannot afford to give more than hours of leisure to any other pursuit. Nevertheless, with my economical use of time I expect to accomplish my design. I have five volumes of *The Northern Star*, which I will return to Mr. Brison when I have made my extracts, in the meantime I will keep them safe. Mrs. Emmet and family are all very well. I showed Robert your letter, and he was quite pleased. He sends you a thousand loves. Give my best regards to your dear mother, and believe me, &c.,

"W. J. Macneven."

The Right Hon. R. L. Sheil was "the intimate friend of

Moore in London," to whom Dr. Doyle communicated his protest against the imputation on Neilson. Mr. Sheil having received the following characteristic reply from Mr. Moore, enclosed it to Dr. Doyle.

"Sloperton Cottage, 6th December, 1831.

"My dear Sheil—It is odd enough that I had just been writing a sentence about Dr. Doyle (in his praise of course) when I received your letter. I was once promised the pleasure of meeting him (at Cassidy's at Monasterevan), and regretted heartily his not being able to come. Our ancient delegate, Devereux, will have it that the Bishop and I are cousins; and he once startled me not a little at Brooks's by saying, 'Have you read the very able letter your cousin has just published?' My cousins having never (as far as I know) been much in the publishing line, I should be right glad, however, to see the relationship made out. With respect to the subject of his Lordship's letter, I have within these few days sent a letter to be inserted in the *Freeman's Journal*, which will, I trust, put all this commotion about Neilson to rest. People seem to have got it into their heads that I have charged Neilson with betraying Lord Edward, whereas I have merely said that such a suspicion against him existed, and then assigned very sufficient reasons why it should be considered as unfounded. I might, to be sure, have put his vindication more strongly, and . . . . . it will give me real pleasure, on the very first opportunity, to repair whatever injustice I may have done to his memory.—Pray say all this for me to your able and eloquent correspondent, and believe me, my dear Sheil, ever truly yours,

"Thomas Moore."

The following is the note in the "Life of Lord Edward Fitzgerald," which gave offence to the friends of Samuel Neilson: "From my mention of these particulars respecting Neilson, it cannot fail to have struck the reader that some share of the suspicion of having betrayed Lord Edward attaches to this man. That his conduct was calculated to leave such an impression cannot be denied; but, besides that, the general character of his mind, bordering closely as it did on insanity, affords some solution of these incoherencies, the fact of his being afterwards left to share the fate of the other state prisoners would seem of itself sufficient to absolve him from any such imputation."

Mr. Moore's letter was enclosed in a gossiping communication from Mr. Sheil:

"28, Margaret-street, Cavendish-square, 8th December, 1831.

"My dear Lord—I enclose you a letter from Mr. Moore to

me. I have given notice of a motion for an address to the Crown to cause the Archbishops and Bishops to make a return of the value in rents and renewal fines of their Sees. I suppose the Government will resist the application, as it involves the great question of right to interfere with Church property. The main question I shall bring on in February, after the Reform Bill shall have left the House of Commons. I find it difficult to ascertain the exact number of parishes in Ireland. Beaufort states it at 2,500. I do not believe that it amounts to so much. I find that in the returns from the Board of First Fruits the Church lands of the diocess of Kildare are stated to be only 562 acres. How does this come to pass? What has been the cause of the most part being contained in one or two Sees? There were formerly twenty-four Bishoprics in Ireland; how did they happen to be consolidated into eighteen? Mr. Stanley has not yet announced the details of his project as to tithes. I suspect that it will be far short of what is required. But let him lay his hand upon the ark.—Yours most faithfully,

"R. L. SHEIL."

The Lord Lieutenant was sincerely anxious for a settlement of the tithe question, and he was disposed to go much farther than the Irish Secretary, Mr. Stanley, but the latter having a seat in the Cabinet, was placed above the Viceroy, and had everything his own way. Lord Anglesey, however, was very determined in carrying a point, and many were the warm differences of opinion which took place between them. His Excellency, in a letter which the late Lord Cloncurry has printed, mentions that Mr. Stanley "would prefer a more submissive master. I work at great disadvantage. He knows all my schemes, and I know few of his until he finds himself in a difficulty. Thus all my projects, when laid before the Cabinet, if he does not go the whole length with me (and half measures are worse than useless), are probably thwarted by him. He tells his own story, and I have no one to support and back my views."

Dr. Doyle, writing to Sir H. Parnell, says: "I doubt whether Lord Anglesey will recover his popularity—I am sure not for a considerable time. Mr. Stanley is even less likely to stand well with the people of this country. A man of great experience, and intimately acquainted with Ireland, is much wanted to fill the place of Chief Secretary, and I doubt much whether Lord Anglesey would co-operate cordially with any Secretary who is disposed to stand between him and the public."

The following letter from the Right Hon. A. R. Blake to Dr. Doyle exemplifies the high opinion entertained of the Bishop's abilities by the legislators of the day, and shows how sincerely

anxious his Excellency felt to effect a sound and satisfactory adjustment of the tithe question. The letter is franked by Lord Anglesey:

[*Private.*]

"Chief Remembrancer's Office, 12th December, 1831.

"MY DEAR LORD—I enclose a note which I received to-day from Lord Cloncurry. I went out to the park this afternoon to inquire for the Lord Lieutenant, and on my name being mentioned his Excellency desired me to be shown into his closet, where the Archbishop of Dublin was with him on the tithe question. His Excellency is anxious that you should meet the Archbishop, and talk the subject over with him. The Archbishop's views are, in my humble judgment, wise and just. He is decidedly for a commutation. The main difficulty appears to spring from the arrears now due. The Archbishop says if he could decide he would say, 'Pay the arrears; they are due by the law. The law binds you in conscience while it is law, but the law shall be altered, and you shall never have to pay tithe again.' If you have an hour or two that you can devote to this all vital question, pray write and tell me what you would recommend. I do hope that you and the Archbishop may meet, and with his Excellency, for an umpire. I should have no doubt of a sound arrangement being settled between you.—Ever yours,

"A. R. BLAKE."

We are inclined to think that Dr. Doyle did not accept the invitation. A month previously he had paid his respects personally to Lord Anglesey, and he assured the Rev. J. Maher that he felt by no means disposed to repeat the visit. His reasons will be presently obvious.

Lord Anglesey's honest views on the tithe question were not entered into cordially by ministers. Writing to Lord Cloncurry his Excellency observes: "What a pity that when there was a scheme worked up by Blake and Griffith, assisted by you, and approved by Lord Plunket and Blackburne, and recommended by me, who was without prejudice and in no respect committed by public declarations or pledges, and had only calmly to listen to the opinions of such able men, and then to form my own—what a pity that such a plan should be thrown overboard, and that another of little promise should be substituted."

Mr. Blake, whose name occurs so frequently in these memoirs, was a highly influential actor on the stage of Irish politics, but as his tact was exerted rather behind the scenes than before the proscenium, his name will be new to many. We first catch a glimpse of him as an ensign in a Galway regiment of militia; we

next find him practising with considerable success at the English bar. For having succeeded in extricating the Marquis Wellesley from some legal difficulty, he received, as an acknowledgment, the office of Remembrancer of the Exchequer. He was, we believe, the first Catholic who filled that office since the Reformation. Mr. Blake was a remarkably agreeable, gossiping man, who knew everything and everybody, and exhibited a striking taste for diplomacy and political intrigue. He received scant courtesy from O'Connell and the newspaper critics of his day, but there can be no doubt that his honesty was sound, and that in his multifarious exertions he had the interest of the country sincerely at heart. His influence with Lord Wellesley was immense, and Sheil tells us that he used to procure knighthoods, and even baronetcies by the dozen. Mr. Blake was the first Catholic who became a member of the Privy Council after Emancipation. He was a Commissioner of Charitable Bequests, as also of National Education, and bequeathed at his death a considerable sum in aid of its funds. He died in London, 10th January, 1849, aged sixty-three. By Mr. Blake's counsel almost every important move on the part of the Wellesley, Anglesey, and Mulgrave administration is said to have been taken. "I have long had in view," writes Mr. Blake's executor to the author, "arranging and editing Mr. Blake's voluminous correspondence with the statesmen and politicians of his time, for the purpose of showing the high and honorable part taken by Mr. Blake in the legislation of his country; the credit of many of whose acts have been given by late biographers to parties who never merited them."

The following letter to a nun, like many others of the same kind, is of little value, except as helping to delineate Dr. Doyle's accurate spiritual views, and the genial kindness and affection with which he could share the little cares, and enter into the minor incidents in the lives of his spiritual children:

"My dear Friend—I was truly gratified by the receipt of your letter, as it affords to me good reason to expect that you are commencing, with the special grace of God, that mode of life for which His goodness destines you. As to the uneasiness you feel it is not of much moment, and you will yourself yet perceive how trivial it is. We have all, my dear child, abused the graces of God, but He is never angry with the converted sinner. When He enables us to see that fault with the many others of our lives, He confers on us a new grace, and is disposed to add to it by enabling us to repent of such abuse. Though He takes us into His service only at the eleventh hour, He forgets or forgives our

former indolence; for 'He is patient and of much compassion, and easy to forgive evil.' When He has enabled you to enter upon a religious life, and that you have corresponded with His grace by doing so, you may be well assured that He will not punish hereafter your past sins, but use them to render you penitent, humble, and fervent in His service for the time to come. Satan, who transforms himself into an angel of light, would avail himself of your timidity to trouble your peace, distract your mind, and interrupt, by useless reflections on your past life, your prayers or communications with God; but be not deceived by the old serpent; rather repose on the words of our Saviour, 'Confide in me, for I have conquered the world.' This you may do, my dear child, with infinitely greater confidence than you could rely on the kindness or indulgence of any person in this world. As to a general confession, I am well satisfied that you should make one at a convenient time, and an exercise so painful should be assisted by every means, so that if you prefer one clergyman to another you may do so with all my heart. But at present it is not necessary, as the causes which serve to have induced you to desire it need not in future occupy your attention, and are in truth but the effects of your fears. I rely much more on your having gone to the trouble of making a general confession, on the amendment of your life, and on your embracing your present mode of life, as proofs of the validity of your former confessions, than on anything you can say of the want or defect of contrition. As to the other circumstance which you mention of reserving certain sins till you would enter a convent, it does not deserve attention; it was a happy mode of getting rid of scruples; I only wish you now to defer them 'till the Bishop comes to hear you.' Let your preparation be one hour each day during a week for your examination, and one hour each day for a week in praying to God in any way tending to inspire you with contrition—the entire to be concluded before I next visit the convent, should you not think well to confess to Mr. ——. Do not make the daily acknowledgment of your faults. It is enough to do so as the rule or custom of the house prescribes. Avoid all things that are singular, however good, nay excellent they may appear; serve the Lord with joy in all things for we are children of love, not of diffidence; and do not make a yoke of religion, but look to it as a bond of union with your Father who is in heaven. Please assure Miss G—— of my increased esteem for her on account of her attention to you, and tell —— of the sincere interest I feel in her recovery."

But Dr. Doyle, as we have already seen, had to satisfy the scruples of the exalted as well as of the humble. John, Earl of

Shrewsbury, writing to the Bishop, observes: "In passing, I should be much obliged for your Lordship's opinion upon the nature of our Parliamentary Oath as it regards our rights as Peers of Parliament. Does it exclude us from a free discussion and free vote upon questions relating to the Establishment? I have always been fearful of touching upon such matters, lest it should be objected to me that I had sworn not to meddle therein, yet, as far as I can judge, the objection is not valid. I think the word *privilege* alone is used in the oath while we sit and vote as Peers of Parliament by right, and not by privilege. Yet was it the intention of the Legislature in imposing this yoke to leave us free, and should not the intention of the Legislature be the law that binds us?" *

Lord Shrewsbury entertained a sincere admiration for the abilities of Dr. Doyle. In his "Reasons for not taking the Test," p. 23, he recommends J. K. L.'s Refutation of Dr. Magee "to every dispassionate reader—for argument and eloquence it stands unrivalled." His Lordship quotes a passage as a specimen, which, in justice to both parties, we append: "The furious men who now agitate this country, seem to know that the sword of the law could not have been drawn, or if drawn, could not have been wielded with such deadly effect against the holy and ancient religion of these islands, if that religion had not first been decried, abused, and maligned, until it appeared to the multitude a very moral monster. 'From the sole of its foot,' like its founder, 'to the top of its head, there was no soundness in it.' It was buffetted, abused, spit upon; it was covered with a mantle of derision; it was scourged and drenched with vinegar and gall; the waters of affliction entered into its very soul; and it was when thus disfigured by a clamorous rabble, and seemingly abandoned by God, that the bigots and the fanatics cried out to the agents of the law and of the sword—'Away with it, away with it.'"

Meanwhile Dr. Doyle's correspondence with Sir H. Parnell, now an influential member of the Grey Cabinet, continued:

"Carlow, 8th August, 1831.

"My dear Sir—I returned here this moment after eight days absence, and have had the honour of your letter. I have

* Mr. Hope Scott and Mr. Sergeant Bellasis, the executors of Lord Shrewsbury, have been kind enough to make a search for Dr. Doyle's correspondence with his Lordship, but without effect. Sergeant Bellasis writes:

"20th August, 1857.

"Dear Sir—I have looked through the whole of the papers of John, Earl of Shrewsbury, and have not found a single letter having relation to Dr. Doyle or written by him. If any such ever existed, of which there seems no doubt, they must have been disposed of by the Earl in his life-time; at all events, we have not got them."

been on the best terms with O'Connell since he relinquished the agitation of the Union, and would most willingly labour to dissuade him from re-opening that question if the state of Ireland be taken up in a decided way by Government. But, even now, the difficulties created within the last year are great beyond belief, and are every hour increasing. I cannot account on any principle for the errors that have been committed. If anything happens to the Reform Bill, the Administration is ruined in both countries; and this in Ireland through their own wilful blindness.

"It is useless to advert to the question of Poor Laws, or to any other, until the system in this country is changed. All my thoughts are occupied with apprehensions for the future. But is the continuance or change of the present course of policy to depend on the contingency you mention?—Ever most truly yours,

"✠ J. DOYLE."

"Carlow, 1st October, 1831.

"MY DEAR SIR—On my arrival here yesterday, after an absence of three weeks, I was honoured with your letter of the 27th ult. That of the 12th had been forwarded to me. It gave me great pleasure, or rather revived my confidence in the Ministers, who so long and so industriously had been preparing this country for even greater shocks than it had as yet experienced. I would have written to express my satisfaction; but, as I could not venture to do more, I thought that knowing my sentiments you would excuse my silence. The decision on the Education question is an act of justice, which, though tardy, has already produced good effects. But we would have obtained it a year sooner from the Duke of Wellington had he been in office. What think you that the notice given by his Government to the Kildare-street people, not to enter into engagements, was by this Government put aside, and a pledge of support for the present time substituted for it without the consent of Parliament. I am told, but do not believe it, that Mr. S—— would be inclined to defeat his own measures on this subject.

"So fully am I impressed with the necessity of adopting the measures suggested by you, that, before I was acquainted with your proceedings, I urged the expediency of giving some pledge to the popular members in London of substantial changes in Ireland, previous to the close of the Session, if we were not to be thrown into a state of anarchy during the recess. Much will depend on the pending decision on the Reform question in the Lords. That decision may greatly affect the ministry as to its position in the country, supposing they are retained in power; but your views in any event must be substantially right."

The state of anarchy which Dr. Doyle apprehended gave some alarming indications of its approach during the ensuing winter. Blood was shed almost at his own door, and the conspiracy which he had already twice broken up had formidably re-knitted within the heart of his diocess. To the disturbed districts he made special visitations, and endeavoured to argue with men whose reason seemed to have been surrendered to fatuity.

Colonel Sir John Harvey, Inspector-General of Leinster, was examined on 20th January, 1832, by the Tithe Committee in the House of Lords. In reference to the recent affray between the Whitefeet and military, he said: "I arrived at the Colliery (sent down by Government) the day but two following this occurrence. I found that Dr. Doyle had been in the Colliery the preceding day, and had preached at the Chapels to very large congregations of the people; had used most energetic language in describing to them the enormity of their conduct, and showing them that they had been very properly visited for resisting the law, in the number which had been killed and wounded; and from the altar authoritatively ordering that the wounded should be denied the consolations of religion,* and those who had been killed the rights of sepulture." Referring to the beneficial result of Dr. Doyle's admonition to the Whitefeet, Sir John said: "I can speak particularly of the effect produced, because I had anticipated that the small force of military and police left in the Colliery were placed in a situation of great danger. There was a population of about 4,000 persons, all of whom had been highly excited; and it has been usual at the funerals, upon occasions of this kind, that vengeance is vowed, and that an opportunity is taken for entering into violent resolutions on the part of the people to revenge. In this instance, I was walking through the Colliery with Captain Mathews the day following Dr. Doyle's address. We were unprotected either by the military or police, and we met one of the funerals of the people who had fallen. They were conveyed quietly to their graves, without being

* If one of the Whitefeet were dying and that he sent for a Priest, the latter would not be justified in refusing to come to him. Dr. Doyle, of course, permitted that absolution and the Viaticum should be administered in the event of the penitent repudiating all further connexion with the illegal society. But there was a low cunning among the illiterate members of this confederacy which, on one or two occasions, is said to have outwitted even Dr. Doyle. We quote an amusing story, although strongly inclined to question its accuracy. A Priest came to one of the dying Whitefeet, but, finding that the man was vowing vengeance on his enemies, he refused to administer to him the rites of the Church. The Priest took his departure; but in an hour afterwards was again sent for. "Well, my poor man," he said, "I hope you have forgiven your enemies, and relinquished your vows of revenge." "I have—I have," eagerly exclaimed the dying penitent. The Priest, accordingly, absolved him; but on the following day it transpired that during his absence from the couch of the wounded man, the latter had sworn his son on the Bible to be revenged. "I forgive my enemies," he muttered, "because I'm dying, but *you* would'nt be your *father's* son if you let his wrongs go unredressed."

attended by any Priest, and there was an appearance of dejection—a subdued appearance—on the part of the few people attending. They even touched their hats to me and Captain Mathews as they passed, and I said, 'Can it be possible that these are the persons that have been killed in the late affray?' He said, 'Yes; and several others have been buried under the same circumstances.'"

On Dr. Doyle's return from one of his memorable missions to the Collieries, he addressed a printed pastoral "to the deluded persons illegally combined under the unmeaning appellation of 'Blackfeet' and 'Whitefeet.'" "Dearly beloved brethren," he began, "for though the world may justly reject and condemn you, you are still my children and the sheep of that fold, though you have strayed from it, of which I am the shepherd. I have but just returned from that portion of the Collieries which are within my diocess, and from all but touching the lifeless corpses covered with blood, of your companions—slain in the criminal and unprovoked attempt to rescue from the power of the law men accused and apprehended for offences which that law condemns."

The Bishop, with singular patience and good temper, laboured to prove that the league into which these wretched men had entered, would only prolong and aggravate all the evils of which they complained. "Attend to me, therefore, while I reason with you. I only ask your attention. I know your confidence in me is without limit. Hear me, then, for your own sake. Hear your Bishop while he advocates your own cause."

He explained to them that they could not redress wrongs unless by such means as reason sanctioned, and the law allowed. Was it lawful that a banditti should sit in judgment and execute decrees against any person whether innocent or guilty. Where was their authority for doing so? By what rite was the punishment to be proportioned to the offence; who would try the case in the absence of the accused, or how or by whom was the sentence to be executed? Their proceedings were an outrage on common sense, and a violation of the laws of God and of society. There might be and would ever be oppression and injustice in the world; but of all the oppression and injustice which ever afflicted mankind, there were none so flagrant as the oppression and injustice committed by men illegally combined. "Look to your own deeds! What have you done? You have commenced by an unlawful and impious oath, in which you called the God of holiness to witness your crime; you enlarged your combination by force and violence; you confirmed it by drunkenness and violations of the Lord's Day. As you advanced, you made war like the savage of the desert upon your next neighbour, if not of your own tribe. You polluted the fair and market-place by savage warfare; or, like Cain, you went

into the field to spill the blood of your defenceless and unsuspecting brother. You plundered the house where you could meet with no resistance; you fled from him whom you most feared and hated; you wreaked your vengeance on the industrious man who supplied you with bread, and fed the poor out of his substance; and if you found a man straying in the fields or travelling on the highway unarmed and defenceless, him did you murder and assassinate. These are your deeds; this is the reward of your crimes, which will one day be tried by the Judge of earth and heaven. And what can you say in your defence? You will say, forsooth! that you were employed in redressing wrongs, in affording protection to the oppressed. But you will be taught how that office did not belong to you; that evil could not be done though good should come from it; that your whole combination was a tissue of iniquity, and that all your deeds were crimes! Whatever, therefore, may be the plea of those amongst us who are burdened or oppressed, you have nothing to plead in your justification. All the arguments which other men might employ are totally inapplicable to you. But let us proceed to consider whether those evils which afflict the country, and which you resort to as a pretext and a cloak for your crimes, may not be alleviated or removed by means far different from your proceedings—means which may be adopted without offence, or the violation of any law."

He bade them reflect on the state of Ireland when their fathers were young. "In those days there was no law—there was no shame—there was no justice. All was plunder and oppression, and the indulgence extended to the poor was the degrading indulgence of a master to his slave. The few who were wise and virtuous understood the condition of Ireland, and saw that she could pass from a state of bondage and oppression to a state of freedom and abundance, only through the narrow way of obedience to the law and unqualified allegiance to the ruling power. We preferred that allegiance, and swore to God that we would observe it. We kept our oaths; and in return the penal laws were gradually repealed, and the rights which had been so long witheld from us were at length restored. But in labouring to attain this blessing for our country, we had to contend with powerful opponents, and struggle with enemies of every kind. But there was one enemy in our own house more strong and powerful than all the others—and that enemy was no other than the combination formed, from time to time, by such as you. The poor, and the oppressed, and the ignorant people of Ireland, goaded by the old and inveterate enemies of all freedom and justice, could not comprehend that resistance to an all-powerful oppression is as wicked as it is vain. Wicked, because it confirms the power of the oppressor; vain,

because no effort by a disorganized rabble can ever be productive of success. Whilst we, therefore, the Clergy, the gentry, the educated and intelligent of the Irish people, sought for redress by pleading and urging incessantly the justice of our cause, you, who combined illegally against partial or general oppression, afforded to the common enemy a justification of those harsh laws by which ourselves and our country were kept enslaved."

Dr. Doyle reminded the wretched Whitefeet of the hapless fate which had overtaken their predecessors in illegal conspiracy. "Houses were burned, arms plundered, robberies committed, cattle houghed, and some obnoxious characters assassinated. The law seemed to slumber, but it did not sleep—it was, to use an expression of a prophet, like a 'rod watching.' It walked forth in the proper time and it scourged the innocent and the guilty—it almost laid the country waste, it filled the valleys with lamentations, and the sound of its stripes responded from hill to hill, till it was lost in the wailings of the widows and orphans of those who were hanged upon the scaffold, or banished to some distant land. If the Whiteboys, and Hearts of Steel, and Shanavests, and Ribbonmen fared thus, what think you will be the fate of the Whitefeet? What success think you awaits the Blackfeet? You may not know—but I will tell you. They shall be ground to the earth, and scattered like dust before the wind; but not until they will have disgusted this Government, alienated the sympathies of the Legislature, strengthened the hands of the oppressors of the poor, degraded the country with a sort of magistracy unknown to the law and the constitution, and forced the public to employ, in the payment of an armed police, that money which, were you peaceable, would be paid to you as the price of your labour."

The result of Dr. Doyle's appeal, though not signally successful, was on the whole satisfactory. A few months later we find a deputation of Clergymen waiting upon the Lord Lieutenant of the Queen's County, and saying that "as a considerable number of the deluded have, since the advice of their Bishop, renounced their evil practices, the difficulty in overcoming the remainder is considerably diminished."*

Owing to his great success in Parliament, O'Connell returned to Ireland with accumulated popularity. Of this increased strength he promptly availed himself by reviving the Repeal agitation, which many supposed he had relinquished. A general impression prevailed that the reformed Parliament would do justice to Ireland; and Dr. Doyle was filled with very sincere regret at proceedings which could hardly fail to embarrass the Government.

* Report from the Select Committee on the State of Ireland, 1832, p.

O'Connell again called on the Radicals and Orangemen to unite; he conjured the Blackfeet and Whitefeet to forget their local league; he urged the "Shanavests," the "Caravats," the "Terryalts," and the "Rockites," to abandon their deeds of blood; he implored of the Ribbonmen to cast their evil combinations to the winds, and to follow his advice and leadership in constitutional agitation. O'Connell was received with enthusiasm by the people, while he once more "unfurled the flag of Repeal, which was kept floating in the popular breeze," writes his biographer, "until it was again unadvisedly withdrawn."

Lord Grey, knowing O'Connell's great talents and immense power, thought that it would be most adviseable to attach him to the Government by offering him an office of considerable responsibility and emolument. Dr. Doyle was consulted on the subject, who thus replied, 10th October, 1831:

"I think it will be hard to gain O'Connell, for he is more popular now in Ireland than he ever was, and he can, if he please, get twenty or thirty thousand pounds from the country on his return. This popularity and emolument is more than ministers can offer to him; but I believe the man is honest and will not be disposed to plunge the country into utter confusion, if your views towards him be acted upon. I will write to him to-morrow, but he may already have decided. I know he sets some value on my opinion, and I shall urge it with all my might. In case of disappointment there will be time for further deliberation; but I would risk everything, as I have before mentioned to you, rather than submit to continued abuse of power against right and justice in this country."

The following letter is addressed to the Secretary-at-War:

"Carlow, 17th October, 1831.

"My dear Sir—I shall, as you desire, write this evening to Mr. O'Connell. He will be in the hands of the agitators even before my letter arrives; but this moment is not one that he should select for agitation, and he may pause.

"My application to him was more successful than I anticipated; but finding how isolated the proposal of office was made to him, I fully agreed with him that it should be rejected. Does the Government or any member of it suppose that, seeing their acts for the last year, we can expect a change if they hesitate to state, however confidentially, that there will be a change, and to what extent; or do they imagine we are such simpletons as to commit ourselves with a bad system, cast from us the means of improvement which we possess, and render ourselves, for base lucre, the by-word of the age?

"I leave home for two or three weeks, and will remain in the neighbourhood of Dublin. I intend to pass a few days with Blake, who is a depository of all knowledge. I shall not, however, inform him on the subject of O'Connell.

"I still hope, though but faintly, that your efforts may be successful. I will see O'Connell on going to town.—Ever most truly yours,

"✠ J. DOYLE."

Several weeks later we find the Government empowering Dr. Doyle to present O'Connell with a patent of Presidency at the Bar. This compliment had already been accepted by Mr. Brougham under the Canning Administration, and O'Connell regarded it as no ordinary courtesy. But a more substantial compliment was paid him, as we gather from one of his letters to the late Richard Barrett now before us: "Strictly private and most confidential; I could be Attorney-General in one hour." It is a singular fact that a man who had spent his entire life, but especially the previous year, in dexterously evading the law, should be entrusted with the direction and conduct of state prosecutions; yet such would seem to be the fact. The report of the negociation soon became bruited about. We find in O'Connell's organ, the *Pilot* of 19th October, 1831, the matter thus noticed:

"This we will say, that whether accepted or rejected, it will be upon very different motives than any derived from personal hate or resentment—motives unworthy of a statesman or a Christian. For the same reason that a man who was once with the people, deserves censure if he afterwards oppresses or deserts them, so should a repentant sinner be taken back to public favour; and the man who would resent past faults, should there be a determination to do present good, would be unfit to be trusted with the destinies of a nation. No statesman or patriot would act upon such a principle—none but a dust or a demon would recommend it. If O'Connell refuses office, personal or political resentment will have nothing to do with the refusal; and if he accepts office, it will be without the compromise of a principle, and only because he will have obtained more power to serve Ireland in than out of office. We will go further, and say that if O'Connell refused office under such circumstances, in dread of the misconstructions of the vile and the misconceptions of the weak, he should show want of moral courage—be a deserter of his country; because he would miss an opportunity of doing practical good, lest he might be subject to imputations from the basest of the human race."

But to resume Dr. Doyle's confidential correspondence with the Secretary-at-War:

"Carlow, 23rd December, 1831.

"My dear Sir—The report on the public accounts, which I received this day, first apprized me of your arrival in London.

"I owe you a long account of our proceedings with Mr. O'Connell, and of the failure of all your wise projects. When I last wrote you, I adverted to the apprehension I felt that he would fall into the hands of the agitators before my letter reached him, on his arrival in Dublin. I had already expressed my regret that if any arrangement with him was practicable, it had not been made whilst he was yet in London.

"My letter, and the communication made to him on the subject of the patent, restrained him for several days. I saw him in Dublin, and impressed on him my views and wishes. He was then, I doubt not, fully prepared to adopt them and act accordingly; but I hoped, and led him to hope that what you informed me of so long after from Paris would be communicated to him from some quarter in a very short time. Several days elapsed, and I returned here from Dublin before your last, but one, letter arrived. This was so indefinite, that knowing his temper and mind, I thought it better not to inform him of it. During this long interval the agitators and the public press assailed him continually. He thought his popularity was escaping from him, and that Government intended only to delude him. He became ill-tempered, and by degrees ferocious, until urged by his passions he recanted all that he had said of a wish to serve Government, and atoned for his temporary moderation by the most unqualified abuse of friends and foes. He even charged me with being deluded by Lord Anglesey, and with having sought to delude the unhappy people, who were leagued here to subvert all rights of property and defeat the operation of all law.

"I could have rebuked him publicly, but I thought it better to remonstrate privately with him. I did so, and he has written me a long and laboured explanation. . . . . I know not what can be done with him now. You lost in London an opportunity of gaining him which may never again present itself, but that is neither your fault nor mine. His attack on Lord Cloncurry and me has detached from him many supporters, but he is still most powerful, and this fault of his will be easily forgiven, though at present it may cause him to lose several thousand pounds.

"If I could advise, my advice would be, 'Come to some understanding with O'Connell on his going to London after the recess," for without him you cannot in his lifetime govern this country, but I can no longer serve you in any negociation with him.—Truly and affectionately yours,

"✠ J. Doyle."

Besides writing the elaborate explanation, of which Dr. Doyle speaks, O'Connell, on two occasions, about the same time, sought a personal interview with the Bishop at Braganza. The tribune was accompanied by an immense concourse of people, who cheered lustily, and remained outside the gate while he and Dr. Doyle walked round and round the lawn, debating earnestly.

Ere the foregoing letter reached London, the Earl of Wicklow had ascertained the facts of the pending negociation, and "charged ministers with having endeavoured to conciliate a certain individual in Ireland, who was most active in his hostility to them, by the offer of a situation of considerable importance." Earl Grey said: "Knowing the extent of that individual's ability and influence, he (Lord Grey) should have been glad if he could have been detached from the course in which he had been engaged, and have been attached to the support of his Majesty's Government. If he had pursued a proper course—if he had shown himself a well-disposed and peaceable subject, his abilities and his professional reputation would undoubtedly have entitled him to entertain considerable expectations. But if any offer had been made to the individual in question of any such situation, and in any such manner as might enable him to say that he had such situation in his power and had rejected it, he (Earl Grey) was ignorant of it." Earl Grey added, "that with respect to the present state of Ireland, no man could more deeply or sincerely lament that state than he did. To him it certainly had been a most severe and bitter disappointment that the great and healing measure adopted by Parliament two years ago, and which had received his most cordial support, had not the beneficial effects which he anticipated from it." And again, "It was impossible to contemplate a country so fertile, so productive, so admirably placed, so abounding with harbours and other conveniences for commerce, and inhabited by so brave, so intelligent, and so enterprising a people, without the conviction that all that was necessary to the prosperity of such a country was the establishment of quiet and order."

In the letter we have just printed, addressed to the new Secretary-at-War, Dr. Doyle alludes to an attack which had been made upon him by O'Connell. In endeavouring to reason with the Whitefeet, who were constantly spilling blood for the purpose of sealing their silly and iniquitous league, Dr. Doyle, well knowing those good intentions of Lord Anglesey which have since come to light, spoke of his Excellency as their friend and benefactor, and who felt like a father for the sufferings of Ireland. O'Connell noticed this passage at a meeting of the National Political Union, on 6th December, 1831: "This he says of Lord Anglesey amidst those very people whose fathers and sons were butchered by the

yeomen of Newtownbarry, slaughtered by those very men whom that Lord Anglesey armed—aye, amidst those people who walk upon the sod red and clotted with the unatoned blood of their relations slain by those yeomanry. The Irish people are a shrewd, an intelligent people, and an observant people, and they are not so easily led to adopt those opinions, no matter how justly influential be the authority that promulges them. I said before this evening that Ireland had few friends, and the few she had are lessening and becoming thin. There is something dangerous in the contact and the lure of power. It is perilous to approach it. There is one, who was once a friend of Ireland, whom the Government have caught, Lord Cloncurry—God help him! But there is another of far higher character and superior mind and endowment to whom I will take the liberty to advert—I allude to the Right Rev. Dr. Doyle. That able and splendid man has addressed the people who are placed under his spiritual jurisdiction in that pastoral letter whose style and energy every one admires, but we find by it that not even his intellect, with all his transcendant talent, can come into contact with power without losing some of that strength and energy which he carries with him into the camp of the enemy. When I look into the pastoral letter, what do I find in that great man's address? He addresses them in that fine and peculiar style he possesses, and unaffectedly talks of the evils of Ireland, and of the crimes and the misgovernment of its oppressors. But who would expect that any man of his intellect would address such language as this to the poor people, and tell them the legislature are willing to listen to their complaints?"

It is generally believed that it was to the Most Rev. Dr. MacHale that O'Connell gave the memorable title of "the Lion of the fold of Judah." From this speech, however, it appears that Dr. Doyle has every right to lay claim to it. O'Connell continues: "Is this man anxious to prove himself the benefactor and friend to our unfortunate people? It is astonishing how such a man as Dr. Doyle could so far be led astray as to adopt such language respecting the Chief Governor of this country. Indeed it is to be wondered at, for he is truly a man of transcendant talent, the Lion of Judah; like one of our own western mountains, towering in its sublimity, and lifting its bold and majestic outline to the skies, it is not alone an object of admiration to the beholder, but it stands a mighty and eternal barrier against the western wave, to resist its waste of waters from overflowing with their desolation those plains which it ennobles and protects. Shortness of sight is supposed to be produced by strength of vision. The eye is then too powerful, and cannot separate the objects as they crowd upon the vision. This must be the mistake of Dr. Doyle, who is incapable of being

deluded, and would suffer rather to die than assert that which he did not believe to be true. If it were any other, I might be inclined to call it cant or hypocrisy—of both, or either of which, I hold him utterly incapable."

Dr. Doyle, in personal communication with O'Connell, did not conceal his conviction of the anxious interest which Lord Anglesey felt in the concerns of Ireland, and of his honest desire to ameliorate her condition, and he trusted that the period was not distant when he should be enabled to realize his benevolent intentions in practical measures for the welfare of Ireland. "We may, perhaps, hereafter see him realize those benevolent intentions," observed O'Connell in this memorable speech. "The *paulo post futurum* is a tense very much in use in this country. The Italian proverb says that hell is paved with good intentions, and that the fiery stones that render rugged the paths of the damned are the good intentions with which the depth are so plentifully supplied. These good intentions—ah! it is delusion to talk of good intentions. They are a mockery and a deceit, like the mirage of a desert. The sand in the distance appears to be water, but when you approach it you find the delusion vanishes and the reality meets your eye. I say to the Political Union—Ireland has but few friends, let them not throw her overboard. I have seen the peril, and when such a man as Dr. Doyle cannot come in contact with power without losing some portion of his utility, and when I see Lord Cloncurry bury himself in the atmosphere of a court, I am convinced that there is something dangerous in the contact with power and authority. When I see such men as Dr. Doyle and Lord Cloncurry yielding to the incense of power, I know my part; and I take my stand opposite them, watching them and looking at them, cheering them so long as they are right, and when they deserve it no man will give a louder hurra for them than I will." He thus concluded—"I trust that the worst days of Ireland have passed away. We are wearied from our long struggling for our liberties, but we have all the vigour of unbroken youth about us, and are fresh to struggle again. The sorrows of Ireland, as the mists of the mountain, are vanishing from around us, and like the heated fogs of morning, which are dissipated by the moontide sun, and open to the wearied traveller's delighted eye the prospects of peace, greenness, and tranquillity, so shall the misfortunes of our country, as they pass away for ever, leave behind them in the glory of its sunshine a happy, a prosperous, and an independent nation:

'The nations are fallen, but thou art still young;
Thy sun is just rising when others have set,
And tho' slavery's gloom 'round thy morning hath hung,
The full moon of freedom shall beam round thee yet.'"

Mr. O'Connell resumed his seat amid a tremendous burst of enthusiasm.

Mr. Gibson followed the great Tribune. "Mr. O'Connell has alluded to the letter of Dr. Doyle," he said—"I do not coincide with Mr. O'Connell's observations on this subject, especially as a Tory journal has taken the same view of it as the learned gentleman; but I consider that this inference is to be drawn from the letter, that it is a contrast between Lord Anglesey and Mr. O'Connell—unfavourable to the former."

How any one could have interpreted in a hostile spirit the more than kind allusion to O'Connell, which Dr. Doyle expressed in the pastoral under discussion, seems indeed strange. The Bishop observed that the pressure which weighed down all the energies of Ireland, and produced that disorder which defamed and degraded the character of the country, originated in the oppression of the weak by the powerful. "Your poverty, your ignorance, and the wiles and craft of your taskmasters," he proceeded, "prolonged the days of our captivity, and if the providence of God had not raised up in the person of Mr. O'Connell, a man who could and did persuade you to seek redress by constitutional and legal means, not by riot, combination, or insurrection, we should this day be suffering under all the rigours of the Penal Code. But under his guidance you became amenable to the law, you bore injustice patiently, you became of one mind and of one purpose, you loosened the root of the tree of oppression—and it fell to rise no more. If you have effected what was difficult and almost impossible, may you not effect what is not difficult but easy to be done? If you have torn up the tree by the roots, are you not able to cut off the branches? If you have taken and laid waste the fortress and strongholds of corruption and injustice, are you not able to subdue all her weaker stations and detached outposts? You are!"

O'Connell, as we have seen, had taken great umbrage at a passage in this pastoral favourable to the Administration, while the Government, on the other hand, felt sore and surprised that Dr. Doyle should have denounced tithes through the same medium, and told the people to employ against that devouring impost all the resources of their wit and talent, with all the means which the law allowed. "But in your opposition to this pest of agriculture and bane of religion," he added, "keep always before your eyes a salutary dread of those statutes which guard the tithe. Let no violence or combination to inspire dread be ever found in your proceedings. Justice has no need of such allies. In these countries, if you only obey the law and reverence the constitution they both will furnish you with ample means whereby to overthrow all

oppression, and will secure to you the full enjoyment of every social right."

Dr. Doyle, when undergoing examination before Mr. Stanley's Tithe Committee, on 28th February, 1832, was asked:

"*Q.* 3243. Had not you reason to think that that sort of advice, addressed to the people in the then state of Ireland, would be ill received by his Majesty's Government and disapproved of highly? *A.* Certainly; in writing pastorals I never look to the Government as a government; I have always a view to the peace of the country and to the law; I feel myself totally unconnected with the Government, entirely independent of them; and though bound in duty as a subject to give them any support in my power, my business in society has no reference to them: so that in writing pastorals I look only to the interests of religion, and to the good of the people over whom I am placed Bishop through the providence of God. In that pastoral letter I laboured, with the little ability I possess, to show to the people the folly, injustice, and criminality of their proceedings, and I employed every argument which occurred to me to induce them to desist from their illegal courses and to return to a better sense; and at the conclusion of it I deprecated their violent and illegal opposition to tithes, and charged them, in conducting their opposition, to abstain from every violation of the law; so that after this exposition and charge, when I exhorted them to employ their wit in conducting that opposition, I ought not be understood, either by the Committee or by the Government, or by any inpartial man, as insinuating still less advising anything in its nature culpable. I do not, therefore, agree in thinking that the insertion of that phrase ought to embarrass the Government, or to be understood as leading the people into any course inconsistent with that duty which I had so strenuously pointed out in the foregoing part of that pastoral.

"*Q.* 3244. Had you any reason to know, previous to the publication of that pastoral letter, that it would be disagreeable or otherwise, or that it would be approved or disapproved of by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland? *A.* Certainly not; I had no communication direct or indirect with his Excellency upon the subject, either before or after. I have indeed been charged in the public prints, and I believe elsewhere, with having been noticed by his Excellency in a manner that perhaps might reasonably be found fault with, but all that is unfounded—I never had the honour of even dining at his table; I never had an interview with him but twice or thrice, and on those occasions I never had any conversation with him which was at all of the nature supposed or alluded to; and if he had attempted to bias me in my conduct, or to influence my acts in any way which my conscience did not fully

approve, I should, with all the respect due to his station and to his personal virtues, have intimated to him how much he was mistaken in my character."

O'Connell's hostile criticism of Dr. Doyle was relieved at intervals by eloquent panegyrics. "He reminds one of a mighty eagle," said Dr. Doyle in conversation with a friend. "He takes me in his talons, soars with me aloft, and then drops me on the ground. It was a proverb among the Greeks, that a flatterer who lifts you to the clouds has the same motive as the eagle when he raises the tortoise in the air—he wishes to gain something by your fall."

Dr. Doyle was grievously distressed by the public attack which O'Connell had made upon him. His Curates had never before seen him so much pained. "Ah!" said Dr. Doyle, "why does he seek at this crisis to weaken my influence with the misguided people whom God has confided to my care? Why appeal to the passions of an excitable and ignorant multitude for the purpose of sinking me deep in their estimation? Why attribute to me base and sordid motives, when feelings of the purest conscientious growth fill me? I paid my respects at the court of a liberal Viceroy on one solitary occasion only.* Having been flippantly branded as a Republican and a Leveller, I went merely to mark my respect for the civil authority. I did it, moreover, in obedience to the indirectly expressed wish of the representative of a reforming King. Having discharged this double sense of duty, nothing could induce me to go a second time. I am well aware, without O'Connell telling me, that the less intercourse an ecclesiastic has with Courts the better. His pursuits and calling have no sympathy with them. It would be difficult to indicate a steadier Priest than myself; yet, I know enough of human nature to be convinced that no churchman, however pure, could make a practice of frequenting the Castle without his views gradually warping in the wrong direction. The dazzling splendour and imposing prestige of the throne before which the Priest bows; the language of the Court is so fascinating and diplomatically persuasive; the atmosphere so charged with an insidious virus that the integrity

* It was either to this occasion or when he accompanied his brother Bishops on a deputation to George IV., at the Castle, that Mariana refers in one of her reminiscences of Dr. Doyle:

"I was often amazed at the trifles which amused him, and could scarcely believe my eyes when I saw him pass about a quarter of an hour with a string and ball in his hand, a kitten running after him; nor on another occasion when he was through some necessity obliged to appear at the Castle, he begged of me and of some others to purchase for him a *chapeau bras*, and it afforded him and all present great and long-continued merriment, when trying on each hat and practising to use it, he accompanied it by such stories, and quotations, and comical applications, that it sufficed for amusement for a week after."

of the most determined ecclesiastic, who is brought into contact with it, must, sooner or later, and by imperceptible steps, decay. "So far," added Dr. Doyle, "O'Connell is right; but it is cruel of him to brand me before my flock with sordid and corrupt motives, of which he well knows I am as innocent as the babe unborn."

The truth and justice of Dr. Doyle's remarks have been recognized in all ages. Julian the apostate, describing the duty even of a Pagan Priest, writes: "The Priest of the gods, if he sometimes visits the palace, should appear only as the advocate of those who have vainly solicited either justice or mercy."

Lord Anglesey offered Dr. Doyle private favours, but the Bishop rejected them with the austerity which was a speciality with him. Mr. Blake paid frequent visits to Dr. Doyle, telling him that he had been commissioned by his Excellency to offer place to any personal friend or immediate relative for whom the Bishop might feel interested; but Dr. Doyle's invariable reply was, "I am grateful to his Excellency, but my kingdom is not of this world and I have no link to bind me to it."

His detachment from the world was indeed complete. Not all the links of strong affection which bound him to the members of his excellent family ever led him, in any one instance, to be swayed by the considerations of flesh and blood. Great was his influence with those who, to use their own phrase, had plenty of the loaves and fishes at their disposal; but Dr. Doyle's lofty austerity of character ever forbade him to ask for one. Rank had no charms for him; and that little with which the affection of a grateful flock loves to invest their Prelates, in moments of salutation, he utterly disliked and often charged his friends to abstain from its use towards him. To be called "Father" was his utmost ambition—to deserve that endearing appellation, his unwearied aim. Riches he held in utter contempt, unless so far as they enabled him to minister to the suffering members of Christ; but, for the poor he would willingly coin his heart into gold. The knowledge of their miseries filled his soul with bitterness, and often caused him greater pain than they endured themselves.

Lord Anglesey did not increase his own popularity by his courtesies to Dr. Doyle. We find in "Raikes's Journal," under date 11th of February, 1832, the following entry:

[Lord] "Glengall has arrived from Ireland. He says that Lord Anglesey has made a fearful mistake in his view of pacifying Ireland. He called in Dr. Doyle, Lord Cloncurry, Blake, and some other Catholics, whom he attempted by kindness and attentions to bring round to the Government. He thus displeased and alienated the Protestants, who were his real friends, without

attaching the other party; he is therefore unpopular with all. Arms must be used to enforce the tithe system; and then the rising will become general."

It may be observed, that Mr. Raikes is in error regarding the religion professed by Lord Cloncurry.

O'Connell's popularity was in its zenith. On 3rd of December, he went to witness the first representation of a new play—the "Warden of Galway." Throughout the entire of the performance the most enthusiastic cheering in his honour continued without intermission. "It is as impossible for us to criticise the performance," observes a newspaper, "as it was for the audience to know what the performers were saying. Soon after the play Mr. O'Connell retired alone, but having been perceived, the loudest applause followed him; and the cheering was kept up by those outside until he was set down at his own house."

CHAPTER XL.

National Education introduced—Hostility of the Protestant and Presbyterian Clergy—Dr. Doyle's circular-letter—All mixed education not of necessity bad—Threatened condemnation from Propaganda—The safe-guards pointed out by Gregory XVI.—The Rescript—Letters to the author from the Most Rev. Dr. Cullen and the Right Rev. Dr. Walshe—Dr. Doyle admonishes a boat-full of Whitefeet—Striking scene—Reminiscences of the great Prelate by Mr. Burrowes Kelly—He addresses the people, and sweeps with his master-hand the chords of their most deep emotions—"Revenge is mine, and I will repay"—Letters to his niece—Shipwreck and loss of life—Death of Father Peter Doyle—Anecdotes grave and gay—Traits of his charity—Controversy with O'Connell on the question of Poor Laws—Letters to Mr. Stanley and Mr. Musgrave—Interview between Dr. Doyle and Archbishop Murray—Excessive leniency of the latter.

THE year 1831 is also memorable for the passing of the National Education Act. As a decided improvement on the Kildare-place system of education, which had latterly made itself peculiarly obnoxious to the country, Mr. Stanley's measure was regarded as a boon by the great majority of the Catholic Priesthood and people. There were, of course, not a few Catholics who deprecated the idea, but the ferocity with which certain evangelicals assailed it, made the bulk of the Catholic body suspect the existence of some essential virtue in the system which was not at first obvious. They considered that its importance and favourable promise were attested by this formidable hostility; and the youth of Ireland, with hearty ardour, thronged forward to taste the fruits of the new tree of knowledge. This ardour was considerably

fanned by the storm of wrath with which the Protestant and Presbyterian Clergy denounced the system as one specially invented to propagate Popery. A tolerably accurate idea of their tone may be gathered from the following remarks expressed by the Rev. Dr. Cooke, and dated so recently as December, 1844:

"1. It was invented and imposed, not at the wish of *Protestants*, but to please the Priests of Rome in their dislike to *Bible-reading* in schools. 2. During *four hours every day* the *Bible* must be *excluded*, and to read it during that time would forfeit all assistance. 3. During *four hours a day* neither schoolmaster nor minister dare *pray* in the school, under the above penalty. 4. No minister dare *ever preach* in the school, under like penalty. 5. The Romish Priest is a visitor of the school, whether the committee will or not, and can turn out the Protestant children *one day* every week in the year to teach that Protestants are *heretics*, and cannot as such be saved, being out of the pale of the Church. 6. The Board publishes books that inculcate *Popery*, and authorizes their use in schools. 7. The Board has published in one of their school-books, a well-known seditious song, called *Erin-Go-Bragh*, and gives it among their schools."

Mr. Stanley having, in the winter of 1831, announced the terms on which funds would be dispensed for promoting the education of the peasantry, Dr. Doyle issued a circular-letter to his Clergy, dated 26th of December, in which he observed that these terms had been long sought for by repeated applications to Government and by petitions to Parliament, and had at last, with much difficulty, been obtained. "They are not the very best which could be devised," he went on to say, "but they are well suited to the [present] circumstances of this distracted country. They provide for the religious instruction of children by their respective pastors or persons appointed for that purpose by them, as often as those pastors can deem it necessary. This instruction shall be given on one or two days in the week, and may be given, as I hope it will be, every day. The Commissioners claim to have control over the books to be used in schools. This appears an assumption from which evil as well as good might follow—it is good that useless or immoral books be utterly and by authority excluded. The precaution is idle in our regard, but it may not be so elsewhere; and 'law,' says the Apostle, 'is placed not for the just man, but for the unjust.' It gives no trouble to the man who acts properly; it gives pain and brings punishment only to him who omits or transgresses his duty."

The dangers of the new system were not unforseen by Dr. Doyle, but he pointed out easy remedies against them: "Should bad men succeed to the present Commissioners," he said, "and

attempt to corrupt the education of youth, we are not dumb dogs who know not how to bark; we can guard our flocks, and do so easily by the simple process of excluding the Commissioners and their books and agents from our schools. We might by doing so forfeit the aid which they would, if the supposition were realised, be entitled to withhold, but in withholding it they would be answerable to Parliament—to which we also would have access."

Dr. Doyle further observed that the power claimed by the Commissioners to fine, suspend, or remove teachers, seemed somewhat exorbitant, but that if exercised to the detriment of any well-conducted school, which was scarcely possible, the people had the same remedy to resort to as in the case of the introduction of improper books. He thought that the rule which required all teachers henceforth to be provided from some model school with a certificate of competency, would aid a work of great difficulty—namely, that of suppressing hedge schools which had long been open to serious objections.

With the exception of his letter on the union of the Churches, there is no point in Dr. Doyle's life more constantly misrepresented than his views in favour of united education, under the peculiar circumstances of the time in which he lived. The conclusion has been absurdly and unfairly adopted, that because Dr. Doyle countenanced mixed education at an eventful crisis, he therefore advocated it as the best possible system at all times and in all circumstances. The Rev. George Crolly in noticing a similar misapprehension in regard to his uncle, the late Primate, humorously observes that "it would be just as logical to assert that because the poor children live on potatoes alone (when they can get them), they therefore prefer them to beef and mutton."

It has also been assumed that all mixed education is of necessity bad. The Holy Father, however, has sanctioned the system in France as well as in Ireland, although he far from considers it the best of systems. Indeed so strong was the opposition offered to the plan of National Education by some leading dignitaries of the Catholic Church in Ireland, that in July, 1840, Propaganda decided upon yielding to wishes so zealously expressed, and issuing a formal condemnation of it. The late Most Rev. Dr. Murray, however, addressed a letter to the Pope, begging that a Legate might be sent to Ireland to examine, on the spot, the constitution and working of the suspected system; and the result was, a withdrawal on the part of his Holiness of the threatened prohibition. It transpired that throughout the greater part of Ireland the children were, without exception, Catholics; and that the obnoxious phrase, "mixed system," had more sound than substance in it. A Rescript, issued by authority

of Gregory XVI., while permitting the Irish Catholics to avail themselves of National Education, pointed out some simple safeguards which it seemed expedient to introduce. Reasons were assigned for allowing this privilege, including "the opportunity the schools give for the instruction of youth—gratitude to Parliament for granting large sums of money to schools for the Irish people—the fear lest all the money and influence should pass into the hands of heterodox teachers, and especially the happy intelligence that during the ten years in which that system was received the Catholic religion had suffered no injury.* The Holy Father further declared that Catholics might be taught by Protestants or sectaries, provided that religion, morality, or Sacred History were not included in the instruction. In extending this indulgence the Holy See had before it the high example of St. Jerome, who studied Hebrew under the Rabbis—a sect which denied the divinity of Christ, and branded Him as an impostor.

Among the safeguards recommended in this memorable Rescript we find, "3. That it is much safer that instruction should be imparted in secular learning alone in mixed schools than that the fundamental, as they are called, and common articles of religion should be taught, whilst instruction in the peculiar tenets of their creed should be reserved to the sect which professed them; for to act in this manner with children, seems very dangerous." The Sovereign Pontiff added, that if the several safeguards were diligently observed, the Bishops might easily infer that the religion and virtue of the children were sufficiently provided for.

We quote these and other passages not to justify a personal predilection in favour of National Education, but simply for the purpose of adducing such evidence as tends to vindicate or explain the views expressed by Dr. Doyle at this period, and in his letter to Mr. Stanley at p. 258, *ante*.

"I do believe," observes the Rev. George Crolly, Professor of Theology in Maynooth, "that with all its defects it [National Education] has been the means of preserving Catholicity, at all events in the North of Ireland, during the terrible ordeal of

* "Nam sacram congregationem magnopere solicitam habere debuerunt, cum diu multumque pro sui instituti munere quæstionem propositam, consideraret, Catholicæ religionis tutela, puerilis ætatis instituendæ commoditas, grati animi officium erga Brittanici Imperii Senatum, qui magnam pecuniæ summam popularibus Hiberniæ scholis decrevit, concordiæ inter Episcopos Catholicos retinendæ necessitas quietis publicæ fovendæ debitum metus denique ne ad heterodoxos forte magistros pecunia tota et octoritas devolvatur.

"*Omnibus* ergo rei periculis et utilitatibus accurate perpensis, auditis partium disceptantium rationibus, habitaque præsertim felici notitia quod per decennium, ex quo id systema studiorum susceptum fuit religio Catholica nihil detrimenti passa videatur, &c."

pestilence and famine through which the poor people have had to pass."

This sentiment was uttered in 1850. During the eleven years which have since elapsed, the views of the Catholic Hierarchy and Priesthood of Ireland have undergone a material modification on the subject; and it would seem not without sufficient grounds, as the following letters, addressed by the Most Rev. Dr. Cullen and the Right Rev. Dr. Walshe to the writer of these memoirs, demonstrate. Adverting to Dr. Doyle His Grace observes:

"The authority of this great man has been alleged in favour of the modern systems of education, which propose to unite children of all religious denominations in the same school, and in order to prevent the collision of such discordant elements, banish from the common school-hours all exercises of piety and religion; and prohibit any reference to the special doctrines of the holy Catholic Church, held by the great majority of the people of this country and of the children who frequent the schools.

"But those who refer to the opinions of Dr. Doyle should not forget that things have undergone a great change since his time. When Lord Stanley first proposed the mixed system, Catholics were solemnly assured that under it their children would be free from the remotest danger of proselytism, and it was understood that the action of government should be restricted to the giving of aid to schools, and to inspection as to the application of the funds and the literary progress of the children.

"But those flattering promises have not been realized. The safeguards laid down by Lord Stanley have been gradually withdrawn; Catholic children are now publicly receiving religious instruction from Protestant teachers; books replete with an anti-Catholic spirit, and compiled from Protestant sources, under the direction of a rationalistic dignitary of the Protestant Establishment, the author of a work entitled 'Errors of Romanism,' have been published at the public expense, and introduced into the schools for the use of Catholic children; model and training mixed schools have been established, well calculated to inspire the future masters and mistresses of the country with indifference to every creed, and to throw into the hands of government officials, in a most unconstitutional manner equally dangerous to religion and society, the education of the rising Catholic generation of Ireland, by committing to their officials the formation of future masters.

"Had Dr. Doyle lived to witness this development of the mixed system, and the failure of the experiment to which he consented in good faith, in all probability he would have been one of its most ardent opponents, assailing its abuses and dangers with the same eloquence, and energy, and persevering labour—little as

yet known to the world—with which he accomplished the destruction of the Kildare-place Society, and preserved Ireland from its proselytising agencies. Dr. Doyle was most determined in maintaining the rights of religion, and no one I am sure, would have been more indignant than he at the changes made in Lord Stanley's system, and at the insult offered to Irish Catholics by the flagrant violation of promises solemnly made to them."*

The Right Rev. Dr. Walshe, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, in a letter to the author, writes:

"Though thirty years have not yet rolled over since his departure from amongst us, great changes have taken place. Persons unacquainted with the actual state of the country, and of the great political parties in it some thirty or forty years ago, are very liable to misunderstand portions of Dr. Doyle's writings. To correctly understand them, they, according to the principles of sound criticism, should be read in the light afforded by the history of the period. Through forgetfulness of this just rule, some may be beguiled into erroneous inferences from observations of Dr. Doyle upon mixed education."

Dr. Walshe having quoted the views expressed by Dr. Doyle, at page 145 of this volume, upon the manner in which religious instruction should pervade and hallow education, goes on to say:

"Afterwards, when the National System was introduced, he expected that in the peculiar circumstances of the country it might, in the absence of a better, provide for the wants of the people.

"The goodness of Dr. Doyle's heart was equal to the vigour of his intellect. His views were truly liberal and enlightened. The generous ardour of his temperament would not suffer anything cold, mean, narrow, or selfish to abide in him. He was truly charitable. His was not the morbid liberality which is the fungous growth of indifference; nor the liberality which, from a lust of power or pelf, shrinks from the assertion of sacred principles and keeps the truth captive in injustice. No; his liberality was the dictate, not of cupidity, not of weakness, but of charity. He hoped, as it were, against hope. He never offered violence to the conscience of any man. He made for others every allowance which was consistent with the discharge of his duty to God. He loved to have peace, so far as it was in his power, with all men. That desire led him to make every exertion for such holy purpose.

"But the abuse of its confidence is sometimes the painful requital which a generous nature receives from the worldly-minded, the frivolous, and the selfish. Dr. Doyle no doubt trusted that

*Letter from the R. C. Archbishop of Dublin to the author, 15th December, 1860.

the terms upon which the National System was established would be honorably maintained.

"The just views and principles enunciated with such force and clearness in his life and writings, leave no room to doubt the course he would pursue in relation to this subject had he lived to see his trust betrayed, his expectations baffled, his hopes almost extinguished, and the system changed from the principles upon the faith of which it was accepted. There can be no doubt whatever that he would have risen in the might of his genius to denounce the change, and demand for the people the freedom and rights to which in justice and sound policy they are entitled.

"Had he lived to see the leading men in the political party to which he gave his powerful support reveal a rancorous-hostility to Catholicity, and revive the spirit of the Penal Code, the great Bishop would have been the first to proclaim his just and indignant protest against them, and to rebuke the baseness of the men who treated with disregard, and derision, and injustice, the fair claims of the people by whose too generous and too confiding support they mainly ascended to place and power.

"Dr. Doyle, mindful of the artifices formerly employed against the people, would repeat what he on an analogous occasion wrote in one of his Pastorals:* 'These salutary lessons have not been read by us in vain, and if we forgot them, or were unmindful of them, the ashes of our fathers would become reanimated, their fibres, their sinews, would again bind the muscle to the bone, and fit them to the flesh—those who now sleep would burst the tombs that enclose them and come to reproach us, if we ceased to defend that religion which sanctified them—that faith for which they died!'"

The disturbed state of the colliery district, which lay within the diocess of Leighlin, led Dr. Doyle to increase both his vigilance and his visitations. Information was communicated to the

* Letter from the Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin to the author, dated Braganza House, Carlow, 10th December, 1860. His Lordship further observes: "I look forward with pleasure to the publication of your 'Life of the Right Rev. Dr. Doyle.' The work will, I confidently trust, realize the expectations which your ability, your zeal, and your unwearied labour justly warrant us to entertain. The Catholics of Ireland, and, I presume I may add, of the empire, will receive the work with cordial satisfaction. The Catholics of Kildare and Leighlin, where the memory of the illustrious Prelate is in special benediction, will rejoice at seeing the faithful record of the life of their glorious Bishop, whose wisdom, whose energy, whose zeal, whose eloquence, whose unceasing toil in labouring for the elevation of his country, the redress of her wrongs, the happiness of her people, the advancement of the interests of morality and religion, and the promotion of the glory of God, shall never be forgotten. In this diocess, upon which his genuis shed a brilliant lustre, the tradition of his learning, his virtues, and his holiness, is a cherished household record in every Catholic family. The old love to narrate, and the young to hear the edifying history of the life and labours of the great Bishop Doyle."

Bishop that large numbers of persons were likely to pass Robertstown in the canal-boat *en route* to witness or participate in some agrarian disturbance. Determined to grapple with the iniquity, Dr. Doyle, accompanied by three or four Priests, repaired to the water's edge, and there awaited the arrival of the boat. The boat was crammed—its deck was black with heads. At the Bishop's word of command the horses drew up, and the people, awe-stricken, listened attentively to his admonitions. "Dr. Doyle's majesty of appearance," observes an eye-witness, "never appeared to greater advantage. His great depth of figure was drawn up grandly; the flashing glance of his dark eye pierced every heart, and read every thought; while the severity of his lofty countenance, and the sepulchral intonation of his voice, were well qualified to add impressiveness to his rebuke. He addressed the people for an hour, pausing at every point, as was his wont, to increase the effect the more. Many persons got out of the boat and turned homewards, but others sullenly persisted in their dark intention, regardless of the Bishop's ban."

It was not long after this incident that Dr. Doyle made a visitation to the parish of Stradbally, in the Queen's County, partly to administer confirmation, but chiefly to animadvert on the disturbances which had then recently agitated that once peaceful district. Burrowes Kelly, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, has kindly placed in our hands a minute description of Dr. Doyle's appearance, manner, and mode of delivery, on this interesting occasion. It was written almost at the time. The scene possesses much picturesque beauty, and we are not disposed to abridge it. The impressions, thoughts, and emotions of the moment, we leave in their integrity. Mr. Kelly's allusion to Dr. Doyle's fleshless limbs and wasted expression, contrasts painfully with Sheil's description of the Bishop's "smooth, round face and ruddy complexion" eight years before. But care had been doing its work, and Dr. Doyle at this period was the mere wreck of his former self:

"Dr. Doyle, who, somewhat overcome by heat and fatigue, had gone forth into the refreshing air during the period likely to be occupied in the process of arrangement, now walked through the central avenue, between the kneeling children, on towards the altar. Every eye was directed towards him. He was dressed in the long flowing black soutane, and the cap of the Augustinian Order, which he wore while examining the children, and which was his general costume during the fulfilment of ordinary ecclesiastic duties. As he entered the sanctuary, and for the moment that (having taken off his cap) he stood with his eyes raised towards the altar, before he either bowed or knelt—his tall, gaunt form, but commandingly intellectual and loftily devotional features,

might, by those in the galleries and around the altar, be correctly, though superficially scanned. His thin limbs, the spare shapes of which were the more markedly revealed by his tight-fitting black stockings and low shoes, were to be seen through the open front of the then loose vesture, that when buttoned concealed, by its flowing length, the lower portion of his person. His long unfleshy arms, his pointedly lean shoulders, the thin depth of his frame's trunk, and the whole emaciate habit of his body, consorted well with the mind's justly severe conceptions of the spiritually austere Christian and rigid unbending ecclesiastic.

"But, if in the fleshless form of this Prelate was in a manner faithfully personated the self-mortifying ascetic, far more perfectly was portrayed in the expression of his countenance and the organic development from his chest upwards, the man of aspiring genius, of lofty enthusiasm, and high impassioned morality. A low, straight, black stock, half covered from the top by a white cambric band, and tightly fitting to the lower portion of his throat, left fully exposed to view the attenuate muscles of his finely moulded neck; the classic stature of which was equally graceful to look on, whether in the still attitude of his then devotional contemplativeness or bending flexibly obedient to any motion of his will. From thence, and in equal freedom from any grossness of configuration, as if shadowing forth the intimate alliance in his disposition of intellect and grace, arose his finely formed head and strikingly intelligent features. In the whole cast and spirit of his countenance, was not only expressed the fullest and most acute powers of reasoning, but also the highest reach of imaginative thought. His well-marked, high, broad forehead, as also the contour of his temples and skull, and the open space between his brows, at once organically foretold the depth and expansion of his intellect, while a perspicuous speaking of his own mind, and an accurate scanning power of that of others was fully to be recognised in the clear, open wisdom of his fine, full, dark eyes. His cheeks, worn and sunken, as if from the effects of meditation, would have been, indeed, a little too visibly contrasted with their high bones of Celtic character, were it not that the latter were happily relieved by the slight curl of his upper lip, the decided turn of his handsomely curved but somewhat *retrousé* nose, and the clearly defined rich, full outline of his jaws and chin. He knelt before the altar for some moments, deeply absorbed in prayer, with his head stoopedly inclining to one shoulder, and his eyes closed, as if purposely to shut out from his soul any distractions likely to arise from the general gaze upon him. In this concentering intent he appeared to have at once perfectly succeeded; and when having concluded prayer, he again elevated his

head, and arose from his kneeling position, there was magnificently expressed in the bland majesty of his countenance, an intense and sublime piety that seemed to have wholly forgotten the things of earth, as though it gazed from some purer sphere, without any intercepting veil, on the full glories of heaven. In a modified state of the same unearthly abstraction, he walked with his accustomed gait of apparently careless ease and unpremeditate dignity into the little vestry. He was immediately followed by the Curate, some others of the assisting Priests, and by his own half-reverential-looking servant man. The old Parish Priest, as usual, continued sitting in his double-armed chair at the left-hand side of the platform which surrounded the altar. The Chapel remained then, as before, perfectly still and quiet. The kneeling children were formally marshalled in their ranks, file regularly succeeding file, as any ecclesiastic orderly could desire.

"While each and all within the Chapel, whether kneeling or standing, remained perfectly in order and unmoving posture, the whole aspect of the place and of the assembled people—though rude and simple was the edifice and rural was the multitude—formed an interesting sight for any quiet-loving observer to look upon. As mild as the calmness of a sky, whose various contrasting colours remain equally in repose, seemed the little scene. The neat sanctuary, the beloved old Clergyman, and the decorous simplicity of the altar—whereon rested the glittering mitre, and against which leaned the silver-headed crozier—were not in more apposite keeping with the time and scene than were the young surpliced attendants, who, in the habit in which they served the Priest at Mass, then stood in a line near the vestry door awaiting the Bishop. Outside the sanctuary's railed-in space the same stillness prevailed. The pretty, nicely-dressed little girls and the ruddy-faced boys looked indeed, while they unmovedly read or repeated their prayers, like so much still life in a picture. Each diversification of group, whether in the galleries, the wings, or the aisle, was similarly at rest. Even the ribbons of the rural belles (so unstirringly did their wearers deport themselves) could scarcely be perceived to move; and the deep, dense crowd of rude, fierce-looking peasants—that, like heavy, darkening clouds surrounding a clear, bright spot in the heavens, thronged the spaces around the young folk—appeared then gravely and somberly unperturbed.

"During this quietude that, as it were, contagiously affected the entire congregation, the Bishop—followed by the Curate holding up his train, also by other attending Priests, and they in succession by the little surpliced boys—walked from the vestry to the central point, below the short flight of steps ascending to the altar. The train of attendants arranged themselves in equal numbers on

his right and left-hand sides. They then all reverently bowed down, and having again elevated themselves with him, he, followed by the Curate, ascended the steps of the altar, while the others remained standing below.

"The desire of the multitude to see their great Bishop became now fully evinced. The inanimate-like repose of the scene vanished; and though there was little crush, less noise, and perfect voicelessness, there could not be better expressed than was in the outstretched necks and inquisitive eyes of the dense crowd, the most eloquent anxiety to behold. Going to the altar, he remained stationary a few moments. His back was turned to the great body of the people; and his form—which, when in sight of the multitude at the former period, looked rather awkward than becoming in its proportions—appeared now, in the rich, full costume he wore, at once graceful and dignified. A soutane of a rich purple colour, closely fitting to the upper portion of his person, and descending in gradual grace until it terminated in a full train sweeping the ground, was his inner episcopal garb; over it a white muslin surplice, which extended to the middle of his figure, and was very deeply embroidered with the finest lace, loosely hung; and above that surplice again, around his shoulders, chest, and the lower part of his neck, was very closely buttoned a short round cape of the same rich, bright hue as the soutane. With his face still turned towards the altar, he placed upon his head his shining, golden-coloured mitre, and, taking in his hand the crozier of his office, turned round in front to the people.

"Rarely at any period (we make bold to think)—at least since the more primitive simplicity of those early ages of the Roman See, when the first chosen servants of the Gospel were fresh in the remembrances of men, and the truth of Christ's doctrines was continuously confirmed and sanctified in the people's eyes by the blood of martyrs and the pure deeds of saints—stood there forth on the altar to any multitude one whom, both from expression and from mien, the faithful might more justly regard as some signally great Apostle. And never during those after-times—when, in more artificial forms of society, it so occurred that the same more extended Church was alone bright in intellectual power amid the general darkness, and though not oblivious of its commission from above, was yet far too emulous in its policy of imperial state, as if imagining that the doctrines of our humble Redeemer would the more prevail with humankind were the crozier of His shepherd elevated above the sceptre of the emperor, and His spiritual monarchy invested throughout Christendom with all the imposing forms of temporal grandeur—still, never in that, any more than from the former purer period, arose there any

Christian minister who won from society the meed of its amazement, and impressed upon it the force of its own genius and character more remarkably than he did. During either eras, in truth, of the Roman Church—whether that of its more apostolic or its more state-assuming hierarchy—however holy of temper and heavenly heroic in conduct, like saint and martyr of old, many indubitably were—or however arrayed in pomp, gifted with genius, rich in learning, devoted to the practices of piety, and aided to control mankind by all the associations of the past, like many of Rome's pre-eminent ecclesiastics during the political greatness of the Vatican—any may have been; still, belonging to no land do we know of one who was at once more generally and more warmly beloved, admired, and revered, than was this distinguished Prelate of our own times and country. And, quitting the days of his own Papal Church, whether those of its primeval habit or of its Gothic splendour, never, in any of those seasons of reform, or rather of revolt—when all former prepossessions were confounded and of no avail, and the passions and affections of mankind yearned to be gained by the boldest actors of the time—came there forward any one of equal religious influence over the people. Never did the best and most towering of them all hold similarly spell-bound in love and in esteem, in enthusiasm and in reverence, their audience or their country as he did.

"His genius or abilities few or none denied; that in conception he was masculine, in thought subtle and deep, in judgment profound and accurate, in logical deduction strict and acute, in memory well-stored and expertly recollective—and that also he possessed a sustaining self-collectedness and systematized solidity that ever proved the firmer the more deeply tested, were indeed endowments of his well-nigh generally admitted. Wondrously acquainted, too, not only with Scriptural research, but also with the accumulations of human learning, and rendered still more powerful by a fervid eloquence—nervously commanding for good, scathingly destroying towards evil—his genius, whether as a writer or an orator, illuminated each subject which it touched—even less by the acquisitions of his varied learning than the glowing vigour of his language and the rich, full light of his tempered and majestic imagination.

"The natural disposition of his mind—most vigorously simple, and, despite his early scholastic education, still singularly inartificial—was, in truth, alike susceptible of views the most comprehensive, and knowledge the most minute. . . . .

"If indeed an intense zeal for the true glory of religion—a sensitive disdain of every sordid consideration connected with its ministry—a wisdom of heart, capacious from Nature's bounty, but

more enlightened and enlarged still, by long dwelling on the truths and graces of Holy Writ—an universal charity to man—an unindulgence to himself—a generous liberality to others—a fearlessness of the powerful and proud—a pity and attention to the most forsaken poor—as also a disinterested energy in the social service—continuous ardour for his country's political liberty—equal devotion to its moral improvement and intellectual advance—and with all these greatnesses, and industrious assiduity to realize whatever his faith or intellect comprehended as of serious service; if these, and similar qualities, constitute the Christian, the Patriot, and the Statesman, history has furnished us with but few portraits in which the virtues of each are more happily blended in the one character, or more likely to stand out to time in durable superiority. And so, without any factitious aid, without worldly rank, or wealth, or civil power, it was purely this manifold assemblage of virtues and abilities, which, at once, upon his appearance in public life, made him manifest above his fellows, as a great moral and intellectual shepherd, whom a people, faithful to their creed and long stricken down by oppression, might naturally regard as providentially sent to enlighten them, while in their bondage of the desert, and religiously direct them, when enfranchised with the world's liberties. But, merely a poor Bishop of the small tract of "Kildare and Leighlin," still, shortly, and the limits of his fame terminated not with the shores of our seas. As well in the then hostile senate of Great Britain, as throughout whatever wide-extended realms intelligence vivifies, he had become regarded, not only as a most transcending pillar in the common temple of Christianity, but also as a radiant philosophic light, exposing the injustice and degradation inflicted by sectarian despotism on his country.

"Imperious, but never impetuous, he certainly sometimes seemed; and yet, an impartial auditor of his discourses, observer of his conduct, or studier of his works, would at once perceive that his was not the imperiousness of 'little brief authority,' but rather revere both the semblance and embodiment of that moral pre-eminence, which indignation against wrong, lofty enthusiasm for right, and firm conviction of the truth, betimes assume with somewhat of a wrathful complexion in the best regulated of noble minds. It was, in reality, the manifestation of an over-ardent righteousness—a developement of the spirit of good, clothed in the countenance of an exalted anger. It is probable, however, that in addition to the severe dignity of his manner, and elevatedness of his character, such seeming of command may also have insensibly increased upon him, not only, or so much, from habits of individual authority, as from historic associations connected with the most striking characters of his own profession. Often

indeed, in the strain of his preaching, the expression of his features, and the attitude of his person, has he appeared to ourselves, as if the vigorous originality of his genius had arrayed itself in the drapery of the proudest ages of his Church, an union, as it were, of some sublime Apostle with some transcending Sovereign Pontiff—one that would advance the doctrines committed to the Shepherd with all the power of the Prince, and in whom the piety of a missionary St. Patrick, was fired by the more daring ecclesiastic zeal of a Becket, and invigorated by the more commanding genius and energies of a Gregory. . . . .

"It was this singularly gifted man, who, at this period of our story, in the enjoyment of health and the full vigour of his intellect, then stood upon that humble altar."

[An immense congregation hung upon his words. In that Chapel were gathered men of good-will and men of blood-stained consciences. Bent women and fair girls were there also—some had become widowed during the recent disturbance; others had been deprived of the love and admiration of the men to whom they had been betrothed.]

"Advancing a few paces forward, he for some time stood silently scanning the dense multitude before him. From his attitude, though unconstrained and unpremeditated—as, in truth, it was—every the least ensign of authority, from the mitre on his brow down to the latchet of his shoe, was visible upon him. A small golden cross, in token of his divine Master, was pendant from his neck and reposing on his bosom; and, as with his raised left hand he leaned (the spiritual shepherd of the flock committed to his care) on the silver crook of his pastoral staff, the large diamond episcopal ring, that, as it were, wedded him to Christ's ministry on earth, was lustrously revealed on his unfleshly, wan, white finger.

"'Dearly beloved brethren,' he said, and then momentarily stopped. There was a mingled air of meekness and of greatness in his countenance; and as he intently looked again on his poor, humble flock, a benignant considerateness of soul towards their manifold sufferings and weaknesses—with, at the same time, a lofty conviction of that perfection which, as Christians, they should attain, and of that grave responsibility that he himself, as their preceptor under Jesus, bore to the judgment-seat of heaven—seemed shadowed forth in his features.

"He recommenced. A faint scream, like in its tone to the long-suppressed cry of struggling fear or agony, broke from some one amid the crowd of women. There was some temporary confusion in the group around her, and he ceased. The poor creature had fainted from the crush, as it was said; and now, that she had

come somewhat to herself, could not be prevailed on to quit the Chapel until she would hear the Bishop. He continued. 'Before, dearly beloved brethren, I administer to those dear, innocent little children that sacrament which, I trust in God, will confirm them in the graces that, under Divine favour, they received at baptism from our Lord and Saviour, Jesus, I will first make some remarks in reference to those crimes which I heard from public report, and learned with deep grief from your most estimable pastors, have, in this heretofore peaceable parish, disgraced the character of your country and religion, and which, if not atoned for with fear and trembling, and in the bitterest tears of repentance, must, as you well know, inevitably set the seal of eternal damnation on some wretched souls. . . . . I know the miseries of the poor, and accordingly—often deterred by the anticipation of some such objections as the following—*even I* have sometimes forborne to remonstrate with you, as I might justly have done. Show to us, it might be said, by and among some of you, that if we be patient and submissive we will not be banished from our homes; that we will not be reduced till even roots and water fail our children; that in disease and hunger we shall not be left, as heretofore, to perish—in fine, show to us that all our sufferings will not be aggravated—show to us that all those things will not happen, and we will freely and cheerfully acquiesce in your advice. You speak to us of the punishment which awaits us—what punishment can be greater than to die of hunger? You remind us of the afflictions we bring upon our families—what affliction can surpass that of the mother and children driven, in a state of utter destitution, from the fireside and threshold of their homes to wander, friendless and hopeless, through a world that rejects them, till hunger and disease strike them to the earth, and death comes to absolve them from their sufferings?'

"The audience now variously expressed their commoved sympathies; some of the old men and women gave vent to their feelings in deep drawn-sighs and groans; many of the multitude ejaculated prayers, and turned their devotional looks to the altar or towards heaven. He resumed:

"'But first of all, dearly beloved, let me ask of you, who generally are they who are illegally combined? Are they the persons who have been inhumanly and cruelly expelled from their homes? Are they those sons of fathers whose parents or children are perishing of want? Are they those men who can find no employment, or whose wages do not suffice to provide for their families the necessaries of life? No, they are not. A few, and only a few, of the classes above-mentioned are united with them. Who, then, are they who are illegally combined? The most

active and prominent among them are old offenders—thieves, liars, drunkards, fornicators, quarrellers, blasphemers—men who have abandoned all the duties of religion, and whom God, I fear, has given over to a reprobate sense and to the passions of shame. There also belong to their conbinations a crowd of giddy, thoughtless, dissolute young men—the sons and servants of honest, industrious, struggling parents. These classes and descriptions of persons compose their combinations. And this being the case, what right have some among you to avail yourselves of the grievances and sufferings of other men, and employ them as a cloak to cover your own impiety and crimes? The widow and the orphan may have perished; and the honest cottier, torn from the land to which nature attached him, may have withered and died; but you, reprobates, are seldom the children of that widow or the sons of that peasant. But even if you be, let me at once remind any such among you that revenge is forbidden. The Lord saith—'Revenge is mine, and I will repay.' God alone, or those who hold power from him, can ever execute justice. Revenge is totally forbidden to man; it is reserved exclusively to God. Let this truth sink deep, then, into your souls; let it never depart from you; tell it, morn and night, to your children in your poor huts and cabins; and if turned forth on the world to starve and die, repeat it; amid the darkness of night, and when the storm and rain pelt you and your little ones, as you shiver in your hunger and your raggedness, still, ever, ever, repeat it—'Revenge is God's alone.'

"He advanced, and leaned upon his crozier. There was a deep and multitudinous murmur, from the groans of many heavily-laden hearts, as he concluded the sentence. The awe-impressive orator had with his master-hand swept the chords of their most deep emotions, and awoke the thrilling fear of futurity within. A more shrill and hysteric scream than the former issued also from the same place, among the crowd of women, whence came the cry before.

"'Yes,' he continued 'let no man impiously dare the province of the Lord. What wretch, however persecuted, could raise his heart towards heaven while conscious of the present wish and privy to the plot of murder in his abandoned soul? Is not his conscience a sufficient condemnation of himself to himself? Does not such a wretch ever instinctively quit the abodes of men, and for sympathy with his own savage gloom seek refuge in the byeways and the haunts of darkness? He does? for he feels and truly feels, that he is unfit for light, and that he bears about the horrid mark of Cain upon him.'

"The female who had shrieked—now raising herself by a

violent exertion above the figures of those around her, and fixing penetratingly on the Bishop her eyes, wildly starting from their sockets—seemed as though she wished to speak, but could not—then uttered a piercingly doleful cry, and writhing for some moments, like one convulsed in pangs of epilepsy, fell sobbingly senseless back. . . . .

"He had now concluded, and the gaze of admiration and of reverence was fixed upon him. From many had broken forth ejaculations, in the spirit of his concluding prayer. Turning to the altar, he knelt down to intreat again from God the grace of amendment to the wicked. In an instant, and the dense multitude had similarly done. In supplications they implored the goodness of heaven; in laments they deplored the vices of themselves. Over some were to be seen the shades of self-abasement, in others the brightness of raptured zeal; but, simultaneously, there arose the whispered hum of pious earnestness, and in all, Bishop, Priests, and flock, as they then reverently knelt, the eye had rarely seen a house of prayer more devotionally intent.

"Confirmation was subsequently administered to the children, and its divine efficacy impressed by an admirable discourse upon their minds."

Some further strokes of character may be gleaned from a letter to his niece, written at this period. The last paragraph refers to the Bishop's last surviving brother, poor Father Peter, who expired with the old year:

"Carlow, 28th December, 1831.

"My dear Mary—I have, since I saw you, repeatedly thought of writing to you; but illness, occupation, or a want of something to write about—and these causes only—prevented me hitherto. Your letter reminds me how negligent I have been, and I am glad you do not impute that neglect to any indifference as to what concerns you, for you never can have any cause to rejoice or feel grief in which, if known to me, I would not deeply participate. I have heard of the loss of the two ships, but not of all the circumstances you mention; it is a grievous calamity, especially the loss of so many lives; but he who spends his life on sea deliberately embarks in a profession liable to those risks and catastrophes. I am sure you will do all in your power to alleviate the afflictions of the widows and orphans thus cast on the mercy of the world. In doing so you will bind a bleeding wound, and earn the comfort enjoyed by the Good Samaritan. But no encouragement in this good work is necessary for you, as your feeling and your religion, which are so strong, combine to urge you.

"Poor Peter never in the course of his life enjoyed full freedom of mind, though he often made efforts to be free. I long

since told you that he had nothing to bequeath. What then was the use of mentioning people in his will? All the advice I ever gave him about it was, 'If you had anything—and you have not—you should remember the poor of your parish. Leave your watch and a suit of vestments to Nicholas Pierse, as he is the only Clergyman descended of our father who will live after us.'"

It will be remembered that Dr. Doyle, in his letter of 30th August, 1828, adverts with singular emotion to the approaching dissolution of Father Peter. He felt that their lives had been, as it were, sympathetically joined, and that the survivor would remain not much longer on earth. From this date we find the Bishop's health tottering painfully.

Notwithstanding his rapidly breaking health Dr. Doyle persevered, with more than ordinary activity, in the visitation of his diocess. He did not confine his labours to the disturbed portions, but inspected the diocess generally. At Clane an amusing incident occurred which, as it tends to relieve the gravity of preceding details, we subjoin. The Bishop asked the Catholic incumbent several queries, affecting the state of the parish and the conduct of the parishioners generally. His Lordship was gratified to receive a most favourable report, and complimented the Rev. Mr. K—— on his efficiency as a pastor. Having been invited to attend the annual examinations at Clongowes College adjacent, Dr. Doyle bade the Priest good-bye, but promised to return when the ceremonial had terminated, and partake of his hospitality. On his way back to Clane the Bishop observed two very ill-looking fellows, in their shirt-sleeves, engaged in a hot pugilistic encounter. He grieved to witness this anti-Christian exhibition, and maintained a ruminative silence for some time after his arrival at the Priest's house. "Mr. K——," he at length observed, "from the very gratifying assurances you gave me of the morality and general correctness of your flock, I was led to believe that Clane and its vicinity constituted quite a model parish. Now I was much concerned to observe on this day two of your parishioners fighting like a brace of bull-dogs." "My Lord," replied Father K——, "for some months previous to vacation at Clongowes, it is customary for tailors to come from all quarters in order to make clothes for the young gentlemen. The two men whom you observed boxing to-day were tailors from Carlow; and your Lordship will admit that if *you* could effect no reformation in their lives at Carlow, it is unreasonable to expect that I could do so here, where they are merely birds of passage." Dr. Doyle laughed heartily at the *eclaircissement*, adding, "I protest, Mr. K——, you are too able for me."

There is a companion anecdote to the preceding, which we may perhaps be permitted to insert. On one of his last visitations to Kilcock, Dr. Doyle delivered a sermon of singular and striking power. At every telling point or eloquently turned sentence, the women, who had assembled in large crowds to hear him, marked their astonishment or approval by a rapid succession of applications of the tongue to the palate. Dr. Doyle was much annoyed by these noisy strokes of commentary, which had been introduced too frequently, and often most inopportunely—and at last, no longer able to bear the interruption patiently, he ordered all the women to leave the chapel. They hustled towards the door with reluctant alacrity, but turned round to gape at the Bishop before making their final exit. "Ah!" he exclaimed, darting his dark eye upon the group, "Lot's wife was turned into a pillar of salt for her curiosity!" This allusion, having startled the feminine *tymphana* anew, elicited a repetition of the involuntary interruption, and it was several minutes before he could resume his discourse.

Bishop O'Connor was one evening walking with Dr. Doyle and one of his Curates through the suburbs of Carlow. Great destitution prevailed. From every cabin miserable ragged children ran out and dropped a courtesey to the Bishop. At length some haggard and ill-fed-looking labourers, returning home after earning their scanty pittance, turned an angle of the road. The children rushed with joyous shouts to meet and welcome them. They fondly clasped the fleshless knees of the men, who eagerly, and with faces radiating with an unwonted gleam of joy, raised them in their arms. "Don't you think, my Lord," said the Curate, "that it is very silly in these men, who can barely make out sufficient subsistence for their individual selves, to be getting married, and surrounding themselves with large families." "Indeed I do not," he replied. "That pleasure of which you would fain deprive them is their only comfort, and why should we grudge them to forget for a moment their wretchedness?"

In the Bishop's able letter to the present Lord Monteagle there are some forcible remarks not irrelevant to this subject: "It is also said that if a Poor Law be introduced the poor will improvidently contract marriage, hoping to discharge upon society the burden of maintaining their offspring. There is no symptom more striking or better ascertained of our social state in these countries having reached that point where luxury begins to produce corruption and decay, than the horror entertained and the opposition given by the upper classes to the legitimate procreation of children by the poor. This, however, is a subject on which I cannot trust myself to write. It is unspeakably wicked in the rulers of a people to throw obstacles in the way of lawful

marriage, or to drive the multitude into habits of concubinage; and the State is not only at war with heaven, but it is corrupted in its institutions and blind in its policy when it seeks to check the multiplication of the human kind."

Dr. Doyle did not confine himself to pleading for his poor. He practised what he preached. He constantly had ready at Braganza a stock of griddle-bread and ale for the refreshment of the destitute. At every Christmas he had bullocks killed for the poor. He also got blankets specially manufactured for distribution, with a large brand, "charity," affixed to each, lest they should be pledged. Bread, blankets, and meat were cut up on the large kitchen table of Braganza, according to the wants of the poor applicants. On this same table, covered by a black pall, the corpse of the good Bishop, three years later, was waked.

He never came home to Braganza that a train of paupers did not pursue and persecute him. The gateway was often well-nigh blocked with mendicants. Nor did he repulse them. He had read in the Scriptures that the poor begged at the gates of the Temple of Jerusalem, and he submitted to their presence as an ancient and venerable custom. "My God," he would sometimes say, "I havn't a shilling left; and if I had, you should get it." Having been importuned by a sturdy beggar when his pocket was unconscious of a shilling, he ordered the woman to follow him to the episcopal residence. "What was my astonishment," observes the gate-lodge keeper, "to observe her come down the avenue wrapped in a comfortable green baize cloak, which the Bishop's physician had shortly before recommended him to wear constantly. 'God forgive you,' I said—'you might as well take the skin off his back.'" One of the Priests was going to get the beggar arrested for stealing the cloak, whereupon she returned and obtained a letter from Dr. Doyle, certifying that he had given it to her. On another occasion, when he had no cloak, the gate-keeper saw him give away his soutane. "Do you see that window exactly over the hall-door?" asked our informant. "Almost every night, until morning dawned, you might observe the Bishop's lamp glimmering through it. He wore himself out writing."

We have embodied elsewhere a few other anecdotal waifs and strays, communicated by the same humble informant, feeling assured with Dr. Johnson, that often "More knowledge may be gained of a man's real character by a short conversation with one of his servants, than from a formal and studied narrative, begun with his pedigree and ended with his funeral."

The reader does not need to be reminded that Dr. Doyle had set his heart on the establishment of a legal provision for the

Irish poor. His energies had been, for many years, strained to the uttermost in endeavouring to promote that generous and highly necessary measure. His pamphlet, addressed to Mr. Spring Rice, in March, 1831, besides advancing the object generally, converted O'Connell from being an opponent of Poor Laws to a very warm advocate in favour of them.* Obstacle after obstacle had fallen before the strength of Dr. Doyle's pen; his arms were now almost folded in victory, when an event occurred that gave a blow to the Bishop's feelings from which he never afterwards fully recovered. On the 4th of January, 1832, O'Connell, in a speech of great eloquence and force, utterly denounced a legal provision for the Irish poor. The Tribune was at this time in the zenith of his power, and Dr. Doyle saw at a glance that the great boon for which he had been for seven years contending, and which seemed at last within his grasp, was if not irretrievably lost, seriously retarded in its advent. In Dr. Doyle's letter to Mr. Spring Rice on a legal provision for the Irish poor, he had replied to every objection advanced by O'Connell in his speech; and it is hardly surprising that Dr. Doyle should, under the circumstances, have been filled with grievous disappointment and some amount of anger. He thus addressed O'Connell:

"Dear Sir—I have at present no hope of effecting another change in your opinions on this important subject; and if I allude to those which have taken place in your mind, it is not by way of taunt or reproach, but to remind you, and the public also, that your judgment on this matter has not only vacillated—and whatever vacillates is weak—but that it has at different times, whilst the subject remained unchanged, determined itself, not in different, but in opposite ways. These changes, moreover, according to your own avowal, have not been the effect of heat, or passion, or of feeling of any sort; neither have they resulted from a want of meditation—they have been the fruit of long watchings and laborious reflection. I infer from this, and I say it with all due respect, that whether upon this subject you be right or wrong, you are not an authority to be followed; for authority, to be such, should be exempted from change. But if I despair of your reconversion to an earnest and eager approval of Poor Laws, and if I do not deem you an authority on this subject, why, it may be asked, do I now address you? I do so for the two following reasons—first, to prevent, as far as I can, that portion of the public with whom your opinions are paramount from being led into error by you; and, secondly, to set free from deformation that mode of

* See Mr. O'Connell's letter, p. 283, *ante*.

relieving the Irish poor of which I myself, with many honest and able men, have been the consistent and unwearied advocates.

"But before I proceed to the execution of this task—a task of no easy accomplishment on account of the partialities and prepossessions linked to your name—I must settle with you a principle of both logic and morals. It is this—if a truth, essentially connected with the duty of man to God and to his neighbour, be established by the strongest and clearest proof of which any moral truth is susceptible, is it just in reason or lawful in practice to put that truth in abeyance, to mortify it, to retard or annul its operation in the world, because the ignorance, or passions, or interests of some men may be wounded by it, or raise objections to it; or because in its operation it may produce not only its own natural good effects, but also become, as Christ himself and His religion have become, an occasion of loss and scandal to many? Your heart, and conscience, and judgment, would all recoil from thus keeping 'truth captive in injustice.' And yet do, I pray you, tell me, or rather tell the public, how you can, consistently with logic or morals, combat the establishment of a legal provision for the Irish poor, by arraying against it the inconveniences, real or imaginary, which you suppose in your speeches would result from it; whilst you leave untouched and unanswered—because they are unassailable and unanswerable—the arguments every day and everywhere employed by me and others to demonstrate the just, the natural, the indefeasible rights of the poor to the necessaries of life in the land which gave them birth? Do, I pray you, answer this question.

"All theory and declamation is vain before right reason and before God—however it may seduce the senate or the multitude—if it be not based on unchangeable justice. When abstract propositions or moral questions are doubtful, we may try the former by an induction to some absurdity, and the latter by showing that, if admitted, it would subvert sound morals; but when a truth is proved *a priori*—when we can point out a clear and necessary connexion between any giving proposition and some indubitable principle from which it flows, its truth should be admitted, and all the real, genuine consequences of it freely embraced.

"Thus, if it be proved—and I contend it has been proved—that from the attributes of God, the nature of man, and the admitted principles upon which all society is founded—if it be proved from these that the poor, in every civilized state, should be rescued at the public expense from the pressure of extreme want, it is an error against reason, it is a crime against morality, and an impiety against God, to leave them to perish, or to withhold from them the necessaries of life. . . . .

"Your favourite objection, that which you have most frequently brought forward or alluded to, is the supposed connexion between Poor Laws and the deprivation of female virtue. Here you touch a string that vibrates in the heart of every Irishman—perhaps in few of them more loudly than in mine. But I have once before invited you to point out to me this necessary connexion, which you suppose to exist between a system of relief for our poor, such as I contemplate, and the impairing of the public virtue of our females. You have never pointed out this connexion—I believe you could not do it. I have looked at it in all points of view, and could not discover it. Produce your argument, and I undertake to refute it. . . . .

"In like manner you object to what in some parts of England—but only in some parts—is deemed a great abuse; to wit, 'the partial payment of wages out of the Poor Rate.' Mr. Slany, member for Shrewsbury, will inform you—if he has not done so—that this abuse, if such it be, has arisen in England within the last thirty years; and a clause of fifty words, in any act for the relief of our poor, would render the introduction of this abuse into Ireland impossible. It could find no place in a plan such as that suggested by me, unless it was voluntarily adopted by the rate-payers of a parish. And yet you threaten Ireland with this imaginary scourge! Again, you depict the horrors of a Poorhouse, and the abandonment of parents by their children. What man, let me ask, in or out of Ireland, contemplates the erection and support of parish Workhouses in this country? . . . .

"Ah! to collect the public hatred and precipitate it on an institution which, if realized, would nurse, and aid, and comfort all the virtues of the poor, and stand as a watchman to detect and punish vice—to act thus, whether willingly or unwillingly, is an office which, would to heaven! you had never discharged. . . . .

"You would, forsooth, relieve the sick by drugs, and provide a surgeon and an asylum for the man whose limb was broken; but you would let the widow perish, and the orphan starve, and the aged to look only to heaven, or live upon the unbroken sympathies of the 'Irish heart.' In such a system I can discover neither philosophy, nor religion, nor reason of any sort. By what argument do you pretend to recommend it to the common sense of men? Upon what principle of morals is it based? What maxim of right reason does it rest on? What social or political truth is brought into operation by it? It is a day-dream, or an *improvisato* issuing from the tongue, and having in it but a chance thought. The men who, for centuries, have abandoned the poor of Ireland to hunger and despair were consistent, for they wished, if it were possible, to extirpate the race, and, setting God and his laws at

defiance, they enacted and upheld a system whose root was in hell and which drew its nourishment from an atmosphere of blood.

"You are unwilling that the question of Poor Laws should be introduced, whilst that of Reform is undecided. The observation is scarcely just considering the state of our poor, with a plague impending, and the question of Church property, intimately connected with that of Poor Laws, already before Parliament at the instance of the King; but, though other persons should recommend us to 'wait a while,' we ought not to hear that hated phrase pronounced by you.—I have the honour to be, dear sir, &c.,

"✠ J. DOYLE.

"Carlow, 6th January, 1832."

The caustic severity of this letter, and frank expression of opinion enunciated at a time of great political excitement, when O'Connell was the idol of the people, evidenced, it must be confessed, no ordinary amount of intrepidity. His lofty contempt for all personal interest was also very striking. The act all but invited martyrdom at the hands of the multitude. But as the brave man wants no charms to encourage him to his duty, so, the good man scorns all warnings that would deter him from fulfilling it. Dr. Doyle performed the difficult and delicate task advisedly. It will be remembered that in his letter to Lord ——, of the 30th December, 1830, he assures him that were he to differ with O'Connell publicly, he should be deserted by the people of his own household.

For obvious reasons we decline to discuss the merits of this unpleasant controversy. That office we gladly transfer to an abler pen. The late William Fagan, Esq., M.P., the biographer and kinsman of O'Connell, thus discharges the task which we hesitate to attempt:

"His controversy, however, with Dr. Doyle was, in our opinion, the most painful affair in O'Connell's political life; first, because it must have been unpleasant to him to have had a difference of any kind with a Catholic Prelate so distinguished; and next, because he was wrong—decidedly wrong. It was on the subject of the Poor Laws, and undoubtedly O'Connell was worsted in the argument. We cannot, however, avoid admiring the courteous and respectful way he conducted the controversy; but, lawyer-like, it was managed with great tact, though not marked with his usual candour. The question in dispute was compulsory provision for the poor, under the cautious regulations proposed by Dr. Doyle, and which did not include the Workhouse system. O'Connell was opposed altogether to the principle of a Poor Law, however modified; and stated that when he did consent to advocate its introduction into Ireland, he did so to satisfy the popular feeling,

and against his own convictions, and that he regretted having lent his aid. . . . . The Workhouse test is a failure in Ireland; but the principle of Poor Law is the noblest product of civilization. The principle is that no one should be allowed by the State to starve. But for this principle being in operation in Ireland in 1847, even with its cumbrous and defective machinery, how many hundreds of thousands of the population would have been swept off? A Poor Law of some kind should never have been absent from Ireland. Private benevolence could never meet the exigencies of destitution in this country. The periodical calamities, that for centuries have visited Ireland, would have been materially mitigated if the rich were compelled to assist, by employment, in maintaining the poor. O'Connell, on this subject, we always considered wrong. It is, we believe, the only subject on which we have ever held opinions different from those he cherished and maintained."*

On the general merits of Dr. Doyle's letter, the *Biographie Universelle* thus speaks: "La lettre de Doyle à propos de ce changement est d'une vigueur dont rien n'approche. Il faut voir comment il foule et refaile aux pieds cette deplorable mobilite d'esprit, qui de tout temps et en tout pays a fait la ruine des individus comme des associations et des Empires."

Five days after the appearance of Dr. Doyle's letter, O'Connell made an able speech with a view to vindicate himself from the charge of inconsistency. His reply occupies several columns. He was received with the most enthusiastic applause. He said:

"Sir, those who greet me thus cordially are unreasonable. They really do not seem to read the newspapers, in which are lately to be found such a number of charges against me, or to by profit what they may have read. It is curious enough I never yet was preparing to go to Parliament to struggle for the rights, the property, and the freedom of my country, that my enemies and friends did not contrive to have a bomb-shell of calumny burst under my feet at the eve of my departure. They who would paralyze my exertions in the cause of my native land—they who would circle round the stranger and give him strength—even those of liberal colour—all join in raising a storm against me whenever the most critical moment for the exercise of my devotion to Ireland is at hand.

"Of Dr. Doyle's attack I speak certainly in sorrow, but not, I hope, in anger. I hope I have more discretion than is necessary in the management of a letter to guide me in the respect I owe that enlightened Prelate who has assailed me. I know he is an ornament to the Church of which it is my good fortune to be

* "Memoirs of O'Connell," by W. Fagan, M. P., vol. ii. pp. 124-5.

a member; I know he worthily fills that chair which has descended to him in regular succession from the Apostles, and which will endure, as I conscientiously believe, to the second coming of the Divine Redeemer. Nothing, therefore, shall fall from me derogatory to the station and character of Dr. Doyle; and if there be no blame on my side, I hope that, as a man and a Christian, I am justified in removing from myself undeserved censure. But while I shall vindicate myself with good temper and calm feelings, I shall do so with unbending firmness, and, as I expect, to demonstration.

"The charges of Dr. Doyle are founded upon a false assumption—they are based upon a complete *petitio principii;* they are grounded upon exceedingly bad logic—and the logic I will not spare. I say the widow, the aged, the orphan, and the infirm, ought to be supported. It is the bounden duty of every man who has means to save and to feed the indigent and the hungry. It is the moral duty of all to take care of the poor. But I distinctly deny their legal or political right to a legislative provision—that is my solemn opinion. Dr. Doyle thinks otherwise; and as he has a perfect right to hold his opinion, I am sure I am equally entitled to hold mine. But I have my system of Poor Laws for Ireland—a Repeal of the Union. Let us have our Parliament again and we shall require no poor-rates. Irish people! they want to make you the slaves of the rich—they want to make you degraded mendicants, dependent on alms. I want to make you independent of alms on the fertility of your soil and the produce of your labour. I come back to the argument of Dr. Doyle about Mr. Cobbett: he and the Right Rev. Prelate have endeavoured to prove the right of the poor to a legislative provision. Dr. Doyle, with all the knowledge of Greece and Rome mellowed in his mighty mind, which so charms by its vigour and dazzles by its illuminations, that even error, glossed by its brilliancy, captivates the fancy and illudes the judgment; while the other, eloquently plain and simply cogent, all nerve and lucidness, makes his subject as transparent as water to every capacity. They are both exceedingly powerful—that no man can deny. But neither has as yet convinced me—this I'll prove hereafter, but at present I will not take the Irish people off their course and put them on a wrong scent, while looking for easy and practicable advantage. I'll not play the false Danish dog, and become a bad adviser—we will have no such crooked counsel. Dr. Doyle charges me with retarding what he calls the truth; while he himself totally annuls that truth. He does not mystify or retard the truth, or put it in abeyance, but he at once flings it overboard. He charges me with putting the truth in abeyance in injustice; and he, on his

own showing, commits a deeper injustice by scouting the truth. My religion compels me—even were I unwilling, and no man is less so—to speak in respectful terms of every Bishop of that Church to which I am from conviction attached. I, therefore, in naming the inconsistency of Dr. Doyle himself, do so only in self-defence. I come to defend, not to inculpate; to justify my own conduct, not to arraign that of any other. And now I say triumphantly Dr. Doyle has *not* made out his case—has *not* substantiated his charge. I deny the legal right of the poor to relief, but not the moral duty of every man to support the needy."

Mr. O'Connell concluded his eloquent address with these words: "Thus shall the people conquer—thus shall they deserve success. In proportion to the exercise of tyranny, let there be a display of increased moral energy. I feel my own heart beat as high and light as ever against my side; I feel the vigour of youth returning, and the young blood still flowing in my veins. I'll show them that they cannot extinguish even one. What insanity, then, to think of putting down all! I ask for justice and reason—no more."

O'Connell repeatedly changed his mind on the question of Poor Laws. In 1824, and again in 1828, he advocated Poor Laws at the Catholic Association; and at a meeting of the Society for the Improvement of Ireland, he moved a resolution in their favour. Again, addressing the electors of Clare, we find the great Tribune promising that if sent to Parliament he would use his best efforts to carry a Poor Law.

In 1836, O'Connell's views on this question once more underwent a change. He pledged the "Trade's Union" to support the Poor Law bill, which was then reported to be under consideration by the Government; and on the 20th November following, he proposed and carried "that a committee be appointed to wait upon Lord Morpeth to ascertain the views of Government on Poor Laws, and to aid in the arrangement of that question in a manner most likely to avoid all mischief and to do as much good as possible."

We find among the Bishop's papers a letter from the late George Ensor, which criticises O'Connell's speech with unsparing severity. Mr. Ensor goes farther and offers to Dr. Doyle's acceptance the draft of a reply to O'Connell, written with all the caustic acumen for which Mr. Ensor's writings were distinguished. We shall not transfer to these pages the many bitter retorts and recriminations of which that document is the record, but as one point conveys a correction of an historical inaccuracy and is free from asperity we quote it. "He says, up to the period of the Reformation there was no Poor Law. There was. And was

not the *quarta pars* the fund, in consequence of the common law, to pay the poor?"

Dr. Doyle did not avail himself of any of the points which Mr. Ensor placed at his disposal. He briefly replied, thanking O'Connell for the words of praise contained in the speech "but as they are not merited or desired by me you will not, I hope, consider me your debtor for them."

"I have collected from your speech but very few things which I think it necessary to explain for my own justification. The letters you intend to write may afford me an opportunity of arguing with you, an opportunity which I do not desire, for though I fear no man, and shall ever—God willing—be ready to give an account of the opinions I profess, I would rather have to defend those opinions against the whole Political Union, or against the entire House of Commons, than against you.

"You say, that 'in what I judge another, I condemn myself,' for whilst I censure your opposition to what I deem the rights of the poor, I would, in my letter to Mr. Spring Rice, 'withhold all recognition of their right to relief.'"

Dr. Doyle also showed that in the letter referred to he proposed to place the inalienable right of the poor to support as a sacred deposit in the hands of a parochial committee, to consist of Clergymen, the official guardians of those poor, and of rate-payers, the guardians of the property of the parish. Was it, then, because the right of the widow and the orphan is vested in trustees for their benefit, that it is to be considered as taken away from them?

"But," he went on to say, "I have charged you with a want of candour. And why? Because, when you were earning plaudits by exposing my fancied inconsistency, you held in your hand my letter to Mr. Spring Rice, and from page 65 to page 81 of that letter, there is nothing else than a series of arguments proving this right of the Poor, which you fancied I had, in that same letter, so unwittingly denied! But why, before you entered on such a line of defence, did you not read the report of my evidence, published 9th July, 1830, by order of the House of Commons." See p. 454, quest. 4,799 *et seq.*

[Dr. Doyle transcribed the paragraphs to which he referred and added:]

"This subject being the most important topic of your speech, I have dwelt upon it at some length; for, besides the duty of vindicating my own opinions, I wished to impress upon you the necessity of avoiding, in your expected letters, any assertions or arguments which might tend more to impose labour on your weak opponent than to elucidate the truth.

"You have also exercised your wit at my expense, for which I

do not blame you—'*ridentem dicere verum quid netat!*' But, then, wit when not well applied falls like a blunted arrow. You would 'chuck your friends together, William Cobbett and Dr. Doyle, and make a good Protestant and a good Papist of the two; for the former would have had no Protestant Reformation and therefore no Poor Laws, and the latter, who would have Poor Laws, would of consequence pull down the Catholic Church Establishment and set up the Protestant.' Mr. Cobbett is fully able to account for his opinions. The following passage from the letter to Mr. Spring Rice, p. 74, will shew what mine are relative to this subject, and that whilst I consider the rights of the poor anterior to all Church Establishments, I need not, upon my principles, exchange my religious profession with any person."

The extract which follows it is probably unnecessary to reproduce here. O'Connell had bitterly complained of "the assault" which he had been made to sustain on the eve of his departure to England. "If you number my letter among those assaults," wrote Dr. Doyle, "I will only say you provoked it by your attack on the interests of the poor, and you, not I, selected the time of the contest. No man can be anxious to contend with you, and I the last of all; but whilst I have life and strength, if the cause of the poor be not hopeless, I will not cease to contend for them even against you. You may endeavour to deter me by wishing that some one whom you less regarded had written my letter, that you might visit the temerity as it deserved. But do not spare. It is just that every man bear his own burden, nor do I wish to owe anything to the favour of any man, be he king or subject, powerful or weak, rich or poor. Your Poor Laws for Ireland are a 'Repeal of the Union.' I hope for Poor Laws—I am not so sanguine as to the Repeal of the Union, on account of the vast impediments placed in the way of that consummation, which, if not extorted by violence, but accorded to the united will of the Irish people, is so devoutly to be wished."

Dr. Doyle had another reason for deeming it imprudent to agitate, at that moment, the question of Repeal. Reform was at hand and the Bishop had reason to fear that the premature agitation of Repeal might throw obstacles in the way of what promised to prove an important national boon.

A large portion of the democratic public eagerly echoed O'Connell's views in reference to a provision for the poor, but the thinkers on the subject far from adopted his conclusion. The following letter is addressed to William Stanley, Esq., now Controller-General of Stamps, and author of several well-digested works on Ireland:

"Carlow, 19th January, 1832.

"DEAR SIR—I am greatly indebted to you for your valuable commentaries and facts on Ireland, which, with your letter, I had the honour of receiving. The interest excited by those works carried me through them so quickly that I am as yet unable to fully appreciate all your opinions and proofs; but this, however, is obvious, that even if the power to retard or prevent the improvement of our country were greater than it unhappily is, yet, it would be defeated by that greater power of intelligence which is now operating in favour of Ireland, and of which so large a portion is developed in your works. I lament most deeply these errors of mind and conduct to which, in your letter, you advert, but, though the country may for a while be embarrassed by them and by its old enemies, I do not fear for the result. The nations of Europe cannot retrograde unless they be trampled on by the hoofs of the northern Colossus; so that if we escape that, our country may have to struggle for a time, but she will extricate herself from all the impediments opposed or to be opposed to her happiness.

"I have, &c., "✠ J. DOYLE."

The latter allusion is, doubtless, to the Emperor Nicholas of Russia, who was actively engaged at this time in the persecution of Poland and its religion by means of a Penal Code, hardly less severe and searching than that which had driven Dr. Doyle's ancestors into the "ranks of the coal porters."* The flowers of the Polish nobility were exiled to Siberia, lest their influence should at any time be brought to bear against the autocrat by fomenting or heading a national revolt.

Notwithstanding O'Connell's formidable opposition to a legal provision for the Irish poor, the friends of that measure laboured with redoubled energy to promote a speedy and satisfactory adjustment of it. The writer of the following letter inherited the talents, but not the bigotry of his uncle, Sir Richard Musgrave, the historian of the rebellion of 1798, who, as the usually impartial Plowden observes, loaded his volume with "offensive calumnies" and "wicked provocations to disturbance."† "Sir Richard Musgrave's wild volumes," said Shiel, "contain little else than the vision of an imagination ridden by a bloody incubus."‡ A vain attempt to implicate the Catholic Episcopacy in the rebellion may be included in the calumnies.

"Tourin, Cappoquin, 20th January, 1832.

"MY LORD—Having been disappointed in procuring a copy of the rough draft of the 'Bill for the Relief of the Poor,' I took

* See vol i. of this work, p. 2.

† The "History of Ireland," by Francis Plowden, Esq., vol. ii. p. 347.

‡ Shiel's "Sketches Legal and Political," vol. ii. p. 339.

the liberty of forwarding yesterday a few of the clauses which are likely to meet with most opposition, in order to request your Lordship's observations upon them. I am not sufficiently aware of the arrangements for the collection of local taxes in many of the cities and towns in Ireland, to say whether it would answer in practice to divide their parishes into districts, consisting of streets or lanes, or any other bounderies that could be easily defined.

"Your Lordship will perceive that, in cases of severe and general distress, I have ventured to propose that a sum should be raised by taxation, and applied, with the equal amount of subscriptions, in such manner as the vestry or committee may deem proper. This would include emigration.

"As I have not had the assistance of any legal friend, I am not at all confident as to the legal accuracy of the clauses.

"I saw a statement in the newspapers, that your Lordship had been appointed to give evidence before the Committee on Irish tithes. If this be the case, I shall have the honour of forwarding to you, in London, a copy of the proposed Bill, as soon as the clerk shall have prepared it, with two or three additions which are not yet completed.—I have the honour to remain, my Lord, &c.,

"JOHN MUSGRAVE."

The "clauses" which Mr. Musgrave enclosed to the Bishop for examination are not of sufficient interest to print. "I believe they both agreed in approving of the clauses of a Bill," writes the present Sir Richard Musgrave, "which I afterwards brought before the House of Commons. With all his great acquirements and his great abilities, Dr. Doyle was in his manner kind and affable; and I shall always consider myself fortunate in having had the honour of the Bishop's friendship." *

In January, 1832, Archbishop Murray again sought Dr. Doyle's counsel regarding some ecclesiastical arrangements in connexion with the archdiocess. Between these great Prelates there existed not only a cordial congeniality of disposition, but a unity of sentiment on most questions of public as well as of ecclesiastical policy. In the principles of Church government those Prelates differed in one point only. "Foremost amongst his most attached friends," writes the biographer of Dr. Murray, "was his renowned suffragan, the great Dr. Doyle. But, although impressed with the deepest veneration for the sanctity and wisdom of the Archbishop—whom in the fervour of his admiration he used to designate as 'that angel of a man'—even he felt provoked occasionally at what seemed to him excess of lenity in his illustrious friend." It hap-

* Letter from Sir R. Musgrave to the author, 5th of February, 1858.

pened at this period that Dr. Murray permitted, with his usual gentleness, the indiscreet proceedings of certain persons, in a matter of great public importance to religion, to pass without reprehension. Immediately after Emancipation, Dr. Doyle had caused a canon to be enacted prohibiting any further continuance of the practice of holding political meetings in Churches. When O'Connell unfurled the banner of Repeal, he regarded a revival of this powerful engine of co-operation as quite indispensable in stimulating the progress of his new agitation. Having communicated with an influential dignitary on the subject, he found, to his surprise, that a canon law stood in the way of his desires, but on consultation with a few Priests of minor status, who had always been ardent patriots, he ascertained that the canon was not without loop-holes and might be evaded. They publicly expressed their views on the matter, which justly surprised and dissatisfied Dr. Doyle. He repaired to Dublin, where, in a lengthened interview, he opened his mind fully and freely to the Archbishop. "Ah! my Lord," said Dr. Murray, with that expression of seraphic suavity and meekness so peculiarly his own, "I have, throughout my episcopate, endeavoured to follow at an humble distance the example of St. Francis de Sales—a Prelate who has said that as it is most difficult to know the exact point where clemency should cease and severity begin, 'tis better have to account with a Being of infinite mercy for too much mildness than too much rigour."

Among the Clergy of the archdiocess of Dublin, it is well known that their late saintly Prelate carried his leniency to an extreme; and some instances might be cited in which a want of vigour, on the part of Dr. Murray, proved prejudicial to Catholic interests. Often has he been heard to mourn over a misfortune, while hesitating to apply sinew and muscle to its extinction.

The struggle between the reformers and the oligarchy continued to rage with exciting activity. O'Connell, in an unpublished letter, writes: "The foolish conduct of Lord Anglesey in Ireland, is the subject of universal blame. Between him and Stanley they have just contrived to do all that they ought not to do. Lord Anglesey will be made Commander-in-Chief, and Stanley will be promoted off. The Bishops behaved with all the hate of liberty for which the married Bishops have been so notorious. Only think, the creature that the Whigs only a week ago made Bishop of Worcester refused to vote with them. Kyle, whom Lord Anglesey made Bishop of Cork, of course voted against them. Lord Caledon, Lord Enniskillen, in short all governors of counties made by them the other day, voted against them."

CHAPTER XLI.

Tenacity of his memory—Letter to Miss G——. Dr. Doyle regardless of the frowns of power and the applause of party—He is assailed in prose and verse—Figaro and *The Comet*—Mr. Finn's attack—Conversation with Rev. J. Maher—Calumny refuted—Anecdote of Dominick Ronayne and the pikes—Correspondence illustrative of the oppressiveness of the Tithe System—Analysis of, and extracts from Dr. Doyle's evidence before both Houses on Tithes—How he withstood the cross-examination—Letter from Lord Duncannon—Examination before the House of Lords—Sensation produced—Congratulations—He declines to revise his evidence—Letter to Archbishop Murray—Count Montalembert's description of Dr. Doyle.

"My memory is singularly tenacious," said Dr. Doyle, in a conversation with Mr. Maher. "I never read an able argument, from the earliest period of my life to this hour, that is not inscribed distinctly on the tablets of my mind; and I protest, I think, that were it necessary, I could take my oath of the precise page, and even the portion the page whereon any remarkable theological opinion is recorded."

But his memory was good in another and a better way. He never forgot his old friends. The following letter is addressed to the same party who, previous to his elevation to the Episcopal Bench, had received his counsel and consolation. The reader is referred to the letter of condolence, dated 8th of August, 1817.

"Carlow, 5th January.

"My very dear Friend—It is a long time since I last had the pleasure of writing to you, but the new year, were there no other cause, would oblige me to wish you the compliments of the season, and an increase of those blessings from above which enable us, feeble and unworthy though we be, to deserve that 'long and happy life which God,' as Tobias saith, 'does not fail to give to those who never change their faith from Him.' It is to this fidelity that our Saviour, in the Apocalypse, promises to give a crown of glory, and to eat of the Tree of Life which grows in the paradise of our God. It is a great task which is appointed us, but our helper is Almighty, and the reward proposed to us exceeding great—it is God himself, the ineffable, incomprehensible, just, holy, and true, who, undivided, embraces all and diffuses His own incomprehensible happiness over all. Surely the eye hath not seen, nor the ear heard, nor the heart of man conceived what this happiness is and must be; nor do our tribulations, however long or acute, bear any proportion to it. One year more then has past, my dear Hannah, of our sorrowful pilgrimage; we are brought somewhat nearer our end; let us be even more faithful to our King and Redeemer, and we shall arrive

to where He is seen face to face. May He grant us, through His mercy, to see Him in peace. I am not surprised, but if I were not in a serious mood I would be amused at the flutter which my late letter caused among you all. Like birds in a cover, when the fowler appears they all fly, and their momentary alarm only causes them to seek a new and better resting place. But whence this horror of your old friend, Fr. A——? He is in reality a kind and affectionate friend to you all, and I would not for the world he knew the ungenerous reception you were preparing for him. I will not suffer him to approach you until you will have smiled over your false alarm, and be prepared to exercise your charity towards all who may have to seek it at your hands. I am most happy to find dear Angela is so improved, and that Mary Peter will suffer her progress to heaven to be retarded. Ah! do, my dear friend, rally her occasionally on her devotions, and you, who know so well my notions of the manner in which God should be served by His own children, impart to her, from time to time, such admonitions as you think I would, if present, give to her. Say to her, and to each of the sisters, everything kind and affectionate from me. Tell Chantal until she builds that cottage for me, which she has been projecting, in the corner of her garden, my visits to you must be like those of angels—'few and far between;' but that whether absent or present, my wishes and prayers for the happiness of all and each of you are unceasing. If there be an extra one for you, it is because you are among the oldest, the most faithful, and most affectionate of the friends of him who remains, my dear Hannah, most truly yours in Christ,

"✠ J. Doyle."

We have said that Dr. Doyle in rebuking the idol of the people, all but invited martyrdom at their hands. His firmness of purpose and rigid sense of duty, were indeed striking. He was regardless alike of the frowns of power and the applause of party—"*Si fractus illabatur orbis impavidum ferient ruinæ*"—and he had too powerful a mind to value a plebeian popularity, obtained by catering to the prejudices of the multitude.

O'Connell had reproached Dr. Doyle with holding views which no man, unless his principles were warped by an undue intimacy at the Castle, could conscientiously entertain. This tone was speedily caught up by the popular scribes and subordinate leaders. *The Comet* opened fire on the Bishop in verse and prose. The following lines were published under the signature of "Figaro;" the author was the late Dominick Ronayne, M.P., a gentleman who had enjoyed the friendship of Dr. Doyle. The editor of *The Dublin Evening Post* had praised Lord Anglesey for the good

intentions which it is now well known he entertained towards Ireland.* Figaro writes:

"If purchased praise from hirelings like these
Can, for the moment, his Excellency please,
How must his whiskers curl, his bosom swell,
Dubbed '*Pater Patriæ*' by J. K. L.
Who'd think that Castle contact ere could soil
The white-robed purity of Dr. Doyle?
That he—seduced in evil hour—should lend
His aid in crushing Ireland's truest friend;
Would shoot his shaft at Erin's pride and boast,
Through the vile pages of th' apostate *Post*,
In paragraphs, where flow, in mingled tide,
Affected meekness with Prelatic pride.

. . . . . .

More will I add, but will not—can't forget
His country owes to him a mighty debt,
For learned essays, of a powerful pen,
Worked in her cause—ne'er misapplied till then.
Talents like his by heaven itself assigned
To elevate his country and mankind.
On POWER's mean minions let him turn his back—
Nature ne'er formed him for a Castle hack!
His the proud province—his the potent task,
To scorch corruption—faction to unmask.
The Whiggish cant of 'wait awhile' expose,
And hurl his thunders at his country's foes.
Denounce the system under which she writhes,
And smite her tyrants as he smote her tithes!
That withering system of a despot crew,
Which starves the many while it crams the few.
Let him his country's foes, not friend, assail,
And give the world his pamphlet on Repeal;
Renounce the Court—resume his former plan,
And dignify the MITRE in the MAN!"

The line in italics was inspired by a letter from the late Mr. Thomas Finn, which had appeared in all the Liberal and Conservative newspapers a few days previously. Mr. Finn was a connexion of O'Connell's, and his letter—occupying four mortal columns—attracted considerable attention. No attempt was made to gainsay any one of the points advanced by Dr. Doyle—logical retorts, in which Mr. Finn had always been an adept, were, however, freely employed. "It is not my intention to interpose between you and Mr. O'Connell on the subject of Poor Laws," he wrote, "but I candidly assure you that I would not receive a

* A writer in *The Comet* at this time, now an author of considerable distinction, tells us that the comparatively recent publication of Lord Anglesey's correspondence with Lord Cloncurry, proves the Marquis of Anglesey to have had the welfare of the country sincerely at heart, and that he feels quite ashamed of the articles he wrote vituperative of the Viceroy.

Poor Law or any other law at your hands, because I have no faith in your political integrity."

The great object of Mr. Finn's letter was to effect a stinging retaliation by convicting Dr. Doyle of having changed his mind in reference to both men and things. Former praise of O'Connell was contrasted with the adverse criticism to which the Bishop had recently given expression. Again, Dr. Doyle was reminded that in several public letters he had warmly condemned religious controversy. "And yet," triumphantly asserted Mr. Finn, "you addressed a letter to Thomas Kavanagh, Esq., of Borris—who had been brought up a Catholic, but had become a Protestant—exhorting him to return to the religion of his ancestors; and this letter I am told was filled with controversial reasoning, and, moreover, written in that strain of self-distrust and humility which pervades all your Lordship's productions. Was this consistency, most learned, liberal, and unpretending Dr. Doyle?" We gladly pass over sundry kindred points, pitiful for their weakness, but deplorable for their irreverence. He charged him with intriguing at the Castle, and obtaining place for his friends; and he attributed to corrupt motives the suppression of a pamphlet on Repeal, which Dr. Doyle had written. By a rather curious coincidence a letter from Lord Cloncurry, rather hostile to O'Connell, appeared almost simultaneously with Dr. Doyle's. Mr. Finn declared that "this double attack had been previously concerted, and that the subject of Poor Laws was but a veil to cover the deformity of what was hid beneath—like the veil which covered the face of Moore's 'Prophet of Korassan.'" Mr. Finn somewhat gratuitously assured Dr. Doyle that the Irish people would never tolerate J. K. L. as their leader. "For my own part," he added, "I would sooner go to Lapland and be drynurse to a bear than live under the temporal dominion of any Clergyman in existence." This extraordinary letter concluded with some pious advice. Mr. Finn recommended Dr. Doyle to imitate Philip of Macedon, and order one of his servants every morning to call in an audible voice at his uprising—"Remember, Dr. Doyle, that you are only a man!"

"Read that letter," said Dr. Doyle, handing his Curate the paper. "In my mind it has given rise to mingled feelings of pity, pleasure, and pain; but the last emotion is the faintest of the three, and you may read it aloud for me again. Poor fellow," he mused, "he is deluded by the dangerous pride of a little learning. Did ever you hear such violent invective? How weak are our best resolutions! That man when he attacked me on a former occasion and compared me to a Spanish ecclesiastic, with a smile on my lips and poison in my heart, flung himself next day at my

feet, and, with protestations of contrition on his tongue, implored my pardon. I feel and pray for him from my heart."

Dr. Doyle, very properly, did not honour Mr. Finn with a reply, but we find in the local newspaper the following paragraph:

"As this distinguished and Christian Prelate has thought proper to leave the letter alluded to unanswered, we are in strict justice bound to say that *we have authority for stating* that Dr. Doyle never dined at the Castle of Dublin, although frequently honored with an invitation; that he did not use his influence in procuring a situation for Mr. Corcoran; nor did he seek at any time to get a favourite doctor of his appointed to the district lunatic asylum in Carlow."

Mr. Finn was a man of considerable acumen and talent, but enjoyed a reputation for eccentricity. He had repeatedly attacked Dr. Doyle through the public journals, and the origin of his pique dated from a period anterior to the Bishop's consecration.*

We have said that Mr. Finn was a connexion of O'Connell's, but to guard against any unfavorable inference, we may here express a decided opinion that that great man had no share in his friend's unworthy lucubration.

In Mr. Dominick Ronayne, Mr. Finn found a zealous ally. The latter flung dirt on Dr. Doyle with a lavish hand; the former endeavoured to cut his throat with a feather:

> "With pointed epigram and stinging stanza
> He daily teazed the Bishop of Braganza."

Mr. Ronayne was highly popular with his constituents of Clonmel. He used to address the people periodically on the favourite political topics of the day; and, while urging them to put their own shoulders to the wheel for the redress of grievances, would very properly labour to dissuade them from having recourse to violence. In the midst of some of these pacific adjurations, a voice cried out, "The pikes! the pikes!" Mr. Ronayne, affecting not to observe the rude and rebellious interruption, resumed his address; but he had not proceeded far when the same remark was again vociferated. The orator paused, but perceiving that the crowd had not taken up the cry, he raised his voice in the hope of regaining their attention, and proceeded for some minutes without further annoyance. The man, however, who had in the first instance started the interruption now found several ardent allies, and "*The pikes! the pikes! what about the pikes?*" resounded on every side. "You scoundrel!" exclaimed Mr. Ronayne, "you have been sent here and paid to disturb and debauch a peaceful meeting. But you shall be disappointed in your thirst for blood,

* The reader is requested to refer to pp. 179-182, vol. i.

and if there be no one else to give you to the police, I'll do so myself." Saying which he sprang from the platform, and seized the arch-disturber by the collar; but it speedily transpired, to the infinite amusement of the meeting, and the discomfiture of Mr. Ronayne, that it was to turnpikes, and not to pikes of a more pointed character, the voice in the crowd alluded. About six-and-twenty years ago the turnpike system in some parts of Ireland was as obnoxious and oppressive as in Wales at a later period.

As soon as Dr. Doyle had been apprised of the approaching Parliamentary inquiry on Irish tithes he wrote to the Pastors of the three parishes in which opposition to tithes first showed itself, and requested to be furnished with information relative to the causes which had produced that opposition. "Be careful," added Dr. Doyle, "that no account shall be transmitted to me except such as can be if necessary, hereafter, confirmed on oath."

The parish Priests of Mountrath, Graigue, and Paulstown, furnished some very remarkable data. We select the reply of the Rev. James Maher:

"1. Edward Kavanagh, of Knockbawn, holds five acres of marshy mountain; pays tithe composition; rent 1*s.* per acre. In 1826, under a warrant of distress for one year's tithe, Kinsella and his wife, having no other means of paying the demand, were obliged to carry on their backs potatoes four miles to the next market-town; paid the amount of tithe and distrainers' fees. In consequence of selling his potatoes, obliged to buy meat at a high rate, on credit, the payment of which has kept them in great misery ever since.

"2. Patrick Devlin, of Knockbawn, owed in 1826 a year's tithe, 5*s.* 4*d.*; offered 5*s.*, all the money he had; the money refused; Devlin's calf distrained; compelled to pay the 5*s.* 4*d.*, together with divers fees, 1*s.* 4*d.*

"3. John Devlin, brother to the former, also of Knockbawn, owed in 1826 a year's tithe, amount 1*s.* 2*d.*; nine hanks of thread seized for the debt; obliged to pay distrainer's fees, 1*s.* 6*d.*, and amount of tithe.

"4. Cecilia Farrell, an old women, of Upper Seshen, holds three roods—no rent claimed by the landlord these 30 years, in consequence of her great poverty, and the age and infirmity of her father and a poor sister, an idiot, who lived with her. The landlord wrote to the parson, stating the case of poor Cecilia; notwithstanding, the parson claimed, in 1829, tithe for the five previous years, amount 8*s.* 11½*d.* To meet the demand, poor Cecilia was obliged to take to the market and sell her hens and chickens and hand the amount of them over to the parson.

"5. Garrett Roache lives near Milebush, parish of Old

Leighlin; worked in the parson's employment at 10*d.* per day, in payment of an arrear of tithe; had to walk upwards of three miles every morning, from his own cottage to the parson's house; worked all day without food; returned late at night; on his return had seldom any other food than potatoes and water; cuffed by the parson for negligence in the employment, and at length dismissed unable to labour.

"6. Michael Neil, of Ballynagole, sued for tithe, 17th March 1830; his only cow distrained, also his bed, bed-covering, two boxes, a chest and dresser, cupboard, about ten chairs, two tables and several pots; the door-case torn out in order to make a passage for the dresser. Neil is a very poor man, having a wife and six children.

"7. Mary M'Donald, of Old Leighlin, in 1830, owed a tithe charge of £2; offered £1, all the money she had at the time; refused; her cow distrained, kept in pound four days under heavy snow. A crowd collected to break open the pound; the cow liberated upon bail; hurlings soon after in the neighbourhood; no warrants of distress executed since.

"8. John M'Nully lives on the hill of Old Leighlin, a very poor old man; about eight years ago was sued at one time for the tithe of eight years, amount £2; paid £1 in cash; paid off the balance in work; offered to make his affidavit of having given the work; scouted by the parson; compelled to pay the amount a second time in cash; obliged in order to make up the money to sell two sheep, all the stock he had.

"N.B.—Similar cases from this neighbourhood can be collected without number."

Dr. Doyle arrived in London, on rather short notice, to deliver before the Tithe Committee that memorable and intrepid evidence which raised him at once to the pinnacle of his fame. A letter, addressed to one of his Curates from London, bitterly complains that a great patriot who had promised to brief him with some important points for that protracted and critical examination left him, at the eleventh hour, completely "in the lurch," and never even made an apology for the disappointment. "I am here since Wednesday," he writes. "Stanley no doubt wishes most heartily that either the devil or the cholera would carry me off."

Dr. Doyle's able and argumentative evidence before Mr. Stanley's Tithe Committee completely re-established whatever popularity he may have temporally lost. Several persons had already given evidence on the subject; but the proceedings at once assumed considerably increased importance by the examination of Dr. Doyle, who stated facts regarding the system so lucidly and energetically that, even constituted as that Committee

was, its illiberal and interested majority at once perceived that tithes, in their then form, would no longer be tolerated in Ireland.

The London correspondent of *The Pilot*—possibly O'Connell himself—thus describes Dr. Doyle's appearance previous to the examination: "The room was crowded by the curiosity of the English and the partizanship of the Irish members. A large body of the strong Catholic and of the strong Protestant representatives was collected. Dr. Doyle took his seat in the midst of the Committee, and exhibited, even before he spoke, a very remarkable object. His episcopal dress—the white crape round his neck—his complexion, which is 'sickled o'er by the pale cast of thought' (that expression which is observable in Murillo's pictures of the Spanish Jesuits)—his high and meditative forehead—his long dark eye-lashes—the half closed eye, and that peculiar smile in which the meekness of his profession is blended with a certain tendency to derision which belongs to his nature—these incidents to his bearing and physiognomy would, if he had been utterly unknown, have been sufficient to fix the regards of the whole assembly upon him." And in noticing the examination the same writer observes: "He anticipates his querists and boldly grasps his subject, and enters into the origin and first appropriation of tithes, their misapplication, and present grievous operation, with a lucidness, rapidity, and succinctness unparalleled in the annals of Parliamentary investigation. This examination will form an historical epitome of the nefarious tithe system, and adds another laurel to the wreath which encircles the name of this exalted divine. He has done much honour to his country, but above all, he has done her much service by his able and continued opposition to this evil; and we think this last exertion of his will prove not the least important of the many he has made in her cause."

Sir Richard Musgrave, writing to the author, says: "I was a member of Mr. Stanley's Tithe Committee, and was present during the greater part of Dr. Doyle's examination. His exposure of the tithe system in his evidence was given with his usual ability, and was heard with the deepest interest not only by the Committee but also by many other members who attended. James Grattan, member for Wicklow, caused Dr. Doyle to be summoned, and the answer to Mr. Grattan's first question—'Are you acquainted with the nature of tithes?'—occupied an hour in the delivery."*

The Bishop rendered all interrogatories unnecessary by the unreserve and ardour with which he entered into the object of the Committee. He conclusively demonstrated that, from the

* Letter from Sir Richard Musgrave, Bart., 3rd of February, 1858.

earliest times of the Catholic Church, indeed almost from the period in which tithes were first mentioned, there existed a fourfold and afterwards a *tripartite* division of the tenths; that the poor were the legal, or at least canonically the usu-fructuaries of a part, and that the Clergy were only the trustees for their general appropriation. That division he demonstrated by a variety of citations and references to the highest authorities amongst lawyers and divines. He said that tithes and all other Church property were held as a trust, and that trust had been abused. He contended that by the laws of England since the Reformation the Protestant Clergy were subject to similar duties, and the tithes, at least by "the books," were liable to a similar division. He then proceeded to show the gradual departure from the spirit of the original institution, when, the poor having been robbed of their rights by the Reformation, it became necessary, lest the frame of civil society should fall to pieces, to pass the famous act—the 43rd of Elizabeth. No such law, it is unfortunately needless to say, was made in Ireland. Protestantism was imposed upon the country, or rather a Protestant Clergy, nine tenths of whom at the time were ignorant of the very language of the people, while even the denizens of the Pale, who spoke in the tongue of the new priesthood, felt as deep a repugnance to their doctrines as the "mere Irish" beyond the Shannon.

The Irish nation had always been opposed to the tithe system, and long before the Reformation the great body of the people had offered to this impost a strong resistance. The history of that resistance he narrated with a clearness, a precision, a force, and an eloquence which produced a strong effect upon every member of the Committee. In giving an account of the Reformation, he took occasion to refer to some of the incidents in the life of one of his predecessors in the see of Kildare and Leighlin. This episode was executed in the most masterly spirit. He described a Roman Catholic Bishop flung out of the temporalities of his office, but by that very deprivation armed with a new influence over the people—degraded by the law, but exalted by the Gospel—stripped of his pontifical robes, but invested with the raiment of Christianity, and going forth in the garb of a pauper, sustained by a staff, to instruct his flock in the lessons of religious fortitude, and to enforce the holiness of his precepts by the heroism of his example. Dr. Doyle, after drawing this picture, proceeded to state that after the Reformation the detestation to tithes continued to operate; and showed that, from the reign of James I. down to that of Anne, the Protestants of Ireland, and more especially the Scotch settlers (retaining the feelings of their country), exhibited towards the tithe system an uniform and

steadfast opposition. He proved by a citation from Swift that the Protestant gentry of Ireland were, in the reign of Queen Anne, combined against the Clergy, who had been reduced at that period to extreme indigence. He stated that a great confederacy was formed by the whole of the Protestant proprietors against tithes; proved its continuance and successful operation down to the reign of George II., and then referred to the celebrated resolution of the Irish House of Commons, in the year 1745, against the tithe of agistment. He then proceeded to show that the Whiteboys, and all other kind of boys, derived their political and perpetually renovated existence from the tithe system, and quoted Lord Clare's description of the condition of the peasantry, in which (being then Attorney-General) he stated that they were "ground to powder." Having gone through this concise but perfectly perspicuous narrative, Dr. Doyle proceeded to notice the then system of passive resistance to tithes. He stated that to him had been ascribed the merit, for so he must call it, of having excited the existing resistance to this impost. To that honour he did not consider himself entitled, although he would not hesitate in declaring that to the last moment of his life he should persevere in employing all the means which, with a due regard to the law, could be used in order to produce the abolition of a tax against which the feelings of the people had revolted, and which was incompatible with the interests of the country. He, however, ascribed the manifestation on the part of the people of their hatred to tithes to a variety of circumstances which had concurred in producing a strong and incurable sentiment throughout the entire country. The Protestant Clergy, he said, had, in general, rendered themselves conspicuous by their opposition to the Catholic Claims. Many of them had taken an active share in the formation of Brunswick Clubs, and had thus rendered themselves the objects of popular antipathy. The Clergy were divided into two great classes—the Calvinistic portion, and those who adhere to the letter and perhaps the spirit of the Thirty-nine Articles. The former had associated themselves with certain itinerant preachers who had perambulated the country for the purpose of effecting the conversion of the Catholics of Ireland. Assemblies had been held in all parts of the country in which the Calvinistic Clergy of the Establishment had denounced the Catholic religion and its ministry—had misrepresented their tenets, vilified their character, and cast calumnious aspersions upon their lives and conduct. The people had their catechisms in their hands, and saw at once the falsehood of the imputations upon their religion and the conduct of their Priesthood. The result was a fierce resentment on the part of the people, which

extended itself from the Clergy to everything associated with them. In their bargains with the peasantry the Calvinistic Protestant Priesthood had exhibited a severe exaction. It constantly happened that a new incumbent had raised his tithes under the Tithe Composition Act; a spirit of severe dealing had been exhibited by the Clergy. Thus opposition to the rights of the people—opposition to the creed of the people—vilification of the Clergy of the people, and the rigorous exaction of their emoluments from the people, by this class of State Clergy, had excited that feeling of which the Committee saw the outburst in the existing state of the country. Dr. Doyle then proceeded to detail the circumstances which had led to the disturbances in the parishes of Mountrath and of Graigue. He stated that one individual had been rector of Graigue for forty years; that he had received £500 a-year himself, but that on his death the tithes had been raised from £1,100 (that being the sum payable to him and his tithe farmer) to £1,500 a-year. This individual had been in the parish but once all his life; another incumbent had remained in it only during the time that arrangements were made for carrying the tithe composition into effect. Before this gentleman's appointment the parish had been under the management of a Curate, who had changed the mode of levying tithes and demanded them by the barrel. There was a good Church in the parish; the Curate had applied to the Board of First Fruits for £1,500 to repair it, but was informed that such a sum could only be granted for building a Church; accordingly, the old Church was, by an act of vestry, thrown down and arrangements made for the erection of a new one.

Dr. Doyle improved on the impression these details produced, by submitting to the Committee a strong protest, signed by many of the Protestant parishoners, against these proceedings. He then went to show that the applotment under the Tithe Composition Act had been most unjust—that ninepence on one had been charged, where the fair rent was only one shilling an acre in several parts of the parish. The Bishop was asked to name those from whom he derived his information, but Mr. Grattan rose and strongly objected that Dr. Doyle should be called upon to give the name of his informants, more particularly as Mr. Dwyer, a Protestant Clergyman, had not been called on by the Committee to state the names of persons who supplied him with information, though he was requested by a member to do so. He therefore thought that Dr. Doyle should not be asked to state his informants. The Committee, however, ruled against Mr. Grattan. Dr. Doyle said that he had no objection to state the names of his informants, provided that any member of the Committee acquainted

with the law of libel would guarantee their exemption from risk. Mr. Solicitor-General Crampton undertook to give the desired assurance, whereupon the Committee-room was cleared; and, after the lapse of twenty-minutes, Dr. Doyle was again called in and informed that the Committee desired to learn from whom the particulars in question were derived. He said that he had directed the Parish Priest of Graigue to report to him, and that he had no doubt of the correctness of his report. Several questions were put by Mr. Lefroy, Mr. Stanley, Sir Robert Peel, and Mr. Goulbourn, respecting the applotment of the tithe composition. He was asked whether the ninepence an acre, where the rent was a shilling, was not an exception; whether the composition was not differently imposed on the rest of the parish, and the fairness of it was not to be tried by the average proportion between rent and tithe in the entire parish? Dr. Doyle answered, that oppression operated most effectually in producing resistance by cases of individual hardship; that a uniform pressure was more readily borne, and that the public feeling was always more alive to particular specific instances of injustice. They were the standards by which the entire system was tried.

A question was propounded by an eminent legal functionary to the effect that, as abuses had crept into grand jury assessments, might not individuals find ground for resisting them upon the principle upon which resistance to tithe had been made. "It is a maxim in law," replied Dr. Doyle, "that the accessory follows the principal. Now I think, with regard to the funds levied by grand jurors, that the abuse is an accessory—it is very small compared with the great bulk of money to be expended [in the improvement of the country]; and people therefore will not complain very much of an accidental abuse. But in the other case, I conceive that all the objects of the trust are defeated."

The same individual expressed a wish to be informed whether there was not great danger that the principle of opposition to tithes might lead ere long to a difficulty, on the part of the landlord, in procuring his rent. "The landlord," replied Dr. Doyle, "gives the land for the rent; but the parson gives nothing for the tithe—and this saying is in the mouth of every person in Ireland, from the cowboy to the gentleman." At p. 335 we find:

"*Q.* You have stated that the exertions made some time since to encourage a new reformation, were a justificatory circumstance in considering this opposition to tithe? *A.* What I said was that they tended very much to excite a bad feeling towards the Clergy of the Established Church, which probably urged on this opposition to the tithe system.

"*Q.* Do you believe that that was undertaken conscientiously

by the parties who undertook it? *A*. We read in St. Augustin's writings against the Donatists, that there were of that sect a great number called Circumcellians, who put an end to their own lives, precipitated themselves from rocks, and committed suicide in various ways, hoping thereby to gain heaven. Now that those people were sincere, I am sure nobody will question, but sincerity in religion is not enough; it is necessary that that sincerity be founded upon truth, and to be so it must be conformable to common sense and to the Gospel; that those people were sincere, and that most fanatics are sincere, I admit with all my heart, but fanaticism is not the less an error on that account.

"*Q*. Was there more violence on their part than on the part of many Roman Catholics with respect to the Established Church? *A*. I can estimate the feelings of Catholics towards the Clergy of the Established Church pretty justly by my own—I have stated at different times, and I state now, that from my infancy I never felt a dislike to a man on account of his religion. I have long had amongst my most early and intimate friends, and I still have, members of the Established Church and other Protestant communities, in whom I confide and whom I love as much as I do any people upon the earth; and if I had to choose a friend to whom I would confide my life or my honour, whether amongst people high in station or low, I should, at least amongst those high in station, prefer some of my Protestant friends to any others in the world. With regard to their religion I thought I had nothing to do; every man is at liberty to choose what religion he pleases, and to follow it in peace. I preach the doctrines of my own Church; if any one comes to listen to me he is welcome to do so, and if he please to become a Catholic it gives me great pleasure; in like manner, if a Catholic choose to become a Protestant, he might do so by all means. I mentioned in 1825, and I repeat it now, that till the period of the new reformation I never remember to have preached a single sermon about controversy; and what is more, since the new reformation commenced I have never done it directly, though I preach every Sunday when I am at home, unless I happen to be unwell, but up to this hour I never deal in controversy; I seek to teach the people the great principles of the Gospel, and upon speculative matters to let every man think as he pleases. I do believe that these sentiments of mine were the sentiments and feelings of the great majority of Catholics, and that if they had been left to follow their own opinions they never would have troubled the Protestants about *their* opinions; but they were attacked, and assailed, and reviled, and calumniated, and abused as if they were demons—idolators is too light a name, though you may suppose I would consider a man imputing to

to me idolatry as either very wicked or very foolish; but, however, all this was done, and the most patient individual and the most patient nation in the world, when goaded to a certain extent, will manifest their feelings and retaliate. Therefore when it is asked, did not the Catholics assail the Protestant with as much violence as the Protestants assailed the Catholics, I answer by saying that the attack commenced and was carried on by the Protestants before the Catholics even resisted, and if it had not been so commenced you would have heard nothing at all in Ireland upon the subject of new reformation or old reformation."

He was also asked, "Do you consider it a safe doctrine to promulgate among the ignorant that they are authorized to resist what the law prescribes, on the ground that that property may not be strictly applied to the objects for which it was originally intended? *A.* I have delivered my opinion upon that subject so frequently since I have been under examination here, that I think it is almost unnecessary to repeat it. I think it quite right to tell the people what is right to be done according to my notions, whilst at the same time, in doing that, I am careful always to advise them to avoid every breach of the law, and every act that might tend to disturb the peace. But it is manifest that though the people may be led into excesses in those cases, they are not, therefore, the less entitled to proceed in seeking for a remedy for the abuse or the amendment of a bad law; for if we were to hold the doctrine that, because excesses may occur, therefore we are to desist from seeking the redress of wrong, we should shake the very foundation of our Constitution, and find fault with what appear to be the best enactments of our legislature. When Sydney opposed the levy of ship money, the prerogative of the Crown was said by the Judges to be legally exercised; yet Sydney is held up as a martyr to English liberty. The Revolution of 1688 was certainly contrary to law; yet we all glory in its having occurred, and date our happiness and prosperity from that event. I am sure I hope all present agree in opinion with me, that the whole of the Penal Code pressed heavily upon Ireland; and though for the half century during which we were struggling to have it repealed numberless outrages and excesses occurred, great animosity and great ill-will, yet nobody will say on that account that the Catholics were wrong, as well as the Protestants who aided and assisted them in seeking to remove that incubus from the country and to have justice restored to her natural course. Again, surely the law sanctions the present constitution of the House of Commons, and yet, who will impute to the King and his ministers the excesses committed at Bristol and at Nottingham? yet those excesses certainly arose from the efforts making to reform the House of Com-

mons; so that it is clear that no man ought to be condemned for exorting people to pursue justice in a certain line, though he may foresee that in the pursuit of that justice the opposition given to those who are proceeding in a just course may produce collision, and that collision lead to the commission of crime; but our duty, as I conceive, is to seek for the injustice, and there to impute the crime—'*Ex hoc fonte derivata clades, quæ in terram populumque defluxit.*' It is to that injustice, and not to those who pursue a just course for the attainment of a right end, that the guilt is to be ascribed.

"*Q.* Do you mean to put the levy of ship-money and the levy of tithe upon the same footing? *A.* I put it upon the same footing in this respect, that to levy ship-money was declared by the Judges to be the legal prerogative of the Crown, and yet it was opposed, and that opposition was followed by consequences that we deem salutary; in like manner, the law sanctions the levying of tithe, but we conceive that that law in its application and operation works great injustice; and therefore I do say, as Sydney adhered to justice and gave opposition to the law, and deserved well of his country for so doing, so they who now oppose the injustice that is wrought by the operation of the tithe law deserve applause, and shall, if they attain their end, as I am confident they will, be deserving hereafter of the approbation of their country."

We have noticed some queries put to Dr. Doyle; but they were far less numerous than generally occur in a Parliamentary examination. Superior to his auditory, and more especially convinced of the superiority and extent of his information, on the subject for which his attendance was desired, over those who sought that information from him, Dr. Doyle waved the tedious and insipid formula of repeated question and answer, and, after speaking for seven hours, ended by declaring that he would allow his last chair to be seized—nay, he would sacrifice his life before he would pay an impost so obnoxious and iniquitous.

On the following Friday Dr. Doyle was cross-examined at considerable length by Sir Robert Peel and others, relative to his previous testimony. He was asked, in reference to what he had stated on a former occasion, if tithes were a charitable grant vested in trustees for particular purposes, and that it had been abused, why no attempt had hitherto been made to restore it to its original purposes. He replied, that in Ireland the people who were injured had hitherto been kept in such a state of degradation by the laws, that until now they could have made no attempt at redress, or made no reclamation until the present time. In England, after the first dissolution of the monasteries, the people, deprived of the resources which the tithes afforded, became dissatisfied in different

parts of the country, and the gentry, who benefited by the change and felt an interest in it, were glad to compound with the people, and then first introduced poor rates for the support of the poor.

A conversation took place amongst some members of the Committee, in the course of which it was suggested that in any commutation of the tithe system that should take place, or in any final adjustment of the question, a provision for the poor ought to be introduced.

Sergeant Lefroy asked him whether, as the tithes were lessened in 1735 by the abolition of the tithe of agistment, and as that diminution was ratified at the time of the Union, the people ought not to be the more satisfied to pay that smaller amount of tithes? He replied that the abolition of the tithe of agistment took place for the purpose of relieving the gentry, and not the people.

Dr. Doyle was asked if tithes were a charitable trust vested in trustees by the law for specific purposes, why the law had not been resorted to, to compel those trustees to apply it to those purposes? He answered that there were many charitable trusts, as well as tithes, which, until Lord Brougham's time, had lain in abeyance; and he hoped that the present attention to the subject afforded a guarantee that the trust would be restored to its original purposes.

A number of questions were put to him as to the value of ground in the county Carlow, and the proportionate rate of tithes. He stated in reply that he considered that the average rent of land in the county Carlow (excepting mountain ground) was thirty shillings per acre, whilst the tithe averaged at four shillings per acre.

He was asked whether he had not written strongly and ably upon the subject. He replied, "Pretty well, thank you." The nonchalance of this answer produced great laughter. He further stated that it would be for the satisfaction of the Committee to know that this opposition to tithes broke out before the people could have known anything of his writings on the subject, and at the Hurlers' meeting he was certain there were not four persons who had heard of them. The first work he wrote upon the subject was a letter to Mr. Spring Rice, which did not attract any attention until it was commented upon in very abusive language by a noble Lord to whom he found it necessary to reply, and his reply was, no doubt, read with avidity by the people.

He was asked whether he had not urged the people to resist the law. He replied, he only advised them to resist the bad effects of the law, by every means in their power consistent with peace and good order. When he wrote to that effect he did not take into consideration what was the law of the land; but he con-

sidered the duty he owed to his country and his God. He did not pretend to be deeply versed in the law of England; but he understood the law of justice.

Mr., now Lord Chief Justice Lefroy asked him if he had not been aware that it was the opinion of one of the Judges of Ireland that resisting the payment of tithes by artifice was a violation of the law, and in support of this he read an extract from a political charge of Baron Smith at the assizes of Maryborough.

We cull Dr. Doyle's reply from the Blue Book. "I have the highest opinion of Baron Smith, both as a private gentleman and as a Judge; and he having honoured me with, I believe, some portion of his regard, if not friendship, I should be particularly unwilling to say anything that would seem to make light of his opinion; but I cannot avoid saying that I should regret extremely to form my opinion of law by the charges of Judges in Ireland. I find phrases in that passage just read, which I think ought not to be used; to wit, the word 'robbery' is there repeated twice, and joined with other words which give it peculiar force. Now I find Baron Smith proceeds upon an assumption which I consider false, that the law not only gives the tithe to the parson, but that it also gives to him a right to enjoy it to the exclusion of the poor and others having claims upon it—that is a doctrine which, if it were propounded by the twelve Judges and sanctioned by an Act of Parliament, I could not agree to, because it would be contrary to the doctrine of the Gospel, as I understand it, and certainly to the whole tenor of Church legislation, from the foundation of the Church up to the present time. Moreover, I find in Ireland the religious denomination of Quakers; and they, on account of a peculiar tenet of their religion, refuse to pay tithes in money or kind to the parsons within whose jurisdiction they live; they suffer their cattle or goods to be distrained, and they have never been charged on that account with robbing the parson. Suppose then that a Catholic, viewing this breach of trust by the ecclesiastical incumbents of Ireland, and considering the misapplication of property dedicated by our ancestors for the maintenance of religion, for the support of the poor, for the instruction of the people, and the support of those who administer the ordinances of the Gospel to them—supposing that a Catholic, viewing the matter in that light, should form his conscience after the manner of the Quakers, and consider it not right to give freely and voluntarily his tithe or his money, why should he be condemned as a robber, and the Quaker left to enjoy his good reputation, though the acts of both are the same, and the motives of both may be the same?"

"*Q.* Have the Quakers ever taken any measures to prevent the

sale of a distress for tithe or for public dues? *A.* I do not know that they have; and if the Catholics have at any time interfered beyond the rule I have laid down, I condemn their conduct as sincerely and as much as any one else; but every person knows that in acting upon a principle which in itself is just and right, consequences may ensue which ought not to be imputed either to the principle itself or to those who act upon it in a proper way. For instance, there is the right of self-defence possessed by every man, and of which no man can or ought to divest himself; yet, if a man, in defending himself against an unjust aggessor exceeds the bounds or limits which that self-defence prescribes, he is guilty of a sin, and commits crime; but because a man defending himself against an unjust aggressor may be actuated sometimes by a spirit of revenge, and do more than is necessary to defend himself, are we on that account to condemn the right of self-defence, or to take it from men generally? No; therefore, if Catholics, in resisting or opposing the payment of tithes, have in any way abused their power or resorted to means in themselves wrong, I condemn that abuse and I reject those means; but I maintain the right which they have of withholding, in a manner consistent with the law and their duty as subjects, the payment of tithe in kind or in money until it is extorted from them by the operation of the law.

"*Q.* Do you put the resistance to tithes upon the same ground as the right of self-defence? *A.* No; but I have brought that as an illustration, and illustrations or similes are not always so exactly alike as to be identified with the thing which they are used to illustrate."

In reply to a question he thus distinguished rent and tithes—the law gave the same right of recovery for both; but the law created the title to tithes, and it only established the title to rents. The right of property was derived from inheritance by conquest or by donation; the law established the title, but did not create it.

Some persons were led to imagine that the reverse of a cordial feeling subsisted between Dr. Doyle and the Protestant Rector of Carlow. But the former, in reply to a query, declared "that he was known to live on terms of familiarity with the Parson whose amiability of conduct, though he had been sometimes led to do things that were not advisable, had inclined the good will of the people towards him. I think," he added, "that he is one of the last Clergymen in Ireland from whom his ecclesiastical emoluments would be withheld."

The Bishop, in conclusion, recommended that all tithes and Church property should be paid into the hands of trustees ap-

pointed by the Legislature, who should be chosen from the House of Commons, and of Catholics and Protestants promiscuously, and that those should apply the tithes to their original purposes.*

The Freeman's Journal of the day announces the following as a letter from a Member of Parliament: "I have just come from the Tithe Committee-room. Dr. Doyle has been examined by Mr. Stanley, and, in my judgment, has baffled with great power and address a number of questions of a tendency to entrap him into contradictions; but what I think most valuable is, that he has distinctly stated that tithe in no shape or modification will, in his opinion, be any longer voluntarily paid by the people of Ireland (that is, paid without legal process, or force). He justified boldly the advice he has given and continues to give to the people—not to pay voluntarily. He stated that though Ireland may be reduced to a desert, as Government may, he admits, reduce it, yet they will never compel the people of Ireland to submit to a voluntary payment of this odious impost."

The London correspondent of the same journal writes: "The effect produced by the manner in which he conducted himself, and the gigantic vigour of mind that he exhibited, has furnished a topic for admiration and surprise everywhere. In all quarters it is talked of. Mr. Stanley and a learned sergeant attempted to trip him up; he laid them on their backs with gigantic power, and seemingly quite unconscious of an effort."

Men who get the worst in an argument seldom retain a very favourable impression of their opponent's points. This case, however, would seem to be an exceptional one. The London correspondent of *The Morning Register* writes: "Stanley stated yesterday to a friend of mine, that Dr. Doyle's evidence was a masterpiece of talent." Judge Crampton, eight-and-twenty years afterwards, writes: "I remember that the general impression produced by the learned Doctor's examination was one highly creditable to his ability and candour."†

* The opinion which Dr. Doyle held and expressed in reference to the propriety of investing the Church property in the hands of Parliamentary Commissioners, was not confined exclusively either to himself or the Catholic Clergy. The Rev. Dr. Hincks, Rector of Killileagh, and formerly a Fellow of Trinity College, published a pamphlet, in which he said: "Let the national endowment, now enjoyed by the Established Church in Ireland, be withdrawn from it altogether on the termination of existing incumbencies; let the rents and tithes which are now payable to the Clergy of all ranks become payable to Government for national purposes." Dr. Doyle's powerful reasoning, singular to say, converted not a few Protestant Clergymen to his views. In January, 1832, the Rev. John Albany Fetherston, of Griffinstown, presented a petition, drawn up by himself, praying for the total abolition of tithes!

† Letter from Mr. Justice Crampton to the author, dated, St. Valerie, Bray, 13th February, 1861.

Considerable importance was attached to the intricate cross-examination which had been prepared for Dr. Doyle's discomfiture, and hopes were entertained that it might prove successful. The chief merit of this very clever line of cross-examination is due to the subsequent Lord Chief Justice Lefroy, one of the ablest judges since the days of Lord Mansfield. The present Earl of Derby and Mr. Goulbourn, ex-Secretary for Ireland, and afterwards Chancellor of the Exchequer, assisted Sergeant Lefroy in the task. Mr. Goulbourn was a very illiberal man, and a most uncompromising champion of the tithe system. "Notwithstanding this sharp and pressing cross-examination," observes the late Member for Cork, "Dr. Doyle, all armed, and gifted with an extraordinary power over language, completely carried the grand point in dispute." But we shall not trust to the recently expressed impressions of men as to the manner in which Dr. Doyle baffled his able inquisitors. The lapse of nearly thirty years often imparts an inaccuracy to impressions; we, therefore, cite the authority of a letter written at the time, and published in *The Morning Register* of the 2nd of March, 1832—a journal then edited by Michael Staunton, Esq., now an important public officer in Dublin. Referring to the ingenious questions propounded by Messrs. Lefroy and Goulbourn, he says: "Never was any pair of unfortunate wights so completely prostrated as were these learned and self-sufficient personages. This is admitted on all hands, even by the Tories. Sir Robert Peel put several ingenious questions to his Lordship. The opinion entertained of Dr. Doyle by this gentleman may be illustrated by this simple fact—when the examinations were over Sir Robert walked up to his Lordship, shook him by the hand, and they were for a considerable time engaged in deep conversation."

We find among the Bishop's papers of this period the following very courteous note from Lord Duncannon, afterwards Home Secretary, and Viceroy of Ireland, and, at the time of which we write, a leading member of the Tithe Committee:

"Monday.

"My dear Lord—I fear you cannot be examined to-morrow; but Mr. Stanley hopes on Monday to finish early, so as not to detain you later than that day. It has struck me that there are some questions your Lordship may be anxious to have asked, in order that the Committee may be put in full possession of your views on this very important subject; and if you will do me the honour of calling on me at half-past twelve to-morrow or Wednesday, you will find me here, or I would wait on your Lordship at any hour you may wish.—I remain, my dear Lord, your most obliged,

"Duncannon."

The Marquis of Lansdowne moved, in the House of Lords on the 27th of February, that "a copy of the evidence given by Dr. Doyle on Irish tithes should be laid before their Lordships," which was ordered accordingly.

This evidence, as it appears in the Blue Book, is extremely voluminous; yet, it would seem that some portions of it may have been emasculated. In the debate of the 1st of March, 1832, Mr. Stanley observed: "For the last three or four days it was well known that a gentleman had been under examination whose opinions and views, no less from his great ability than his high station in the Catholic Church—he meant Dr. Doyle—had excited great interest. The Committee-room had consequently been crowded, not merely by Members of the House, who had a right to be present, but a considerable number of strangers were also admitted. The Committee did not wish their proceedings to be kept private, nor that whatever passed would not be a matter of public knowledge: at the same time, the House would agree with him that it was often necessary, when the Committee printed the evidence, to accompany it with notes; and, therefore, that it was highly objectionable to allow that evidence to go before the public before the whole of the proceedings were in possession of the House. There were also many cases in which the Committee might be required to exercise a discretion as to the parts of evidence it was necessary to suppress."

The examination before the Lords rapidly followed. A considerable portion of it was necessarily a repetition of what had already been spoken in the Commons. Among other matters he was asked if the then prevalent combinations had taken place among the most destitute classes. He replied affirmatively, and that he could not ascertain for the last year a single individual above the lowest rank who had engaged in those combinations.

"*Q*. Directly or indirectly? *A*. Directly or indirectly, though I have conversed with a considerable number of the unfortunate people leagued. I find that they are of that class that have no education, suffering great privation, and who scarcely know the end or object of their combination.

"*Q*. Is the organised resistance to the payment of tithes confined to your diocess, or is it general in Ireland? *A*. I cannot say that the resistance is organised; but organised or not, it is not confined to my diocess. It is extended through a great part of Ireland, and will, I have no doubt, manifest itself generally in Ireland in a very short time, if measures be not adopted by Parliament to remedy the evils of the tithe system.

"*Q*. In your opinion, then, that resistance is not likely to subside? *A*. I am sure it will not subside unless the grievance

be removed; it may be repressed for a season, but it will be like collecting fire within a basin—it will burst out with renewed violence in a little time if the grievance be not removed. If the whole matter of Church property be not taken into the consideration of Parliament, and such an arrangement with reference to it made as will satisfy the just and reasonable feelings of the population, you may repress or compress, or desolate the country if you will, but the feeling that now exists will show itself in a more aggravated shape by-and-by.

"*Q*. Can you state the amount of population in your diocess? *A*. I should think it is about 400,000.

"*Q*. Of that number what proportion is Protestant? *A*. There are a great number of towns in my diocess, and in these the proportion of Protestants to Catholics is considerable; but taking the entire diocess, I should think they are one to seven or one to eight.

"*Q*. Have you any power of displacing the Priests? *A*. Not a Parish Priest, without a canonical fault; but in a case where he may have engaged in trade, which is incompatible with the discharge of his duty, I have power to cite him and to admonish him a first and a second time; and I can then send an additional Curate and subtract from him the means of living for the Curate. If I find the duties neglected I can suspend him.

"*Q*. But you cannot arbitrarily suspend a Parish Priest? *A*. No.

"*Q*. Can you do it without formal proceedings supposing he acts criminally? *A*. Not without a regular proceeding, except in time of visitation, when I am vested by law with extraordinary powers during the visitation.

"*Q*. Do you give collation to the Priests within your diocess? *A*. Sometimes; otherwise I give induction, and three years' peaceable possession with that confers a title.

"*Q*. If they have not collation, are they not subject to removal at your sole discretion? *A*. No; after induction on my authority they cannot be removed at my discretion, though a written collation be not given.

"*Q*. During the three years before induction, are they not liable to be removed at your discretion? *A*. It cannot be arbitrary, even during these three years.

"*Q*. Is the practice you pursue in that respect similar to that pursued by the Roman Catholic Bishops in Ireland? *A*. The discipline of my diocess is precisely the same with that of the other diocesses in the province of Dublin. But that has been the case only recently. Our Church has been in such a state that for a long time past we could have no regular discipline; but since

the repeal of the Penal Laws, we have got a rescript from the Pope, regulating the mode of providing ourselves with Bishops; and we have endeavoured in our province to collect the remains of our ancient laws, and recast them and fit them to our present circumstances; so that the discipline in my diocess you may take as a pattern of what now prevails in the province of Dublin, and much like that existing in Munster and Connaught. In the North, where the Catholics are still depressed, the discipline, I believe, is considerably different."

Dr. Doyle argued, in reply to some cavils, "that if we were to be prevented from pursuing the recovery of a right, because in pursuing that right evils may arise, we must abandon ourselves to utter despotism; and your Lordships will not succeed with me, and, I believe, not with the public in general, in so captivating their understandings to the letter of the law, as to preclude them from pursuing what they think is right."

The foregoing few lines concluded a very voluminous reply which occupies nearly a folio page of the Blue Book. It includes several points which had already strengthened the Bishop's evidence before the Commons; and we, therefore, hesitate to repeat them. Dr. Doyle, in a conversation with a friend, alluded to this reply as one which he had very carefully prepared. "The question that I undertook to answer," he said, "had already been put to me in the Commons, and I guessed it would be repeated by the Lords. I observed a sensation produced by the reply. I was delighted that Lord Redesdale, and not Lord Lansdowne, had put the question; for no one could ever suppose it possible—which they might in the other case—that Lord Redesdale and I were acting in concert."

The late Mr. Lavelle, writing from the spot and at the time, says: "I hear in the House [of Lords] they were delighted with the talent displayed; and *he* was much pleased also, finding he had men of superior intellect to cope with—he says, far more so than the Commons' Committee."

It is a privilege enjoyed by all who give evidence before Parliamentary Committees, that they may revise the proof-sheets to any extent, providing that the sense be not altered. They are at liberty to change phrases *ad libitum*, and adduce additional remarks to strengthen but not to qualify the substance. This privilege was offered to Dr. Doyle; but as he attached no importance to the graces of style and desired solely to convey the sense he declined to avail himself of an opportunity which others eagerly sought.

Congratulations, personal and epistolary, poured in from all quarters on Dr. Doyle. William Cobbett having sought an intro-

duction to him, "I am rejoiced," said Dr. Doyle, "to be made personally acquainted with the ablest man in England." "And I, my Lord," replied Cobbett, bowing profoundly low, "am proud to be introduced to the most distinguished individual in Europe." The sincerity of Dr. Doyle's admiration of Cobbett's abilities was proved by a generous subscription which the Bishop soon after sent to aid his return for Oldham. Sir Francis Burdett collected a party of distinguished politicians to meet Dr. Doyle at dinner. The invitation is now before us. "Old Glory" names "Friday" for discussing politics and viands—an odd day, it must be confessed, to ask a Catholic ecclesiastic to partake of the delicacies of the season.

But perhaps the highest compliment which could have been paid to our Prelate's abilities was an invitation he received soon after, from some distinguished Peers, to join them on another Committee of Inquiry, and give them the aid of his counsel. Dr. Doyle, however, declined on the plea of failing health and the necessity of attending to other duties. This fact has been communicated by Mr. James O'Grady, LL.D., a gentleman who possessed in a particular degree the friendship of Dr. Doyle.

Dr. Doyle's evidence on tithes excited considerable attention, and promptly threw the parsons on their mettle. A hostile analysis of it, occupying near 300 pages, from the Rev. George Dwyer, M.A., Rector of Ardrahan, appeared in 1833. The copy before us bears the author's autograph presentation to the late Sergeant, afterwards Judge Jackson, an able champion on behalf of the tithes; but although it contains his book-plate, only eight pages have been cut—from which we trust it is not extravagant to infer that Mr. Jackson considered most of Dr. Doyle's evidence unanswerable, and any attempt to rebut it a waste of words.

As the Bishop wound his way slowly homeward, it was observed that his recent exertions before the Committees of both Houses had made a considerable inroad on his scanty stock of strength. From the residence of the late Bishop Baines we find Dr. Doyle addressing the following letter to the Most Rev. Dr. Murray:

"Prior Park, Bath, 10th March, 1832.

"My dear Lord—I am here enjoying the hospitality of the good Dr. Baines, who thus repays the unkindness expressed of him by me. I left London on Monday evening and travelled to Taunton, where I rested Ash-Wednesday, in the midst of snow. I returned to Bath on Thursday, but found myself on the following day so ill, as to be utterly unable to proceed to Ireland. I then came here, where I found Lady Bellew* (the Bishop being

* It has often been remarked of Dr. Doyle, that even in the shortest interview

absent), who told me that he had been expecting me for some days, and that my room was prepared. I agreed to come and remain till Wednesday next, when the packet will sail to Waterford. On my return from Bath I saw the Bishop, who received me most kindly, and I hope to grow strong under his care by the time I will have to move homewards. Sir P. Bellew arrived this morning from London; I have not yet seen him, but will procure a frank from him to convey this letter to your Grace.

"I feel much uneasiness about Ireland, and fear the disorders of the people will increase. I wish anxiously to be at home, especially on account of a meeting which, report says, was or is to be holden at the Curragh by all the labouring classes of the adjoining counties. I wrote from London to some persons to endeavour to prevent it. Were I at home I think it might not take place.

"I have nothing more to say; this sort of illness depresses me somewhat, even in this little Paradise, for such it is.

"12th March.

"I have no additional news. The division in the Commons [on the Reform Bill] was not so good as was expected—the English Members and many of the Irish relying, or pretending to rely, on some vague promises by Mr. Stanley and Lord Althorp, given to them on the morning of the debate. We will beat them, however, in the long run. I go on as usual.—Believe me, &c.,

"✠ J. Doyle."

A few days previous to the date of this letter, the Earl of Roden had presented to King William a petition against the Reform Bill, signed by 230,000 Irish Protestants. On the 7th of May, the Upper House went into Committee on the Bill, when Lord Lyndhurst moved an amendment, that the consideration of the first clause should be postponed. An animated debate ensued, when, on a division, Ministers were found to be in a minority of thirty-five. But on the third reading a majority of eighty-four appeared, after a desperate struggle, in favour of the measure; and when Lord Lyndhurst put the question, "that this Bill do pass," it was carried without a division. When the reader is reminded that fifty-six boroughs in Schedule A alone were annihilated from that moment, it will not excite surprise that despair should have marked many members of the oligarchy for its own.

The Duke of Cumberland recorded his conviction that "the

his observations never failed to leave an indelible impression on the bearer's mind. Lord Bellew, in a letter before us, dilates on the great happiness which Lady Bellew experienced in meeting Dr. Doyle at Prior Park, and adds, that were her Ladyship now living, she could furnish us with the details of some very remarkable observations of Dr. Doyle, which had made a strong impression on her.

revolutionary bill" would, if carried, "annihilate all our institutions both in Church and State, and lead to the Repeal of the Union."* Has the prediction been verified? Disgust was the predominating feeling with others—amongst whom may be mentioned the late Duke of Wellington. Writing to the Duke of Buckingham on the Bill, his Grace says: "I certainly never will enter the House of Lords from the time that it passes."† Was this resolution kept?

Some of the preliminary debates on the subject were in the highest degree excited and extraordinary. "It is impossible," records Hansard, "to describe the confusion, the noise, and impetuosity which prevailed from one end of the House to the other. The Peeresses present seemed alarmed. Some of the Peers were almost scuffling, and as if shaking their hands at each other in anger."‡

The Count de Montalembert, who has recently provoked Louis Napoleon's displeasure by his praise of the British Constitution, paid a visit to Ireland in 1832. The great Dr. Doyle and the gentle Dr. Murray were with other lions explored. "They have inspired me with the greatest veneration," writes Montalembert, "not only for their piety and other apostolic virtues, but for their eloquence and elegance of manners. Dr. Doyle is well-known to the Catholic world as one of the most solid pillars of the true faith, and the three kingdoms will long remember his appearance at the bar of the House of Lords, where, by his eloquent exposition of Catholic doctrine, he confounded the Peers of England—the descendants of those men who signed the great charter, but whose faith they have denied."

* "Court and Cabinets of William IV. and Victoria (London, 1861)," vol. i., p 280.

† *Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 262.

‡ Hansard's Parl. Deb., iii., p. 1808.

CHAPTER XLII.

Letter to E. G. S. Stanley, now Earl of Derby—The Report of the Tithe Committee deficient in candour—Retort and refutation—Votes of thanks to Dr. Doyle—Letters from O'Connell—"My Tithes or blood"—Archbishop Whately's testimony to the influence of J. K. L.—Contest at Carlow between the Church and the people, and triumph of the latter—Parsons in poverty—Tithe arrests in England—Mr. Finn again—Care sears the Bishop's heart—Anecdotal traits—Reminiscences of Dr. Doyle by a Parish Priest—Correspondence with a Rural Dean on popular insubordination—Dr. Doyle fulminates the terrors of the Church—Legislation for an extreme case—Jansenistic practice in the Irish Church during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—Baron Henrion on J. K. L.—The cholera—The Irish Reform Bill—Magistrates and deputy-lieutenants dismissed for expressing anti-tithe views—The prosecutions—Parliamentary inquiry into the causes of disturbance—Correspondence with Sir H. Parnell on the state of Ireland—The Report—More correspondence—The doctrine of "No King" shouted by the mob who had previously screamed "No Popery"—Violence offered to the Sovereign's person—Parnell's political gossip—Arrest of Father Andrew Fitzgerald.

NOTWITHSTANDING the fatal disease which, as Dr. Doyle assures the Archbishop of Dublin, "depressed" his energies, we find him a few days later addressing a long and powerfully argumentative letter to the Right Hon. E. G. Stanley, now Earl of Derby, in reference to a passage which occurred in the second report of the Select Committee on Irish Tithes. That passage expressed a doubt as to the extent to which the law of England had sanctioned the ancient four-fold division of the ecclesiastical revenues, including tithes, whereby one portion of the whole is alleged to have been devoted to the repair of religious edifices, and another to the support of the poor. Dr. Doyle replied, that the extent to which the four-fold division of these revenues was sanctioned by the law of England, might appear matter of extreme uncertainty to the Select Committee, although to Blackstone and Sir James Ware, as well as to J. K. L., it appeared matter of such public, historical, and legal notoriety, as not to admit of any doubt whatever; but supposing that doubts on the subject really disturbed the Committee, it did not follow that such doubts, as to the mode of dividing the ecclesiastical revenues, should extend to the nature and appropriation of the revenues themselves.

The Report, in reviewing Dr. Doyle's evidence, would seem to have been wanting in candour. But the reviewal was executed with such consummate ingenuity, that it cost Dr. Doyle a considerable expenditure of words to expose and refute some false inferences which he persisted in alleging had been drawn. "A Parliamentary Report," he continued, "ought not to be liable to

this charge, or to the suspicion of having suppressed, to serve a purpose, a most important truth."

Dr. Doyle, who had contended most earnestly for the quapartite division, was erroneously pronounced by the Report to have "admitted that the appropriation of tithe in its present form has been sanctioned by the prescription of three centuries, and by repeated acts of the Legislature." "Against this assertion I protest;" he replied; "I declare it to be utterly unfounded, and I appeal to the evidence referred to. I do not charge the Select Committee, or rather the compiler of the Report, with wilful misrepresentation. A man not conversant with the study of jurisprudence may mistake the meaning and import of legal terms, and a mind naturally acute and candid may be hurried by some predilection to a false conclusion. That this has been the case with the compiler of the Report, I am most anxious to believe, for who is so unwise as to hope he could deceive, unless momentarily, either Parliament or the country."

Taking the word "prescription" as his text, Dr. Doyle devoted some space to an analysis of its meaning. He contended that the Protestant Prelacy and Clergy had no title, whether from prescription or statute law, to the exclusive enjoyment of the fruits of their benefices. They were the violaters of the trust reposed in them, and the spoilers of the poor. He displayed a profound acquaintance with canon and statutable law, and continued: "Has good faith or a reasonable conviction always possessed the mind of this Clergy, that they alone, to the exclusion of the Churches and the poor, were to enjoy with their families the immense revenues consigned by our pious ancestors to the maintenance of religion and the support of the poor? No; this would have been impossible. The very stones from the streets, or the beams from our roofs would remind them of the contrary. But if these were silent, the Gospel—the awful Gospel of God—the records of the Churches, the instinct of nature, the voice of religion, and the cries of the distressed, would awake in any minister of Christ the warnings of conscience, if that conscience were not seared as if with a hot iron. No continued good faith could therefore attend this exclusive enjoyment of the patrimony of the poor. But if all other requisites for prescription were found, who can pretend that in Ireland, for three hundred years, 'the appropriation of tithe in its present form' has been unquestioned and undisputed? The dried bones which Ezekiah saw reanimated into a mighty host of men, clothed with flesh, convey but a faint idea of the number of those whom we might summon from their graves to depose as to the deadly but unavailing conflict they maintained from age to age, in Ireland, against the appropriation of tithe in its present form;

but this is a subject not to be dwelt upon at a moment when the anathema of Isaias is being fulfilled in Ireland: 'Woe to the spoiler—will not he that spoileth be also spoiled?'"

Dr. Doyle observed that at that moment Church Establishments were everywhere either suppressed or reformed. Nearly every civilized nation had decided that governments should be conducted by the will and for the interests of the people, and not by the will or for the interests of individuals, or privileged classes; and he indignantly repudiated the supposition that the Irish people would permit the Established Church to be reconstructed—aggravating under a new form all its ancient pressure, and legalizing, as it were, anew the plunder of the patrimony of the poor. To suppose that this could now happen in Ireland, was not only to be blind to the signs of the times, but it portended something like that fatuity which falls beforehand on the fore-doomed! The Bishop thus concluded: "I know how difficult it is for a man of ancient lineage and high descent, born, as it were, to command the multitude and be served by them, to admit into his mind notions of human equality, and of popular right; how heroic must be the moral courage of the aristocrat who can not only bend to the popular voice, but obey it in trenching on the privileges of his own class; how singularly enlightened must be the mind of him who can stay his own religious predilections, and deal impartially with a religion which he disavows! I know how difficult and nearly impossible this is; but it is required of him who attempts to succeed in the government of Ireland. You, sir, have not been so fortunate; you have shut out from confidence and power those who possessed the strength and resources of Ireland; you have upheld, under the plea of mediation, or of 'not giving a victory to either party,' all the spirit and almost all the power of the ascendancy; you have deprecated in words, but upheld in works, the old distinction between Catholics and Protestants, and by your efforts to serve the Church, have secured the ruin of her establishment, and kindled the bitterest enmity of the Irish people against yourself; as in the Reform Bill, by narrowing the suffrage and leaving embarrassed the registry of freeholds, the way is prepared for mob election and vote, not by ballot, but by clamour; so, by endeavouring to perpetuate the abuse of the Church Establishment, the Protestant Clergy are exposed to evils greater than they have yet experienced, and the whole country to the loss of a fund, which, if prudently managed, might greatly contribute to her ease and contentment."

Mr. Stanley became from this date every day more unpopular in Ireland. Opprobrious *sobriquets* clung to his name. He was

groaned in public, and nick-named "Scorpion Stanley." Squibs exploded at his expense, and cries rose on high:

> "Stanley within our Isle presumes to tread—
> Arise, arise, St. Patrick, from the dead!"

And again,

> "The war that for a time did fail,
> Now trebly thundering swelled the gale,
> And Stanley! was the cry."

The object of this vituperation was the only person perfectly unmoved. He surveyed the clamour with sovereign scorn, and indirectly intimated that a day of retribution was at hand. Those who remember his first encounter with O'Connell in the House of Commons, will appreciate the accuracy of the prediction.

Votes of congratulatory thanks to Dr. Doyle for his caustic criticism on Mr. Stanley, were passed at several public meetings throughout the country. The chairman of a Limerick tithe demonstration, in enclosing a vote of thanks to Dr. Doyle, thus concluded: "It proves that the path of justice and of truth is the safest in public as in private, and that the darkest mists of falsehood suddenly vanish before the chaste light of profound genius and of moral worth."

"The advocacy of truth," replied J. K. L., "will always excite hostility, and he who enforces justice will ever have to combat against the powers of this world. I have, through life, regardless of danger or injury, sought to maintain the cause of truth and justice against those 'who seek after a lie' and 'oppress the weak.' We, who are now embarked in this cause, have to renew our determination, and in proportion as power is exerted against us to oppose ourselves to it as a wall of brass. Let us receive but not return its shocks; for if we abide by the law and pursue truth and justice we may suffer loss for a moment, but as certainly as Providence presides over human affairs every arm lifted against us shall not prosper, and against every tongue that contendeth with us we will obtain our cause.

"Peace, unanimity, and perseverance, are, therefore, alone requisite, under the divine protection, to annihilate the iniquitous tithe system, to lift up the poor from their state of extreme indigence, and consequent immorality, and to prepare the way for the future happiness of our beloved country."

If Dr. Doyle was disappointed with Mr. Stanley's Report on tithes, the Established Clergy were not less so. The gist of the Report may be gathered from the following extract of a letter, by the Rev. Dr. Hincks, published in the journals of the day: "With Dr. Doyle's attack on Mr. Stanley, for misrepresenting his

evidence, I have no occasion to trouble myself; and certainly I do not mean to come forward as an advocate for that Report which he so vehemently condemns. On that subject my opinions are probably as similar to his own as the difference between our respective interests and prejudices will admit of. As a Clergyman of the Established Church, deriving my income almost exclusively from tithes, I have indeed more reason to regret that Report than Dr. Doyle can possibly have. The proposal which it contains of forcibly depriving existing incumbents of 15 per cent. of their tithe receipts, in the hope of thereby securing to their successors the enjoyment of the remaining 85, will, I fancy, be little relished even by those incumbents who believe that the security *promised* can be actually *given*."

The principle to which Dr. Doyle gave eloquent and intrepid expression before the Tithe Committee of both Lords and Commons, was eagerly carried out, not only by the people of his own diocess but elsewhere throughout Ireland. The Earl of Wicklow, in a speech strongly hostile to Dr. Doyle, asked, "How stood matters now in the diocess of that Right Rev. Doctor? Nothing was paid to the Protestant Clergy; and in other parts of the country the Clergy did not receive a tithe of their tithe."

"Ireland still had need of him," observes Charles Hamilton Teeling in an eloquent tribute to Dr. Doyle; "he saw the misery of her people resulting from the blood-polluted exactions of that 'Juggernaut Establishment,' to which he first applied the expressive epithet, and from the heartless neglect and tyranny of a rack-renting oligarchy. He would not rest while wretchedness was around him; while injustice was still rampant and supreme—while humanity was spurned, and mocked at, and spit upon, without redress or punishment. He sounded the knell of the tithe system: he called forth the millions to resist, constitutionally and legally, when hope long deferred made longer sufferance folly. The mighty confederacy was formed. Through the length and breadth of the land the whole force of Britain could not extort the hatred impost from a population marshalled, not in opposition to its mere pecuniary oppressiveness, but in defence of a well-understood and most sacred principle!"

Mr. Teeling did not apply the epithet "blood-polluted" to the Establishment without some reason. In the autumn of 1832 another terrible tithe massacre occurred. O'Connell, in a letter now first published, writes: "You will see in *The True Sun* a *strong* letter signed by me, on the subject of the Wallstown Massacre. I take it that the slaughter *there* was a palpable murder. There is no such right as that claimed by the parsons—of going into any man's farm to value his growing crop. It was in the ex-

ercise of this claim—which I take to be illegal—that the people were shot. Thus the case is one of murder, because, in my view of the law, the parson and his party were trespassers, and it was lawful to resist them."

In a second letter on the tithe struggle O'Connell writes from Cork, 29th of October, 1832: "The tithe trials are ending in smoke. Hodnett was convicted in the city before Baron Pennefather, *who it is clear—though it is not safe to say so*—behaved exceedingly ill to him, and sentenced him to three months imprisonment—an excessively severe sentence. There are many others for trial, but who have foolishly run themselves into the meshes of the law by posting anti-tithe notices, which is a transportable offence. Having secured them against transportation—that is, having a *private*—mark, a *private* understanding that they should not be transported, I have got them to plead 'guilty.' They will be sentenced to-morrow, and it is understood that their sentences will be light. If I had been in Ireland, I hope, and perhaps believe that these persons would not have got themselves into the trammels of the Whiteboy Acts. You know I steered the Catholic Cause for twenty years and upwards free of all such dangers. But these incidents will not have the least influence in retarding the downfall of tithes. On the contrary, they have an excellent popular effect—keeping the people from violating the law; but, at the same time, making them doubly anxious to obtain redress by legal means."

As the greater number of the parsons were magistrates also, they not unfrequently abused the double commission which they held. The Rev. Mr. M——, of Skibbereen many of whose flock were living on boiled nettles and sea-weed, made a descent for tithes upon them. The people informed Mr. M——, that every tenth perch of every potato ridge was at his disposal; but he refused to dig and carry them away, and insisted on taking his tithe out of some potatoes which had been stored in a barn. The people resisted; the parson ordered the police to fire, and thirty persons are stated to have been sent to a better world.

"Amongst other affecting circumstances on this ocasion," observes John Cornelius O'Callaghan, a most accurate historic writer, "the following instance occurred. A fine boy, about 14 years old, the only child of a poor widow who resided in a miserable hut on the road-side, in the neighbourhood of this military Pastor, having run out to ascertain the cause of the volleys of musketry, was fired at and shot through the body; and having crawled for refuge to the furze-bush of an adjoining ditch, died there, and remained undiscovered till he was washed down by the floods upon the road between Rosscarberry and Skibbereen—

There a friend of the writer of these lines beheld the unfortunate mother lamenting over the disfigured corpse, with feelings which it is so much more easy to imagine than it ever could be to describe. Such were the '*spiritual* functions' performed in the name of the religion of meekness and poverty by this anointed specimen of the 'union of Church and State,' whose sanctified exclamation, when sallying forth upon his predatory mission, is stated to have been, '*my tithes or blood!*'"

The Comet of the day thus pillories the Parson:

"Brave Peelers, march on, with the musket and sword,
And fight for my *tithes*, in the name of the *Lord!*
Away with whoever appears in your path—
And seize all each peasant in Skibbereen hath!

Hesitate not—*the law is on our side*, you know!
'The Church is in danger!' and yonder the foe!
If women and children expire at *your* feet,
'Tis a doom good enough for the Papists to meet!

The *rebels* refuse their last morsel to part—
Let your bullets and bay'nets be flesh'd in each heart!
No matter what Priests or Dissenters *will* say—
I'll get all my tithes, or I'll perish to-day!"

Dr. Doyle told the people not to infringe the law, but he at the same time gave it to be understood that they might exercise their wit in devising expedients of passive resistance to tithes. The hint fell upon fertile soil. An organized system of confederacy, whereby signals were, for miles around, recognized and answered, started into latent vitality. True Irish "winks" were extensively exchanged; and when the Rector, mounted on his palfrey, at the head of a detachment of police, military, bailiffs, clerks, and auctioneers, would make his descent on the lands of the Catholic peasantry, he generally found the cattle removed, and one or two grinning countenances occupying their place. A search was, of course, promptly instituted, and often two entire days were consumed in prosecuting it. When successful, and that the cattle *did* come to light, the parson's first step was to put them up to auction in the presence of a regiment of English soldiery; but it almost invariably happened that either the assembled spectators were afraid to bid, lest by doing so they should incur the oft-threatened vengeance of the peasantry, or else they stammered out such a miserably low offer, that, when knocked down, the expenses of the sale would be found to exceed it. The same observation applies to the crops. Not one man in a hundred had the hardihood to declare himself the purchaser. It occasionally happened that the parson, disgusted at the timidity of bid-

ders, and thinking by a *ruse* to remove it, would order the cattle twelve or twenty miles away in order to their being a second time put up for auction. But the locomotive progress of the beasts, on such occasions, was always closely tracked by men deputed for that purpose, and who adopted certain means to prevent either driver or beast receiving the slightest shelter or sustenance throughout the march. This harassing system of anti-tithe tactics, of which an idea is merely given here, soon accomplished important results.

The Most Rev. Dr. Whately, Archbishop of Dublin, mentioned before the Tithe Committee some interesting facts. "I have received information," observes his Grace, "which leads me to feel certain, in some instance, and very strongly to suspect in many others, that the resistance to tithe payment in numerous parishes may be traced to the reading of Dr. Doyle's letter. . . . . All composition has been refused. . . . . Every possible legal evasion has been resorted to, to prevent the incumbent from obtaining his due. A parish purse has been raised to meet law expenses for this purpose, and the result has been, that in most instances nothing whatever, in others a very small proportion of the arrears has been recovered. . . . I know that in one parish some extensive farmers had reduced into writing a form of proposal for a composition, and that the proposal was signed by the parishioners at a fair in the neighbourhood. The fair was held on Saturday; and in consequence, as is supposed, of Dr. Doyle's letter having been read and commented on next day, instead of his receiving the proposal for composition, notices were served on the Clergyman, by those very persons, to take the tithe in kind. He was forced to procure labourers to the amount of sixty, from distant counties, and at high wages, who yet were incapable of obtaining more than a small portion of tithes, being interrupted by a rabble—chiefly women—though men were lurking in the back ground to support them. He instituted a tithe-suit which was decided in his favour; but, instead of receiving the amount, he was met by an appeal to the High Court of Delegates, and is informed that a continued resistance to the utmost extremity of the law is to be supported by a parish purse."

We find in the Carlow journals of the day, a graphic account of a tithe seizure in that town, and of the surrender of the cattle to their owners. The narrative is culled from *The Sentinel*, a Conservative organ, and cannot, therefore, be suspected of exaggeration. "Yesterday being the day on which the Sheriff announced that, if no bidders could be obtained for the cattle, he would have the property returned to Mr. Germain, immense crowds were collected from the corners of the neighbouring counties. At

twelve o'clock the streets were crowded by upwards of 20,000 men. The county Kildare men, amounting to about 7,000, entered, led by Jonas Duckett, Esq., in the most regular and orderly manner. This body was preceded by a band of music, and had several banners on which were: 'Kilkea and Moone, Independence for ever,' 'No Church Tax,' 'No Tithe,' 'Liberty, &c.' The whole body followed six carts, which were prepared in the English style—each drawn by two horses. The rear was brought up by several of the respectable landholders of Kildare. At one o'clock the barrack-gates were thrown open, and the different detachments of infantry took their stations right and left, while the cavalry, after performing sundry evolutions, occupied the different passes leading to the place of sale. The cattle were ordered out, when the Sheriff, as on the former day, put them up for sale; but no one could be found to bid for the cattle, upon which he announced his intention of returning them to Mr. Germain. The news was instantly conveyed, like electricity, throughout the entire meeting, when the shouts and huzzas of the people surpassed anything we ever witnessed. The cattle were instantly liberated and given up to Mr. Germain. At this period a company of grenadiers arrived, in double-quick time, after travelling from Castlecomer, both officers and men fatigued and covered with dust. Thus terminated the proceedings of this extraordinary contest between the Church and the people, the latter having obtained, by their steadiness, a complete victory. The cattle will be given to the poor of the sundry districts."

This sort of contest continued with spirit for some time, until at last Mr. Stanley, from his place in Parliament, avowed the significant fact that notwithstanding a vigorous effort made by the Government to collect arrears of tithe, with the aid of the military, police, and yeomanry, they were able to recover from a arrear of £60,000 little more than one-sixth of that sum, and at an outlay of £27,000. The Earl of Wicklow made the almost incredible statement in the House of Peers, that many Protestant Clergymen, who had long been accustomed to luxury, were then living on potatoes and milk. To such distress were they reduced that £1,000,000 was voted by the Legislature for their relief. There was also a subscription opened. The Duke of Cumberland, the Duchess of Kent, the Duke of Wellington, Lords Kenyon, Bexley, and even Dr. Doyle's correspondent, Lord Clifden, forwarded donations of £100 each.

During the progress of the tithe struggle, numerous votes of thanks were conveyed to Dr. Doyle. Writing to the present Sir Thomas Wyse, he says: "I prize exceedingly the sentiments of the citizens of Waterford, expressed in the resolution enclosed in

your letter; and their value to me is greatly enhanced by your own great kindness. The reformation of the Establishment in this country must ensue; and I hope the principle of giving satisfaction to the reasonable portion of the public, which prevailed in reforming the representation of the people in Parliament, will govern also the reformation to be effected in the temporalities of the Church."

There were some persons found, however, to condemn Dr. Doyle for having, in his opposition to the tithe law, acted in a manner unbecoming his duty as a loyal subject. But the Bishop did no more than had been already done by the vote of agistment of the Irish House of Commons in 1786; for that vote, like the resolutions of the Protestant gentry which preceded it, pledged the persons resolving to oppose by every legal means the collection of the tithe agistment. It even went further, and declared that to enforce such tithe would tend to strengthen Popery in Ireland, and expressed the opinion that any one aiding, by legal advice or otherwise, the Clergy in the collection of that sort of tithe was an enemy to his country! These resolutions of the House of Commons only embodied the resolutions of the gentry of Ireland, and one of the last acts of the Irish Parliament was to convert them into law. Dr. Doyle had, therefore, in his proceedings the sanction of the Protestant nobility, gentry, and proprietors of the soil of Ireland; and in giving opposition to what was regarded as an unjust impost he had the high authority of an act of Parliament.

The influence wrought by Dr. Doyle's evidence and writings on the Tithe Question, was neither ephemeral nor local. The usually impassive John Bull eagerly devoured them, and shaped his course accordingly. On the 19th August, 1832, the London correspondent of a leading journal, writes: "Dr. Doyle's evidence on tithes has been published here in numbers at 3*d*. each; and wishing to ascertain the extent of the circulation, I inquired of one of the publishers, who informed me that the demand for it is so great that it can with difficulty be met." With a view to oppose tithes, the people assembled to the number of one thousand at New Mills, Hayfield, Glossop, and other parts of England; several arrests were made, but the magistrates seem to have dismissed the complaints.

It has been stated by Dr. Doyle's sister, Mrs. Pierse, that his labour and anxiety in toiling to uproot the Whitefeet confederacy sapped the Bishop's constitution, and finally broke his heart. This calamity was also said to have been accelerated by a public letter from his old enemy, Mr. Finn, in which he taunted Dr. Doyle with having allowed the vile association to grow and prosper in the very

heart of his diocess and under his very eye; and in the next breath Mr. Finn inconsistently sneered at the Bishop's decline of power, because his exhortations and threats to an obstinate portion of his flock had passed unheeded. There would seem to have been private reasons for this unworthy hostility. A near relative of Mr. Finn's had been, a few months previously, a candidate for Carlow; but Dr. Doyle rejected him in favour of Mr. Blackney.

The anxieties to which we have alluded gnawed into his very life, and but too expressively told the tale upon his outward man. He made another special visitation to the disturbed district, and for three hours harangued the misguided people. "Men of the Queen's County," he began, "my blood is upon you!" "His addresses," remarks Canon Pope, "were most powerful and touching—his attitudes, sometimes statuesque and always dignified; his voice, deep-toned and distinct, like the roll of muttered thunder.

Resolved to inflict some indelible mark of reprobation on some Blackfeet, whom he had hopelessly endeavoured to convert from their evil ways, Dr. Doyle, during a visitation at Mountmellick, commanded them to leave the house of God. While the men were moving towards the door, Dr. Doyle repeated the word "Depart" three times; exclaiming "and, if I might venture to anticipate the judgment of the Almighty, I would add—into eternal fire."

The Bishop's burning words seared their way into the guilty, but now remorseful hearts of the men. They flung themselves on their knees, and sought and obtained pardon.

To assume these terrors often cost him a severe struggle. As a contrast to the above anecdote another scene is worthy of attention, in which the man's real nature shows itself prominently. The incident took place during a visitation to Stradbally, nine months later: he addressed the misguided people from the altar, and his language and general demeanour are described by an eyewitness as of a deeply impressive character. A wasting anxiety appeared to have eaten its way into his very soul; bodily weakness oppressed him, and the manner in which he endeavoured to rest his weight upon the pastoral staff was in itself an affecting spectacle. The crozier was composed of mahogany, ornamented by a silver crook. He grasped it sometimes spasmodically, and endeavoured by its aid to sustain his tottering frame. "I was only a little boy then serving the Bishop's Mass," observes our informant, the Rev. J. O'Hanlon, "and, beyond a general impression, I do not remember the sermon; but there is one passage I can never forget, for it wrung every heart. 'Ah! my people,' he said, as tears started down his cheeks, 'you have broken your Bishop's heart.'"

We have asked a favourite pupil of Dr. Doyle's, and one of the few Priests who possessed his entire confidence, to detail, in writing, some of the occurrences which led to the melancholy result recorded in our last anecdote. The Rev. James Delany, P.P. of Ballinakill, Queen's County, has obligingly acceded to our request. In a letter to the author, dated the 23rd of September, 1858, he describes some of the successes and reverses which alternately marked the progress of Dr. Doyle's efforts to convert those who had become illegally leagued:

"You wish me to sketch some outlines of the interviews which took place between the Whitefeet and the subject of your memoir. At many of those I was present by special invitation, and some of them were so strange, grotesque, and wild, owing to the adjuncts of time, place, costume, grouping, gesture, and expression, as to partake highly of the romantic—but it was the romance of real life, and would furnish most interesting matter for the pencil of Hogarth or Vernet. Were you to illustrate some of the most striking passages in your memoir by etchings, I make no doubt that, even after the lapse of so many years, I could supply hints that, in the way of light and shade, background, foreground, and grouping, would be serviceable.

"One of those meetings took place in a colliery district—the focus of faction and illegal associations. It was a beautiful Sunday in September. On the previous Sunday it was announced that the Bishop would attend, for the purpose of addressing the leaders and partizans of the factions then known under the appellations of Black and Whitefeet. The Chapel being small, it was at the same time signified to be the wish of the Bishop, that the women and children should absent themselves. The little Chapel was situate in the bosom of a lovely valley; near it was the police-station, a tavern, and some detached houses. On every side arose abrupt hills—some planted to their summits, others covered with corn in stack and stook, the produce of an abundant harvest. On the hill-side, at a distance, were stationed a large body of police, drawn up in military array. On every ditch and eminence that could command a view were to be seen groups of women and children casting around looks of anxiety and alarm. Below in the churchyard, surrounded by at least 9,000 men, on a tombstone and dressed in episcopal costume—cap, rochet, and with crozier grasped—stood J. K. L.; at his feet, in surplice and soutane, were seated some half-dozen Priests.

"For two hours, and under a strong sun, did the successor of Conleth and Laserian address this vast multitude on the crime and evils flowing from secret societies—perjury, drunkenness, robbery, murder, transportation, and death—the wailings, deso-

lation, and ruin of broken-hearted widows and helpless orphans—the burdens and miseries of the country increased ten-fold—the blighted hopes and frustrated labours of her best and truest sons—these were dwelt on with a force of expression, a pathos, a sublimity of thought, and command of language that was at once irresistible, and at times astounding. Like a stream of burning lava issuing from some fresh crater, it carried away or consumed everything it touched; the hearts and eyes of all were softened. You might behold the big tears chasing each other down the rugged and blackened cheeks of the colliers (those subterranean Bazooks), many of whom came to mock, but remained to pray. The effects of those appeals were instantaneous and incredible. Cart-loads of arms, guns, pistols, and rusty swords, were surrendered at the time and places appointed, whilst many of those misguided men, whose consciences were charred and battered as their faces, returned to habits of order, sobriety, and the observance of their religious duties. But the evil was too deep-seated to be eradicated in a day; like the potato disease that succeeded, its outbreaks and influence were mysterious and inexplicable. Even on those occasions, when the triumphs of this great and good man seemed most complete, there would occur episodes (if I may so use the expression) that marred his success, and contributed not a little to embitter his noble and lofty spirit, and to break up a constitution upon which the wonted effects of over-work and anxiety were already visible.

"On quitting the scene I've just glanced at, on the outskirts of the meeting we encountered a bandit party, maddened with liquor, in their shirts, interchanging deadly blows, and horrible imprecations, and literally covered with blood. It was remarkable in Dr. Doyle, though otherwise a man of great determination and indomitable energy, that on witnessing such scenes he would fall into a state of collapse, moodiness, and taciturnity, that hung about him for hours and days. On this occasion he returned from the meeting to my house, and as we drove along the mountain side, I endeavoured to recall him from the abstraction and soliloquy into which he had fallen, by pointing out the picturesque scenery that opened upon us at every turn of the road. In the valley below ran a winding river, lit up and glistening at intervals with the brilliant rays of a setting sun. The fogs, usual at this season, were slowly emerging from the valley, climbing the mountain brow, and assuming the most fantastic shapes. In the distance, and at the other side of a wooded demesne, clothed in brown and yellow foliage, appeared the ruined tower and graceful spire of the village Church, to which we were approaching. All fell upon his listless eye as if he had never admired or felt their

influence. After incessant boring on my part, he at length muttered: 'Well, James, these people are unfit for liberty! Yes—I adopt the sentiment and language of Wellington. I am not surprised that he has disowned this country and people—they are savages! Yes—they are unworthy of the blessings of liberty!'

"It was at such moments he felt, and reluctantly admitted, that notwithstanding his great name and vast influence he could not heal the wounds of his country, nor exorcise that fell spirit of jealousy, distrust, and disunion, that stalks over the land even to this day. He was not the first great man that failed in the attempt—nor likely the last. Such characters are rare as the comet that has just risen in our horizon—they are men of a century. When speaking of such we may adopt the words of our own poet,

'And when he died, he left his lofty name—
A light, a landmark on the cliffs of fame.'"

The Rev. James Maher, the executor of Dr. Doyle, is of opinion that the above was a mere "impulsive exclamation occasioned by the passing circumstance of the moment, and ought not to be regarded as the Bishop's serious and deliberately entertained opinion. An hour previously he had toiled most energetically in endeavouring to reform the people—thus affording the most practical proofs of an opposite conviction; and there can be little doubt that on the following day, when the momentary shock his feelings underwent had subsided, he recurred to his former views."

Some very remarkable conversions took place; but owing to the strongly revolutionary spirit which prevailed at the time, the Bishop had a more than ordinarily obstinate confederacy to deal with; and he at last came very reluctantly to the determination that the demeanour of the lion should be substituted for that of the lamb. Dr. Doyle announced his intention of fulminating the awful powers with which the Church had provided him, unless the most marked symptoms of a general reformation should become forthwith observable.

The late Very Rev. John Dunne, an old and trusted Vicar of the Bishop's, received this intelligence with some alarm. We quote his letter in full:

"Portarlington, 4th May, 1832.

"My dear Lord—I cannot express how much I regretted not to have been able to meet you and my brother Clergy at Mountmellick on Tuesday last. I was, my Lord, more than ordinarily anxious to see you on that occasion, in order that we might confer for some time on the unfortunate state of this neighbourhood;

and having heard your Lordship's intentions respecting the refractory, I avail myself of the first moment I am able, in order to convey my reflections on the matter, and hope you will not consider it offensive to assume the liberty of doing so.

"To my recollection, I never yet had to be reproached as being too lenient to public sinners; but, on the contrary, had often conscientiously to accuse myself in being almost inexorable in their regard. From a sympathetic feeling, I participate with you on the sad state of our people, and, from my own vexations of mind, while my charge is so comparatively limited, am not surprised that you, my Lord, should be tormented, even to desperation, when you see so many portions of your extensive diocess infected by the increasing malady, after all your exertions—for justly may you say with the Apostle, '*Quis scandalizatur et ego non uror?*' Notwithstanding these feelings my mind strongly leads me to think that extremes at this moment would not produce good, but in all probability effect the contrary. I am told by some persons worthy of credit that the spirit of wickedness is abating; and if so, hopes arise that the example will be followed. Add to this, that the people at this instant seem panic-struck from their apprehensions of the cholera. Nor are these alarms mere phantoms—three persons have died in our town within the week; they were taken off with a few hours' sickness; and the physicians pronounced that these cases are real cholera.

"The confessionals already are more crowded, and every parish will have to feel for itself. This with other considerations, my dear Dr. Doyle, induce me to beseech that you withhold, for some time longer at least, the application of your so justly excited indignation, and give to wretched miscreants one more opportunity of entering on a penitential course, which may rescue them from impending ruin both for time and eternity. Let us, in the name of Heaven, one and all, again raise the standard of the Cross before them, and invite them to seek security under that banner. Let us call on them, as Christians and as members of society, to come and ratify their allegiance at the foot of that sacred emblem of salvation. Let us once more open widely to them the gates of the sheepfold, and the voice of their Pastor may still be attended to. In order to facilitate this their expected return, I would wish to see (*pro tempore*) every missionary Priest have direct power, granted by the Ordinary or his representative, to absolve in all cases even of reservation—these only excepted the enormity of which would call for a reference to the Bishop or his Vicar-General. Should these considerations meet your Lordship's approbation, even partially, I entertain the strongest hope they would produce much good. Permit me once

more to solicit your Lordship's merciful indulgence before you deliver my portion of your people to reprobation, notwithstanding their unworthiness of either pity or indulgence; and let us, your fellow-labourers, who have in conjunction with you to bear our portion of the weighty responsibility, unite with you in humble supplication to the throne of mercy, adopting the language of the prophet—'*inter vestibulum et altare,*' let us cry out, '*parce Domine, parce populo tuo, et ne des hæreditatem tuam in opprobrium.*' Should any class be found amongst our people to persevere in obstinacy after such indulgence, oh! then not only would I consent that the rigorous chastisement of the ecclesiastic law be fulminated against them, but I would exert myself beyond my strength in order to assist in branding them with ignominy and shame—nay, I would even consent that in such parishes Mass should be suppressed for some weeks, until the father would subdue the bad disposition of the son; the brother persuade the brother; and the neighbour convince his neighbour that their evil ways should be abandoned; and, in fine, that every punishment (short of formal excommunication) be put in force until the same portion of the people aid and assist us to bring back the strayed ones to the fold, and enter once more the lists of God's children.

"I now begin to ask myself what induced me to go so far on this subject, and particularly when I consider that the reason or judgment of the writer is not the weight of a feather, compared to the person whom he has the honour of addressing; but my mind has propelled my hand; and now I find I have only space left to assure your Lordship of the sincere respect and esteem with which I remain your Lordship's ever dutiful and obedient servant,

"JOHN DUNNE."*

The Vicar's letter arrived a few hours too late. The Bishop had already taken a decisive step. A letter, of which the following are the salient points, was forwarded to the leading Parish Priests, with a request that the admonition be read on two successive Sundays to each congregation. He recommended that the Priesthood should exhort and assist the owners of property and the well-disposed to arm in their own defence, and, co-operating with the constituted authorities, form themselves into an association for the protection of life and property; to patrol the country by day and night; to detect and apprehend evil-doers, and to terrify them into better habits.

* This zealous Vicar died soon after, and was succeeded in the pastoral charge of Portarlington by the Very Rev. Terence O'Connell, a favourite pupil of the Bishop's. The author cannot allow this opportunity to pass without renewing the expression of his grateful acknowledgments, not only for the warm interest this good Priest has taken in the present work, but for the important aid he has given to it.

Dr. Doyle's admonition commenced by saying that for several months he had witnessed, with the deepest affliction of spirit, the progress of illegal combinations under the barbarous designation of Blackfeet and Whitefeet. He had laboured by letter and by word, by private admonition and by public reproof, to suppress this iniquity. "But the tares, which the enemy of man has in the night-time sown in the field of the Church, have grown up in despite of our watchfulness. Murders, blasphemies, perjuries, rash swearing, robberies, assaults on persons and property, the usurpation of the powers of the State and of the rights of the peaceable and well-disposed, are multiplied and every day perpetrated, at the instigation of the devil, by the wicked and deluded men engaged in those confederacies. We as yet have borne with them; and, anxious to imitate the patience and long-suffering of God, who spares sinners with a view to their repentance, we bear them as yet, and hesitate to cut them off by excommunication from the Church and give them over to Satan. But whilst we thus forbear to exercise the power which is given to us, and to inflict the punishment which these men by their obstinacy have deserved, we are anxious to make known to them and to all the faithful, the detestation in which their crimes are held by Almighty God, the avenger of iniquity, and by His holy Church. Desirous, moreover, of protecting the sacred mysteries of religion from abuse or profanation by those workers of iniquity—without, however, closing against them the doors of repentance—we prescribe and enjoin to all concerned the following regulations."

These ordained that every Priest commissioned to hear confessions should, under pain of privation of his faculties, inquire of each person approaching the tribunal of penance, whether he was then, or had been at any time within that year, connected with any illegal confederacy; and, in the event of an affirmative reply, inform him that by belonging to that confederacy he had rendered himself an accomplice in all its crimes; that his confession could not be received until he should have denounced, in the presence of his companions in crime, all connexion with them, and compensated to his last farthing all and every loss or injury done to the rights, property, or life of his neighbour. These obligations he was bound to fulfil at the expense of all his worldly goods, of his feelings and character, and at the risk, if necessary, even of his life. Should the sinner accept these conditions, he was further to be informed that it was necessary for him, on each Sunday during an entire year, to perform within some chapel the "stations of the holy cross," in commemoration of the passion and death of Christ, whom, by his apostacy, he had again crucified and mocked. Having faithfully complied with these obligations he might be ad-

mitted, at the expiration of a year, to the tribunal of penance. Dr. Doyle, in conclusion, informed his flock that whosoever assisted, encouraged, or abetted the Whitefeet—by command, advice, consent, praise, or flattery, by affording to them refuge or hiding-places, or by receiving plundered arms or goods, by giving to them information, or by withholding information when required by the lawful authorities—became an accomplice in their guilt.

Some theologians imagine that they can discover in these and other regulations from the same pen traces of a tendency to what is technically styled "rigourism." In point of fact, however, they are not "rigourism," but legislation for an extreme case, and by a fearless man.

Jansenistic rigourism does not seem to have obtained any permanent footing in Ireland, notwithstanding that several energetic attempts were made to import it from the Continent. On the 30th March, 1617, we find "John Bishop of Waterford," addressing the Holy See, "From my place of Refuge in Ireland," and bemoaning the existence of certain novel theological opinions including "the fallibility of the Pope—the authority of St. Augustine being of more avail than the Pontifical definitions—of the invalidity of sacramental absolution without *perfect contrition*—of restricting the veneration usually shown to the Blessed Virgin and to the Saints—against the frequenting of sacramental confession, especially with only venial sins—that invincible ignorance of the natural law never excuses from sin—that works of virtue performed without the pure love of God are of no avail to eternal salvation; nay, more, are an impediment to it. These and similar errors have also penetrated this kingdom."* Great exertions were at once made by the Holy See to counteract the growth of Jansenism in Ireland; and we are assured that "such was the vigour of the opposition directed against it that, during the next thirty years, its very name was almost unknown there."† But the error, although arrested in its course, was not yet annihilated. In 1719 we find the vigilance of the Holy See again awakened. An admonitory address was transmitted to the Prelates of Ireland exhorting them to earnestly repel the contagion which some Jansenistic emissaries had then been recently spreading. The Bishops reverently responded to the call, proved their inviolable attachment to the See of Peter, and, in documents still extant, avowed their acceptance of the constitution "*Unigenitus*."

Jansenism fled from before this mitred host; but, like the poison of the small pox, it left its disfiguring mark behind. The

* "Memoirs of Archbishop Oliver Plunkett, compiled from original documents, by the Rev. P. F. Moran, D.D."—Dublin, Duffy, 1861, p. 252.

† *Ibid*, p. 256.

Bishop of an extensive diocess in Ireland assures us that until the life-time of his predecessor there was a statute in force which forbade, under pain of suspension from faculties, any Priest to administer the Blessed Sacrament to a penitent oftener than once a-month! We are further assured by some old ecclesiastics that in their young days men who frequented the Sacraments monthly were looked upon in much the same light as daily communicants are now. The sermons then preached were also tinged by rigourism. "It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven" was a favourite text in those days; the preacher would elaborately expatiate upon it, and conclude by showing, on evidence amounting to moral demonstration, that out of the vast congregation who hung breathless on his words, not more than three or four could reasonably hope to be saved!

This tinge of rigourism was preserved for a time by the continental education which, during the operation of the Penal Laws, the Irish Clergy, almost without exception, received; and we cannot feel surprised that the strong Gallican* principles inculcated abroad should have produced its fruit in Ireland. But they are now not merely locally, but universally extinct.

The Very Rev. John Dunne, in the letter recently quoted, alludes to the formidable advance of Asiatic cholera into Dr.

* Dr. Doyle has been repeatedly called "a strong Gallican"—but, it would seem, without sufficient grounds. It is a notorious Gallican dogma that a General Council is above a Pope in authority. The Baron Henrion, in his "*Histoire Générale de L'Eglise* (tom. xiii., p. 472), reminds us that Dr. Doyle was asked by the Parliamentary Committee, in 1825, if the King could convoke a council. "Le Docteur Doyle répondit que non, qu'il fallait que l'autorité ecclesiastique intervint, et que les decrets d'un concile n'avaient de force qu' autant, que le Pontife Romain les avait confirmés." Thus we find this so-called Gallican utterly repudiating a fundamental principle of Gallicanism, and declaring that, so far from a General Council being superior to the Pope, it solely derives its authority from the Pontiff's confirmation of its decrees.

Perhaps the strongest arguments which have ever been written in advocacy of the Sovereign Pontiff's authority may be found from p. 32 to 54 in Dr. Doyle's final answer to Dr. Magee. J. K. L. no doubt in one book, the "Essay on the Catholic Claims," expressed strong dissent from some views advanced by Pope Gregory; but it should be remembered in extenuation that St. Polycarp differed with Pope Anicetus on the Paschal question; and St. Bernard, in his treatise *De Consideratione*, written for the instruction of Eugene III., gives expression to some sharp criticism against certain authorities at Rome. It is really amusing to hear some Catholic divines pronouncing Dr. Doyle to have been not only too liberal, but wanting in devotion to the Pontifical authority, while influential critics on the Protestant side express views diametrically opposite—thus: "In speaking of his own Church Dr. Doyle is arrogant and intolerant, and presents one of the truest pictures of an obedient son to the See of Rome, which these countries ever produced. If Dr. Doyle had power, Popes Gregory or Boniface could not desire a more able or willing instrument to lay Ireland in shackles at the feet of their Holinesses." (*Vide* "Hansard," p. 32 [1825]—Speech of G. R. Dawson, Esq., M.P.)

Doyle's diocess. We are informed by the Clergymen who acted as Curates to Dr. Doyle that this terrible visitation was the only thing of which they ever knew him to be in dread. But, although it filled him with terror, his courage was too genuine to permit this feeling publicly to betray itself. Hoping to inspire his Priests with courage, he was always the first, at the earlier stages of the plague, to follow a cholera corpse to the grave.

The spirit of zeal and labour which animated his bosom, notwithstanding the daily tightening grasp of disease, continued still indomitable. "Feed the flock of God which is among you, taking care of it not by constraint, but willingly according to God; not for filthy lucre's sake, but voluntarily; neither as lording it over the Clergy, but being made a pattern of the flock from the heart." (1 *Peter*, v.) Such was the maxim—such the fundamental principle upon which he acted. "While I had the happiness to live as a Priest under his jurisdiction and fostering care for ten years," says the late Bishop Kinsella, "never did he ask a Priest to discharge a duty of which he had not first given the example—never did he impose a burden on another which he had not borne himself."

The Reform Bill for Ireland disappointed Dr. Doyle. It diminished the elective franchise instead of extending it; the qualification for a voter both in counties and boroughs was too high; while the glaring inadequacy in the number of representatives struck him but too forcibly. Cumberland, with a population of 169,681, got four members; Cork, with a population of 807,366, had only two. Leicestershire contained 197,276 inhabitants and had just received an increase to four members, while Tipperary, with nearly 500,000 inhabitants, had to content itself with two. We might subjoin a long series of parallel columns exhibiting the same sort of inconsistency, but the specimen furnished will probably suffice.

The irritation which this injustice awakened in the mind of Dr. Doyle was not diminished by a reiterated effort, on the part of Mr. Stanley, to crush the tithe agitation by a series of prosecutions. But this proceeding, however harassing, had only the effect of making "tithe-martyrs" of the victims; and men, of whom the public would otherwise have known nothing, were at once cheered and chaired as benefactors of their country, creed, and kind. "A verdict of guilty," observes the late Member for Cork, "was a God-send to them, so much did it alter and exalt their position. They became forthwith immortalized as patriots. So much for the tithe warfare of the Stanley Government of 1832."

But it was not obscure persons only who were made to feel

the force of Mr. Stanley's lash. Several magistrates, including Sir R. Nagle, a deputy-lieutenant, were dismissed for daring to participate in anti-tithe demonstrations.

Mr. Stanley's prosecutions not seeming to answer the purpose for which they were instituted, the Insurrection Act was threatened; in reference to which O'Connell declared that if the peace of Ireland could not be preserved without it, the connection between the two countries was not worth maintaining for a single hour. "Oh," he added, "how often have I watched and traced its progress in oppression, in bloodshed, and immorality, and tyranny! Oh, how many an act of immorality has it not produced! Many a blooming, chaste, and innocent sister has been seduced to the commission of sin, to bribe some village despot or magistrate, that a brother or a father may be kept at home. Oh, how many a farm has been given up, and how many a home left desolate, to bribe some heartless landlord, that a brother or a father may not be transported under the operation of this law!"

On the 31st of May, 1832, it was ordered by the House of Commons that a Select Committee be "appointed to examine into the state of the disturbed counties of Ireland, into the causes which have produced the same, and into the efficiency of the laws for the suppression of outrage; and to report their observations thereupon to the House." The Committee was comprised of Mr. Stanley, Sir George Murray, Lord Ebrington, Lord Oxmantown, Lord Duncannon, Lord Ossory, Lord Killeen, Sir Charles Coote, Sergeant Lefroy, Sir John Burke, Sir E. Hayes, the Solicitor-General for Ireland, Mr. Spring Rice, Mr. More O'Ferrall, Mr. Wyse, Mr. Grattan, Mr. O'Connell, and Colonel Percival. The chairman of the Committee was Sir Henry Parnell, who, having written to Dr. Doyle for his opinion and advice, received the following reply:

"Carlow, 5th June, 1832.

"My dear Sir—I entirely agree with you in the opinion that this country could not be worse governed, unless by the Tories—for their system now would kindle at once a civil war. I confess I do not see the object of your present Committee—for what is there in the disturbances now prevalent that is not known, or that differs from all those that preceded them?

"The Rev. Mr. O'Connor of Maryborough is very nervous; you must treat him with indulgence or he will be unable to state what he knows. If you call on a second of the Catholic Clergy, I would recommend Mr. Delany, of Ballinakill, or Mr. Malone of Mountrath. John Bray of the same place, long versed in the cotton manufactory would in my opinion be a very useful witness; and John Cahill of Cloneybacon, near Carlow, is a large

landholder, and well acquainted with the collieries and all that regards them. So is Mr. E —— of D——, but his farming the arrears due to the Grand Canal Company, and his rigid conduct in other respects, have rendered him one of the many who occasioned the disturbances. He changed his conduct at my suggestion, through Colonel Rochfort, or would have been murdered; but he might prove a useful witness. H—— S—— is another well acquainted with that district; but is also one of those who excited the disturbances by the ejection of poor tenantry.—Always most truly yours,

"✠ J. DOYLE."

A great deal was got through during the interval which elapsed between the date of the above letter and the following reply :

[*Private.*]

"London, 89, Jermyn-street, 6th July, 1832.

"MY DEAR LORD—I got the Committee to summon and examine all the witnesses you proposed. The questions put by the Committee are, for the most part, inapplicable to the object of inquiry; but the result will be the bringing together of a great deal of useful information. I have no idea of what the Report will consist, if we can agree to one. Mr. Kehoe and Mr. Delany gave evidence in a way extremely satisfactory to the Committee; also Mr. O'Connor. Colonel Percival paid the latter great compliments. The Colonel and the other Conservatives on the Committee have behaved very well—with perfect good humour; and I have no doubt that if the higher authorities would act with more discretion, the two extremes of party might soon be reconciled. Mr. O'Connell, you will have seen, has made a desperate attack on me. I dispelled all his charges about secret interference with one or two sentences in the House; and yesterday I attended a meeting of Irish Members, and put everything to rights about the resolution he said I was a party to. Several Irish Members complain of their conduct at the meeting being made use of in the way mine was. Mr. O'Connell behaved very properly, in expressing himself towards me in terms that I considered as of regret for what had happened, and we afterwards proceeded very cordially and amicably in taking the lead at the meeting in resisting Mr. Stanley's new Tithe Bills.—Believe me yours very faithfully,

"H. PARNELL.

"P.S.—I have this moment heard what is a symptom of Government giving way on the Tithe Bills."

Sir Henry had no idea at this time "of what the Report should consist," or whether the Committee would "agree to one." On

the 2nd of August a Report was adopted, from which we learn that since the appointment of the Committee, a considerable improvement had taken place in the state of the disturbed districts. This they attributed, in a great measure, to a special commission which had tried the persons apprehended for acts of insurrection in the Queen's County. The result of that commission had proved that the law when vigorously administered was adequate to suppress outrage, and the Committee consequently felt relieved from the necessity of taking into consideration the expediency of strengthening it. They recommended that instead of a Clerk of the Crown for each circuit in Ireland, there ought to be one for each county; and that he ought to be made an efficient officer for assisting the magistrates in the investigation of crimes immediately on their commission. Many other views were expressed in the Report for which the Committee were directly indebted to Dr. Doyle. The following correspondence passed between the Bishop and the late Secretary-at-War while the Report on the State of Ireland was in preparation:

"Carlow, 14th July, 1832.

"My dear Sir—I have been employed in visiting the Queen's County since the 1st of July, and only on my return here last night was favoured with your letter of the 3rd inst.

"The combination of the Whitefeet within this diocess is broken up. They have surrendered generally the arms robbed by them; but they themselves are so demoralized that no reliance can be placed on their present professions. The country requires for the labouring class more employment, better wages, an efficient civil force to curb the licentiousness of the turbulent, depraved, and half-employed youth, with an immense reduction in the number of licenses to sell whiskey, and more zeal in the excise officers to prevent illicit ale-houses. Your Report would go thus far, I suppose, without interfering more directly with the administration of justice, the ejection of tenants, or other tender and difficult subjects. But this Government, pursuing its present system, can give no effect to any recommendation of yours.

"I found from conversing with the agitators that Mr. Stanley and Mr. O'Connell had done you much injury. I exerted my utmost ingenuity to set those people right; but they are selfish and obstinate. However, I hope some impression was made on them.

"Stanley's naming you was like revenge. . . . . If Government persevere in upholding the Church Establishment, all prospect of peace vanishes; but even if that question were settled, O'Connell would remain to prevent the extremes from meeting.—Ever, my dear Sir, &c.,

"✠ J. Doyle."

"House of Commons, 16th July, 1832.

"My dear Lord—As the Committee on the State of Ireland will soon have to consider their Report, I should be glad to hear from you anything you could suggest to produce a useful Report. We cannot properly, consistent with our power, go much into tithes, Poor Laws, &c.; but as immediately connected with disturbance and outrage, the case of vagrancy will be one to be attended to; and something of relief and control might be proposed in the spirit of the evidence you gave before Mr. Rice's Committee.

"By the accounts I receive the Queen's County is quite quiet. The evidence given before the Committee proves this to be very much owing to your exertions.

"Although my name does not appear in the published list of the Ministry on the new Tithe Bill, I was one of it, and my name ought to have been inserted.—Believe me, &c.,

"H. Parnell."

"Carlow, 18th July, 1832.

"My dear Sir—You have received ere now my last letter, wherein I took the liberty of anticipating something of what, in your letter of the 16th inst., you allow me to suggest. I would then probably have adverted to some recommendation being inserted in your Report respecting vagrancy and mendicancy, and the necessity of checking them by some such means as the Committee would approve of; but knowing the inefficiency of the Government, and the division of opinion on this subject among the Members of the House of Commons, as evinced in the debate on Mr. Sadler's late motion, I thought better to omit all mention of it to you. But, whatever the evidence before you may warrant, I am sure you could safely assert that vagrancy and mendicancy are among the chief causes of the demoralization of the poor, and that a remedy for that evil, as well as a strong check to the sale of whiskey—whether in retail by grocers or in hovels licensed or unlicensed—are as necessary to the prevention of combination and crime as even education or increased employment. I am indifferent as to the mode of relieving the really distressed poor, and of expelling from society the idle impostors and vicious vagrants who infest and infect it; but something of the outline given in my evidence before Mr. Rice's Committee appears to me the most easy and effectual means that could be adopted for that purpose. Mr.—— continues, in my opinion, to do an immense injury to this country by deceiving the public on the subject of Poor Laws; but he is insane if he be sincere in his late project of curing the immoralities and providing for the wants of the poor, by furnishing the C. Clergy

with glebes and glebe-houses. I wish he would cease to incumber us with his protection; our Church does not require his care or that of Parliament. *Laissez nous faire* is all we want; but the poor and the interests of peace and order demand the most speedy and serious attention.

"Mr. Stanley's project of perpetuating the Church Establishment in this country will prolong the social warfare till that project is overthrown. He cares more for the Church than for the country; he may ruin both, but will himself escape from the evils he shall have brought on us. No Englishman should be Secretary for Ireland; for he can neither comprehend the country nor feel for its interest.

"I think you should have some Dublin paper to publish your name as having voted for Mr. Grattan's resolutions. The press here and many of the agitators are ill-disposed, and would be glad to misrepresent you.—Ever most truly yours,

"✠ J. Doyle."

"89, Jermyn-street, 18th July, 1832.

"My dear Lord—Your letter, which I received yesterday, goes far to answer my letter written a few days ago. I fear it will be difficult to get the Committee to agree to a satisfactory Report. I shall oppose all strong measures, and generally support the opinion given in the evidence of Rev. Messrs. O'Connor, Delany, and Kehoe. Some of the Members propose only to report the evidence. Now that we are so near getting rid of the main political grievances, what seems to require all attention is the demoralized condition of the lower orders. I hope, when attention may be thus directed merely to a single object, that a remedy will be found.

"What you say as to Mr. Stanley's motive in quoting me is, I believe, quite true. Not having conveyed to him my opinion, I had no right to dispute the fact as stated by him, of his having been influenced by it; although I cannot believe he was—for he never paid the slightest attention to any other opinion of mine on Irish affairs. As the papers may not have correctly stated what I said in the House of Commons, I wish to repeat the substance to you—namely, that on seeing in the first Irish Reform Bill, last September, it was proposed to adopt the English plan of registry, I asked Mr. Crampton to tell Mr. Stanley I thought it was unfit for Ireland. I never afterwards had any other communication with him on the subject. I did not know he had altered the Bill about the registry till the second Bill was printed in January last; and I did not know that he had taken the least notice of the opinion I expressed last September till he quoted

it in the House of Commons; so that, in point of fact, I may say I had nothing whatever to do with the present Bill.

"On my mentioning these things in the House, Mr. O'Connell said that if I had been in the House to state them sooner he would not have imputed any blame to me. His accusation about proceedings at a meeting of Irish Members arose from a resolution being entered as *nem. con.* which I did not hear passed. I satisfied a subsequent meeting completely on this point.

"I trouble you with these explanations knowing how difficult it is to remove the impression made by Mr. O'Connell's letters, and from feeling that you will have the goodness to give circulation to them. I hope to be in Ireland early next month.—Believe me, &c.,

"H. PARNELL."

We find all the points suggested by Dr. Doyle embodied in the Report of the Select Committee. The Blue Book forms an enormous tome, and is furnished with maps and a valuable appendix of documents, which lend more than average interest to the inquiry. Dr. Doyle's opinion of it, is recorded in the following correspondence with Sir Henry Parnell:

"Monasterevan, 17th August, 1832.

"MY DEAR SIR—I arrived here this morning with a hope of meeting you, and feel disappointed at your absence, as I fear I may not be at home when you will visit our neighbourhood. Your letter on the subject of the Report, which I had the honour of receiving on yesterday, is very satisfactory; and the Report itself ought, I think, to give satisfaction generally, though it be not as decided, with respect to the magistracy, police, or a provision for the poor, as many persons could wish.

"You will in a few days be able to collect information as to the opinions and prejudices regarding yourself existing among the popular party in this country. I have been incessant in my endeavours to uphold your claims upon those with whom I am connected. I know I have succeeded to a great extent; but, if you find their warm support necessary, you will have to discuss with many of them personally the questions and doubts which occupy their minds. Lord Duncannon [Home Secretary] has just called on me. We had much conversation, both on the state of this country and on the position and prospects of the Ministry. I expressed my opinions freely enough to him, but I fear neither mine or those of his Lordship are likely to be attended to.

"Though I shall be from home generally till the end of September, I hope I may be fortunate enough to meet you; if not, I shall receive any communication addressed to me at Carlow.—Most truly yours,

"✠ J. DOYLE."

The Bishop was never more ready in receiving distinguished visitors like Lord Duncannon than in giving audience to the lowly penitent or suppliant pauper. A woman in an humble sphere, who had been under Dr. Doyle's spiritual direction, informs us that in the midst of his most onerous avocations—when influential men were often sent away from his door, as "the Bishop could not be seen that day"—he would come out to cheer and console her. "Now, my child, tell me all the little crosses, joys, troubles, and doubts you have had since I last saw you." On one of these occasions he was handed a letter containing the present of a gold crucifix from a former pupil, who had just been raised to a Bishopric. "Ah! poor boy," he mused, "you have not yet felt the thorns which press beneath the weighty mitre."

The King's speech, on Thursday, the 16th August, was more than ordinarily vague. It allowed that nothing was settled either in Portugal, Belgium, or Ireland; but it breathed ardent hopes for the future—"a coin," caustically observes Raikes in his Journal—"a coin in which this Government pays largely." His Majesty fell into deep popular odium. On his way to Parliament he was hooted and insulted in the public streets. "The doctrine of 'No King' is reviving here," writes Lord Eldon to his brother; thus verifying the remark of Mr. Spring Rice in 1825—that the mob who were so clamorous in shouting "No Popery" would be the first to cry "No King" in the same manner. On the 19th June, while his Majesty was seated on the grand stand at Ascot races, a stone, propelled with great violence, struck the Royal forehead!

The fermentation of the popular masses was not diminished by Mr. Stanley's slowness in conceding the reforms for which they contended:

"Portrane, 20th September, 1832.

"My dear Lord—Although I had the pleasure of seeing you soon after the date of your letter written at Monasterevan, I have considered it required a special acknowledgment for the very warm interest displayed in it for my success in the Queen's County. I have taken every opportunity that has fallen in my way of discussing fully and freely the several points the popular leaders have most at heart, and always with great advantage to myself; but I could perceive that this was very much owing to your previous conversations with them. I met, in fact, with no real hostility on their part; but this was not the case with some of the Protestant Clergy. They would, if they could, have a Conservative candidate, or even two—for my colleague [Sir Charles Coote] is very much out of favour with them.

"I attended the first meeting on Tuesday of the Commis-

sioners of Ecclesiastical Inquiry. The party consisted chiefly of Archbishops, Bishops, and Deacons, with the Chancellor, and the two Ecclesiastical Judges—Ratcliff and Meredith. But Mr. Stanley having produced the queries issued by the similar Board in England, they were adopted—very much, I imagine, against the real sense of the meeting; for they will certainly produce a full explanation of the nature and amount of all the Church property in Ireland.

"I dined with Mr. Stanley in the evening, and had a great deal of conversation about the Tithe Question. He seemed to me not yet to comprehend the true circumstances of the case, either with respect to the urgency of a great change, or to the means of accomplishing it.

"A very kind note I lately received from Lord Brougham, asking me to give him my opinions, and send him all the information I could collect, gives me hopes that he is now fully occupied with the subject, and that we shall have the advantage of his more powerful mind in directing the measures of the Cabinet. Mr. Doyle and Mr. Birch having represented to me, a few days before I left the Queen's County, the advantages which would be derived from Government making some early declaration on the subject of the settlement of the Tithe Question, I mentioned this to Mr. Stanley, and begged Sir William Gosset to press it on Lord Anglesey's attention.—Believe me, my dear Lord, &c.,

"H. PARNELL."

Dr. Doyle's correspondence on the Tithe Question is voluminous during this and the following months. We select from his papers the salient points of a letter addressed to him by a venerable Quaker gentleman of Warwick, which are not without interest:

"2nd Day of Ninth Month, 1832

"BISHOP—Seeing the abuse which has been lavished upon thee on account of thy writings upon the tithes, I have taken the liberty of wishing thee God speed in what I firmly believe to be God's most holy work. I see that many of the newspapers are bitterly against thee, call thee seditious, and urge thy prosecution. Nevertheless be of good cheer. So did the men in power—those, too, who made a profession of religion whereby to hold temporal power and the wealth of the Temple—the High Priests and Pharisees of the Jews, persecute, punish, and declare seditious Jeremiah and Isaiah, the mournful of the Royal Prophet. The principles which I hold, and in which I have been educated, are in perfect accordance with thine upon the anti-Christianity of tithes. The promulgators of my religious views, Fox, Penn, and Barclay, were deemed rebellious by the powers that in their time ruled. For

their preaching Christianity without price, and testifying against the injustice of taking by force and violence one-tenth of the gross produce of the soil, in the name of and under the pretence of serving the God of Peace, these men and their followers were persecuted, fined, and imprisoned—many hundreds of them unto death. From the evidence of deep research which I perceive in thy various writings, I presume that thou art aware of the writings and exertions of William Penn in the cause of religion, humanity, and for promoting the happiness and liberty of the whole family of mankind. Yet the dungeon was his reward. . . . . .

"*The Courier*, in commenting on the late murders at Wallstown and on thy letter, quotes the passive resistance of the Quakers, and pronounces their passive resistance to be quite different from that of the Papists in Ireland. It states that the Quakers place no impediment in the way of collectors, but even place money from which the tithe collector may help himself. Oh, the ignorance of these writers! On the contrary, the Quakers, at their monthly meetings, have questions investigating into the manner in which their members have discharged their testimony against tithes; and if any Friend has connived, he is discovered—nay, a committee is appointed to call upon every Friend, and bring in a copy of the warrant of distraint, the value of the goods distrained, the names of the justices who signed the warrants, and of the persons who distrain—all these particulars are recorded, and exist from the beginning of the Society, and ought to be published; but modern Quakerism has become allied with the funding, or what I call the blood-money system—to the ruin, I think, of pure Christianity."

Carlow was thrown into a state of great excitement during this month, by the arrest and imprisonment of Father Andrew Fitzgerald, the venerable President of its College. The offence which provoked this chastisement, was his reiterated refusal to pay tithes. Mr. Thomas Haughton, a Quaker gentleman of Carlow, was with others placed in detention at the same time. An appeal to the common sense and justice of the country, signed by Dr. Fitzgerald and his fellow-prisoners and dated from the gaol, was issued. We are informed by the Rev. Dr. Taylor that this document was written by Dr. Doyle. A paragraph occurred in the first draught of the appeal beginning—"We declare, in the face of heaven;" but Mr. Haughton, who had odd notions on revealed religion, sent Dr. Doyle word that he would not sign any paper with "hell," "heaven," or "soul" in it. "Well, strike them out," replied Dr. Doyle; "and it would be well for Tom Haughton if he could get rid of them in reality as easily."

CHAPTER XLIII.

Lord Anglesey in a passion—The four gun-brigs—Caustic letter from Dr. Doyle to his Excellency—Alexander and the Dervise—Tithe cruelties—More massacres—Remarkable circumstances attending the composition of Dr. Doyle's letter—Its extraordinary effect on Lord Anglesey—He seeks an interview with Dr. Doyle—Correspondence with Mr. Stanley and W. Smith O'Brien, M.P.—The Rev. Dr. Boyton—Repeal makes great head—Enthusiasm of the people—Attempted coalition between the Repealers and Conservatives—Honesty of Lord Anglesey's intentions—Imbecility of Lord Grey—Letters to Sir H. Parnell—Mr. Pat Lalor, M.P., and his puns—The visitation—"Bruen at the head of the poll"—General election—Letters to Mr. Vigors, Mrs. Coney, and others—The Bishop's conversations—The Association of Irish Volunteers founded—Agrarian terrorism—196 murders in one year—The Coercion Bill—Correspondence with Mr. Lambert, M.P.—The Irish Volunteers suppressed—Agitation kept up in another shape—Dr. Doyle describes his excursion to Harrowgate—He visits Leamington—"Doctors differ and patients die."

THE tithe prosecutions continued, and Lord Anglesey rapidly lost ground in the affections of the Liberal party. With the Conservatives he had long been deeply unpopular; and on the occasion of a dialogue between his Excellency and a Liberal deputation at Cork, he lost temper, talked of sealing up the Irish ports with four gun-brigs; and, alluding to the two parties, said: "I will put you both down!" At another stage of the conversation, the Marquis assumed rather a plaintive tone, adding: "For myself, I am suffering martyrdom between the parties." It was impossible not to admire the frankness and candour of Lord Anglesey, however much his hearers were obliged to dissent from several of the views advanced. "I am not doing things according to form," he said. "Here I am talking to you in a manner which etiquette and ceremonial would not admit; but I wish to speak with you in a friendly way, and to impress on your minds that the courses pursued at public meetings, and those angry collisions with the Government, militate against the very objects which are sought to be accomplished."

Some days later we find sixteen members of the grand jury of the Queen's County, and half-a-dozen magistrates, coming to the support of Lord Anglesey's tottering popularity. A highly eulogistic and congratulatory address having been presented, his Excellency, whose chief foible was a susceptibility to flattery, eagerly took the bait, and forthwith launched into nine or ten paragraphs of fluent commentary on men and things. The weakness of Lord Anglesey's character was exhibited in this proceeding. He would seem to have forgotten that the policy of a Viceroy is to act and not to talk, and that whenever a speech or reply is unavoidable, it should be in the highest degree vague.

"All this froth," observes *The Comet* of that day, "might have passed off without exciting more than the silent contempt of plain reasoners, or the smile of lordling wittols, had not the two silly productions, unfortunately for the inditers, fallen under the penetrating scrutiny of J. K. L." Dr. Doyle's letter is dated the 26th of August. Alluding to the congratulations which had been offered to Lord Anglesey on the result of the special commission, he writes:

"No one, not even your Excellency, rejoices so much at that result as I do; not because there is no one—not even your Excellency, nor the Judges who presided at the commission, nor the magistrates and juries who co-operated with them—who have contributed so much to produce that result as the Clergymen with whom I labour; but I rejoice at it because crime has been arrested in its course, good order in some degree re-established, and many profligate and abandoned sinners induced to return to the ways of repentance.

"Satisfied with the pacification of the hitherto disturbed districts, I would not feel myself called upon to notice any congratulations on the subject, were there not certain passages in your Excellency's reply intended to justify the strong, if not extreme, measures lately employed to embarrass or prevent meetings on the subject of tithes, as also to censure or condemn the opinions of those who hold, as I do, the perfect legality and strict propriety of leaving the Church to its legal remedy for the recovery of tithe.

"Whilst the expositions of law on the subject of public meetings, or on the duties of tithe-payers, were confined to reports in newspapers of Judges' charges, or speeches of advocates, I thought them undeserving of notice, being well assured of the low estimate in which such harangues are held by the discerning portion of the public; but when your Excellency deigns from your high eminence to instruct the public, my anxiety to prevent misconception or error on their part is excited to a proportion with the honour I owe you, and the exceeding respect and affectionate esteem I entertain for your Excellency. Your Excellency's eloquent and energetic reply sets forth 'that obedience to the existing laws, in the most comprehensive sense of the proposition, is the duty of every subject of the King.' The clause 'in the most comprehensive sense of the proposition' would have been better omitted by your Excellency—for it might be understood to imply the doctrines of 'passive obedience and non-resistance,' which the British and Irish nations condemn; it might also be understood to mean that laws, strictly penal, bind men's consciences, which doctrine is opposed to the law of nature, and rejected from our jurisprudence, as Blackstone testifies.

"Having thus commenced with doubtful language, your Excellency proceeds: 'True and indisputable as this is, I have felt myself called on to make the observation, because I am persuaded that many persons have been deluded by the pernicious doctrine of late so frequently inculcated—that it is compatible with law by any contrivance to evade the performance of the obligations it imposes, and frustrate the means which it provides for their enforcement.'

"What your Excellency has said is true only in a limited sense, and it is, therefore, by no means indisputable; indeed, many volumes have been written to prove or to disprove what your Excellency assumes to be beyond dispute; and the doctrine 'that it is not compatible with law to evade the performance of the obligations it imposes, and frustrate the means it provides for their enforcement,' is true and indisputable only as to just laws, but not with regard to every law; for some laws may be so unjust and so injurious to the public good that 'to evade them' is a duty, and 'to frustrate the means provided to enforce them' is an exercise of a social or moral virtue. Witness the law which made the disobedience and apostacy of the child the means whereby to disinherit the father—the law of discovery, whereby the man who betrayed the confidence of his friend possessed himself thereby of that friend's estate—the law which disabled a father to be the guardian of or to educate his own child, or which robbed him of his horse upon the highway, if when interrogated he confessed his faith. Would it not, my Lord, be a duty to evade such laws, and an act of virtue 'to frustrate the means provided for their enforcement?' But then your Excellency rejects and condemns such laws. Such laws, however, did exist; and I have in my possession the proclamation of one of your Excellency's predecessors in office, who urges the enforcement of them because he thought 'that obedience to the existing laws, in the most comprehensive sense, was the duty of every subject of the King.' How liable, my Lord, are men in power to be deceived by an appearance of good, and how cautiously should men tread on ashes which only cover flame! But your Excellency has in view the law of tithe; it is of this you predicate that it should be obeyed in its most comprehensive sense.

"Will not, however, your Excellency allow each of the King's subjects to abound in his own sense? Will you not pardon me, and the millions who think with me, if we consider the law which extorts tithes from us, to uphold a Church which has been and still is the source or instrument of all our sufferings, as not less penal, less odious, less unjust, less opposed to the public good, than the most cruel and unnatural of the laws to which I have just alluded?

"Is it to justify laws which we thus estimate that your Excellency vouchsafes to instruct us? Is it to confound them with just and useful laws that advocates have harangued, and Judges stained their ermine? Nay, was it not for this the navy of Great Britain was unmoored and her trident lifted up—is it not for this the victors in a hundred battles are harassed and disgusted? Or is it for this we are made a by-word to the surrounding nations, and our discord trumpeted through every clime? Is it for this our councils are distracted, our senate changed into a house of strife, our improvement in commerce, agriculture, and civilization retarded, and we ourselves left exposed to sedition, and perhaps eventually to civil war? But, above all, is it to compel obedience 'in the most comprehensive sense of the proposition,' to a law which we thus detest, that your Excellency, so rich in kindness, so attached to Ireland, so fond of justice, would display the terrors of your power, and almost threaten to bathe your sword with blood?"

But Dr. Doyle expressed his conviction that such an act was far from the Viceroy's thoughts. If some of his predecessors in office had left the shores of Ireland laden with the curses of an afflicted country, the tears of her affectionate sorrow should fall upon the Paget's grave.

Regarding the tithe law, Dr. Doyle asserted that it received due obedience, and which, if the people were to withhold, it would be Lord Anglesey's duty to enforce. They permitted the agents of that impost to execute its penalties; but they appealed to heaven and their friends to witness the injustice, and to manifest indignation at wrongs so cruel. "We bless those who sympathize with us," he added; "we shun those who co-operate in the enforcement of an odious law against us; but if any one resort to violence or intimidation whilst our goods are taken from us—him do we disown. Unless your Excellency can change our nature, you will not alter our purpose—it is fixed and immovable. When the Dervise was asked by Alexander what he thought of the conquest by that warrior of India, he took the dried sheepskin from his shoulders, spread it on the floor of Alexander's tent, and having walked upon it—the skin yielding to the pressure of the foot and rising when the foot was removed—he said, 'Such will be your conquest of India.' The allegory may be instructive also to your Excellency. With horse, foot, and artillery, you may collect the tithe, because we have not the power or the will to resist you; but remove the pressure, and our *passive resistance* will immediately arise."

He prayed Lord Anglesey to consider the nature of the duty which was imposed upon him, and the effects of that law to which

his Excellency would wish J. K. L. and his disciples to yield obedience "in the most comprehensive sense." During the recent Parliamentary Inquiry into the causes of disturbance in the Queen's County, a highly respectable witness was asked if he had known any instances of great severity under the tithe system that might have led the people into those outrages? To this question, which is numbered 3,338 in the Blue Book, he replied: "I have known of potatoes being sold out of the houses of poor people; of the pot to be sold, and a man, left two years and a-half without one, being obliged to borrow a pot to boil his potatoes. I have known the blankets to be taken off the beds of the children; I have known the widow's pig taken away; I have known an aged woman taken out of a sick-bed and laid on the ground, and the clothes, and the bed, and her daughter's clothes, sold for tithes! I have known that in the town of Maryborough."

Lord Anglesey had, no doubt, read that answer; and, having condemned as pernicious the doctrine that a law which works such cruelties ought to be evaded, proceeded to say: "Such an opinion I cannot too strongly reprobate, nor shall any exertions be spared to bring to justice those who act upon it, by entering into illegal confederacies themselves, or (which is equally criminal) inciting others to do so."

In reply to this remark Dr. Doyle argued that the odious name of illegal confederacy might be understood, in this case, to designate what was not only legal, but laudable. He therefore submitted some true and pregnant observations with regard to unions and confederacies of men, and declared that the greatest misfortune, except civil war, which could befal a country was when laws opposed to the public good, or founded on false presumptions or injustice, were sustained and enforced by the executive power in the State. When a circumstance of this sort occurred, the breast of every virtuous subject became the arena of a conflict. "On one side he is urged to honour the King, and yield a ready and willing obedience to the law; whilst, on the other, he is impelled by a sense of justice, and of what he owes to his own and the public interests, to withhold from the executive power the honour due to it, and to defeat the provisions of a law unjust in its nature and opposed to the common weal. . . . . This system, which the laws are said to uphold, finds no advocate; its iniquity is exposed to the whole world; no man even pretends that it is not opposed to all the interests of Ireland; and the sole motive for upholding it, which a man of sense would not blush to avow, is the sanction it borrows from the law."

During the earlier portion of the year 1832, Mr. Stanley introduced a measure which, from its coercive and delusive character,

filled the country with excitement and disaster. It empowered the King to levy, under the authority of an act specially passed, the amount of tithe arrears. The Bill continued: "That it is the opinion of this House, with a view to secure both the interests of the Church and the lasting welfare of Ireland, a permanent change of the system will be required; and that such a change, to be satisfactory and secure, must involve a COMPLETE EXTINCTION OF TITHES, including those belonging to lay impropriators, by commuting them for a charge upon land, or in exchange for an investment in land."

To palliate the despotism of employing the British army in the work of tithe collection, the above somewhat deceitful phrase was inserted. The people, exasperated by the delusiveness of the promised "complete extinction of tithes," became a prey to the utmost excitement, and there can be little doubt that to those words may be attributed the bloodshed which has imparted a melancholy fame to the obscure villages of Castlepollard, Wallstown, Gurtroe, and Dunmanway.

But to resume the concluding portion of Dr. Doyle's letter to Lord Anglesey:

"Is it then prudent, is it wise, is it politic for a Government to announce in Parliament the extinction of this system; then retract their own promise and arm in its defence? Is it wise or prudent to uphold laws which cannot be justified by any argument, save an appeal to the bullet or the sword? Ah! if the dignity of the law is to be upheld, it should be done, not by confounding the good and the bad, but by expunging the latter from the code, as the husbandman separates the chaff from the wheat. This name of law has lost a portion of its power, and the reverence due to the majesty from which it emanated may be utterly lost in the torrent of indignation now sweeping the whole surface of this country.

"But why does not the British Government, whose decrees your Excellency is called upon to execute, take a lesson from itself? That Government commenced with large confederated bodies. They admitted almost to the council-table the leaders of those confederacies—the very men who had marshalled in military array, with officers of different grades, hundreds of thousands of the people, for the undisguised purpose of compelling Parliament to change the constitution of the House of Commons. They did this—and were they censurable for doing so? No! they would have been traitors to their own principles, to their Sovereign, and, above all, to the commonwealth, if they had not done so. Why, what could have been their justification? It was this, and this only. An intolerable, but a legal grievance—the corruption

of the House of Commons—preyed on the people of England; and such was the power of the sect which supported this legal grievance that not the wishes, nor the wants, nor the distress, nor the petitions of that people, but only their threats, through their unions or confederacies, could overcome that power. The Government had to choose between a legal abuse, having what is called prescription in its favour—an abuse secured by some hundred charters—an abuse consecrated by time—an abuse claiming connexion with the power and glory of England—an abuse involving in it the titles, and fortunes, and wealth, and dignity, and privileges of the highest order in the State—the Ministry had to choose between the preservation of this legal abuse and the wrath, and indignation, and resistance of the British people; and the Ministry wisely, and justly, and promptly took up the cause of the people, and, combining with them, overthrew the monstrous legal abuse. The Ministry, at that time, sent forth no circular to the magistrates of England to arrest the leaders of the Birmingham and other unions; they did not make the House of Commons resound with the common-place phrases of prescription, vested interests, or chartered rights; they instructed no Committee of either House to inquire into the state of the representation—though the corruption of it was not half so glaring as the iniquity of the tithe system; they produced no returning officers or patrons of boroughs, to prove the injustice of depriving them of the right to usurp the representation of the people; they did not predict or prognosticate that property in boroughs was like all other property, or that if boroughs were wrested from the usurpers of them, and restored to those for whose benefit they were first founded, no other property would be secure. They voted no money, whilst the strong man withered and the widow and orphan died of hunger, to compensate the borough-monger for the loss he sustained, when the people wrung from him their own dear, sacred, but long-lost rights. They introduced no reports or bills to Parliament to render void their own pledges, to change the name, but to secure and aggravate the sway of an oligarchy, and perpetuate the corruption of the House of Commons. They dispersed no public meetings—they prosecuted no agitators—they dismissed no magistrates—they displayed no fleet or army, nor did they threaten to suspend the palladium of British liberty, and imprison beyond the seas those who importuned them on the subject of Reform. No! In England the Government seemed to recollect it was the creature of the people, and entrusted with power for their good; but in Ireland the rule of policy appears inverted, and that is criminal in this, the *Sister* Island, which in Great Britain is the lawful exercise of a power inherent in its people."

The Bishop vindicated at considerable length the doctrine of passive resistance to which he gave his sanction. Viewed by a mind less tutored in the technicalities of statute law than in the law of nature engraven on the heart, it might appear a righteous union of an aggrieved people, struggling by efforts, which virtue alone could prescribe, to reclaim the plundered pittance of the poor, to expose to shame, to hatred, and contempt the prolonged violation of a sacred trust; and to bend, by long and loud expostulation, the ear of the Legislature to the worst remnant of the Penal Code, and the immeasurable sufferings of an oppressed nation.

Dr. Doyle admired the conduct of that man who sternly refused to pay tithe, but peaceably allowed his goods to be carried away and sold, as the law provided. He could not discover anything immoral or illegal in one man, or ten men, or ten thousand men who, being influenced by the injustice of the tithe law, declined all participation in the enforcement of it, and refused, under this influence, to purchase goods held to sale under the provisions of that law. He thus concluded: "I have written thus far, my Lord, in order to vindicate those principles and opinions which I share and profess with nearly the whole Irish nation. I thought they were glanced at and censured, however obliquely, in the reply of your Excellency, and therefore I hastened to re-assert them. If in doing so I have been wanting in that profound respect which I owe to your Excellency, I have erred through ignorance, and I pray your indulgence."

As this letter may be regarded as the last flash of Dr. Doyle's genius, we have devoted more space to our view and analysis of it than to some other performances of greater length. But, besides that it contains many striking views, this letter was written under circumstances of a very remarkable character. The idea of writing it originated with the late Frederick William Conway, the editor of an influential Dublin journal. He posted down to Carlow, but found that the Bishop had gone to Tullamore, *en route* for Mullingar. Mr. Conway overtook him at an advanced hour on that evening, and at once communicated the idea. "It is very late now," said Dr. Doyle, "and on to-morrow I preach at Mullingar; but, although I am fatigued after travelling all day, I shall do my best, and I hope to let you have the letter in time." Dr. Doyle called for a cup of strong coffee, and set to work. The letter was completed in ample time, but at the sacrifice of his night's rest. The condition of his bed next morning showed the people of the house that Dr. Doyle had not lain down the whole night. He preached on the following day at Mullingar with his wonted vigour and effect. The excitement necessarily awakened

by the composition of this letter banished the fatigue which had previously oppressed him, and he rose from his task buoyant from the effects of a false invigoration. This is proved by the following anecdote. The Parish Priest of Kildare, shortly after the event we have described, had occasion to call at Braganza House. He found Dr. Doyle bending over the grate vainly endeavouring to rekindle the embers he had forgotten to stir, and which, in the absence of this stimulus, had died a natural death. "What have you being doing to let your fire go out, my Lord?" inquired the Priest. "I have been writing for some hours to a leading statesman," he replied. "Your Lordship throws such fire into everything you write," proceeded his visitor, "that, like the burning rays of the sun, no other fire can flourish in your presence." And then, alluding to Dr. Doyle's recent public letter to Lord Anglesey, he asked if he had been greatly fatigued after writing it. "No more than you should be after drinking a bottle of sherry," was the reply. "How did Lord Anglesey take it?" proceeded the Priest. "I hear from good authority," replied Dr. Doyle, "that those about him never at any period saw him so much excited or annoyed. The ball which carried off his leg at Waterloo did not surprise or pain him more. He damned, stamped, and all but danced a *pirouette* of irritation on his cork leg. '*Et tu Brute!*' he exclaimed, 'This from Doyle—impossible!'" The Right Hon. A. R. Blake was probably Dr. Doyle's informant.

The incident at Tullamore, however extraordinary, cannot be regarded as altogether a novelty. The Bishop's servant assured the Parish Priest of Ballinakill that it often happened that her master never lay down the entire night. She frequently had to remonstrate with him on the subject, and he as frequently promised to spare himself; but whenever there was an arrear of work to be mastered, both promises and resolutions generally failed.

It is not surprising that Dr. Doyle's health should have failed as well as the resolutions referred to. His physician strongly urged him to suspend all labour, and retire for a short interval to the Blackrock, near Dublin, for the benefit of the waters. Lord Anglesey expressed a strong desire to have an interview with Dr. Doyle; but the Bishop declined to approach the viceregal court. The mountain therefore decided on going to Mahomet, and his Excellency absolutely repaired to the Blackrock for that purpose. But before Lord Anglesey had reached his destination, he espied the slight figure of Dr. Doyle pacing the footpath, and engaged in reading his Breviary. The Marquis at once alighted; but, being too polite to interrupt him at his devotions, passed and repassed him three different times before the Bishop raised his head from the book. "When he did," observes Mr. Battersby, "the Mar-

quis expressed his desire to speak with him on the all-absorbing question of tithes. Dr. Doyle readily complied with his request, and entered into a lengthened detail of the grievances and oppression of the tithe system, and of the most effectual means of abolishing it for ever. The Marquis pledged himself to forward in every way the Prelate's wishes, and to add all the weight of his office in a remonstrance to the English Cabinet on the subject. It is a curious fact that this remonstrance of the Marquis was not publicly known until the 26th of April, 1834, when Mr. Hume, in the discussion on the Repeal Question, by some mysterious operation, procured a copy of it, and read it to the House of Commons, to the astonishment of Whigs and Tories. It was under the conviction that the Marquis had done what he promised that Dr. Doyle differed from Mr. O'Connell in speaking favourably of his Excellency's intentions."

The letter to which Mr. Battersby alludes was, in the main, a very excellent one. Lord Anglesey, among other matters, impressed on Earl Grey the necessity of a complete reform of the Church Establishment, a satisfactory arrangement of juries, a sound system of Poor Laws and of labour rates, and a suppression of dangerous party processions. How a secret despatch, from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to the Prime Minister of England, should have become public property, without the consent of either, is a mystery which seems as little likely of solution now as it was seven-and-twenty years ago. Lord Anglesey, writing to Lord Cloncurry on the subject, says: "Had my general *opinions* upon public matters been merely quoted, I would not have been surprised—as you know it has ever been my principle to elicit opinions from able men by stating my own—but that a *verbatim* copy of a whole letter should have appeared is inexplicable."

Some persons might be disposed to say that the intercepting of Lord Anglesey's private letter to the Premier was what is commonly designated "a just judgment." It having transpired, in 1844, that the correspondence of Mazzini had been detained and opened under the auspices of Sir James Graham, the public affected considerable indignation, and a Committee of investigation was appointed by the House of Commons. Among other facts which then came to light we learn that, in 1832, the Marquis of Anglesey had applied for and obtained a warrant for the examination of private correspondence as it passed through the General Post Office at Dublin. From that date the practice continued in vogue. In 1834, similar warrants were obtained by the Marquis Wellesley and Mr. Secretary Littleton; in 1836, by the Marquis of Normanby and Mr. T. Drummond; in 1837, by Lord Plunket and the Archbishop of Dublin, then Lords Justices; in

1838, by Lord Morpeth, now Earl of Carlisle; in 1839, by Lord Ebrington and Sir Edward Blakeney; in 1841, by Chief Justice Bushe and Earl de Grey; and in 1842, by Sir Edward Sugden, now Lord St. Leonards. The mode of opening the letters was by softening the seals through the agency of steam.

The following letter to Mr. Stanley, now Comptroller-General of Stamps, records Dr. Doyle's accession to the opinion that a law for relief of the helpless poor of Ireland should be accompanied by a measure to enforce the providing of employment for the able-bodied class, although he apprehended that urging the adoption of the latter might retard the relief of the helpless, which he considered to be pre-eminently necessary.

"I was one of those," observes Mr. Stanley, "who held that the employment of those able to labour was more necessary than a provision for the support of the helpless. I considered that the poverty of the labouring class was continually increasing the helpless class; and that if those able to work *could get it*, their helpless kindred would find succour through the influences of that hearty good nature which prevails in the Irish cabin. At the time, the abused and clumsily contrived means of providing employment in England occasioned much opposition to the relief of the poor Irish labourer; and I endeavoured to show that he could be protected without any violation of the principles of good social economy, and without enabling the indolent to reap the reward of industry, or without localizing labour where not required to profitable work." *

It is to this project that the Bishop adverts in the following letter:

[*Private.*]

"Carlow, 29th October, 1832.

"Dear Sir—The paper of the 19th, which you so kindly sent to me, put me in possession of your views relative to a labour-rate.

"I thought hitherto it would be vain to attempt in Ireland such a measure as you contemplate, and therefore contented myself with urging a provision for the helpless poor, and a power to relieve by assessment the able-bodied in times of extraordinary distress.

"I had no serious doubt at any time, and I have no doubt at all at present, but that the able-bodied poor will in a little time extort a provision for themselves; but I would be exceedingly glad that the Legislature anticipated the coming necessity by the adoption of your plan, which I believe is just and feasible.

"However, as the urging of it at present might interfere with that provision for the helpless poor which is a primary object of

* Letter from William Stanley, Esq., to the author, 4th February, 1858.

my solicitude—and for the adoption of which the Government, the country, and the Legislature, are nearly if not fully prepared—I should think it unwise for me to encumber or embarrass it by proposing or advocating a measure of compulsory relief for the able-bodied, such as yours would be.

"From the opening sentence of an article in the last edition of your paper I apprehend you have been led into a mistake by some careless phrase in my last letter to you.

"The draft of a bill which I mentioned in that letter as having been submitted to the Irish Government was not a draft of a bill to impose a tax on absentees, but a draft of a bill to provide for those classes of our poor who, through age or infirmity, are unable to provide for themselves, as also to enable parishes to assist all classes of their poor in times of extraordinary distress.

"You will excuse me for troubling you with this letter, and believe me, &c.,

"✠ J. DOYLE."

There is also before us a correspondence maintained at the same time, and on the same subject, between Dr. Doyle and W. Smith O'Brien, Esq., M.P. The Bishop was inclined to think that a Committee which Mr. O'Brien projected might, if formed in Dublin, be attended with useful results; and that the country would possibly show a disposition to co-operate through the medium of local Committees. But, as the scheme should have to contend against the two great leaders of party, Dr. Doyle hesitated to give a decided opinion on its practicability. If they foresaw failure, the attempt ought to be abandoned; while, on the other hand, should success seem probable, it would be well to comprise the Committee of moderate men, aided by a zealous and efficient secretary. The Bishop remarked that his own health was far from good, but that whatever co-operation it might be in his power to offer should be cheerfully undertaken. But doubts of success damped his ardour; he feared that the state of agitation and strife in which the whole country was involved would prevent the Committee from collecting the public opinion, or cause the plan to be misunderstood.

The two great leaders of party to whom he alluded were Daniel O'Connell and the Rev. Dr. Boyton. The latter headed the Conservative Nationalists, and acted as their mouthpiece. He daily stung Lord Anglesey on his most vulnerable points. The worst society in Dublin, he declared, was to be found at the Lord Lieutenant's table; and with cruel severity the Rev. Doctor perpetually harped on the mistakes into which his Excellency had fallen. Boyton was a sort of Tory O'Connell; even outwardly he had much of O'Connell's muscular development and girth of

person; he had all his vigour, and not a little of his eloquence. When Lord Anglesey threatened in a passion to blockade the Irish ports, and effect a total suspension of intercourse between England and Ireland, Dr. Boyton caustically observed: "Pray, which of the parties would be the worse for it? England, whose exports are articles which derive their value from the great manufacturing ingenuity exerted on materials of small intrinsic worth; or Ireland, whose exports chiefly consist of articles of food—the staff of human life? If the gallant Viceroy could suspend the intercourse between the countries, and prevent our exporting Irish beef, butter, and corn to England, why I really think that in so awful an extremity we could manage to eat those commodities ourselves! Whereas it would task the powers of even John Bull to masticate and digest a Sheffield whittle, a Worcester tea-cup, or a Kidderminster carpet!"

In December, 1832, the old Parliament dissolved with the old year, and a new one, under the Reform franchises, was summoned. The Repeal agitation had made immense head in Ireland. "It is difficult to convey to those who were not then participators in the struggle," observes the late Member for Cork, "any but a very imperfect notion of the enthusiasm which pervaded the three provinces. The people's hearts were in the cause and contest. Their pride, their traditions, their own reminiscences, and their present condition, combined to inspire them."* "The people did not care a straw for parsons. Whoever would vote for Repeal—he was their man, and they cared for nothing more. The women were as enthusiastic as the men, and would listen to no compromise, no promptings of self-interest on the part of their sons or husbands."† But this enthusiasm was too strong to last. Mr. Fagan continues: "In moments of familiar intercourse Mr. O'Connell often said to the writer, when he was deploring in years subsequent to 1833, the prevailing indifference and coldness, 'Don't mind; the fire but smoulders.'"‡

Although the Rev. Dr. Boyton co-operated in a great degree with O'Connell, there was no cordiality in the act, and it was doubtless owing rather to accident than design. The Repealers having proposed a coalition with Dr. Boyton's party, we are assured by Mr. O'Neill Daunt that he replied in substance as follows: "Sir, they hate you; their enmity is bitter, and it cannot be mitigated. *I* do not participate in it, but I know that any overtures to unite them with the O'Connellites would be perfectly fruitless, from the personal hatred they bear to your leader, and their bigoted horror of the great body of his followers."

* Fagan's "Life and Times of Daniel O'Connell," vol. ii., p. 203.
† *Ibid.*, p. 207. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 205.

The fatally perverse manner in which Lord Grey was governing Ireland imparted increased excitement and daring to the popular masses. It was not the fault of Lord Anglesey that the interests of Ireland had not been consulted in the Premier's policy. Writing to Lord Cloncurry during this year, his Excellency says: "Thank God, I have nothing upon my conscience. I have exerted every means in my power to effect measures of conciliation, redress, and amelioration, if possible before, but at all events simultaneous with, any new law or measure of coercion." And again: "While I have life and hope, no disgust at my treatment, either on this side of the Channel or on yours, shall divert me from using my best energies for Ireland; and O'Connell's 'deplorable Lord Lieutenant,' and Marcus Costello's 'weak and silly Lord Anglesey,' shall still work on at his up-hill and almost hopeless game and drudgery. Mine is, indeed, a laborious and a thankless charge, and I am constantly open to abuse which I know I do not deserve, and which, if I were to expose the truth, would soon change the tone of my traducers."

These letters go far in vindicating Lord Anglesey's policy, which had been cruelly misunderstood, and often misrepresented. The Viceroy goes on to say: "In a former letter you say you wish you could have read to the Committee what I had written to you. I wish to God you could see all I write about Ireland, and publish it too. However, that cannot be; and I must stand a thousand calumnies, and suffer a thousand censures for the faults of others."

The acts of the Ministry, the formidable progress of the Repeal agitation, and the approaching general election, are reviewed in the following letter to Sir H. Parnell:

"Carlow, 18th October, 1832.

"My dear Sir—It is well if even now, at the eleventh hour, the Ministry become wise, or at least desist from proceedings which bespeak on their part something worse than fatuity. But, whilst they speak with you of ceasing to provoke hatred and spill blood, their deputies here are busied in issuing decrees; and our roads are covered with horse, foot, and artillery, as if about to commence a regular campaign. The public hatred against them is at its height; and to bespeak confidence in their intentions would be to expose one's self to utter derision. I really do not know one individual in Ireland who could be brought to confide in them. You know how I hoped in them against hope; but I have ceased to think of them, except with bitter sorrow. Their conduct has rendered law vile, and the administration of it more than ordinarily hated; but what is worse, it has called forth in the democracy a spirit which no law can appease nor force subdue,

and which tends every hour to the breaking up of all the old relations of society, and precipitating the reform of abuses, to the great risk of the public safety. See it in your county, where Pat Lalor will be your colleague, if not your successor, in the representation; in Kildare, where probably More O'Ferrall will be replaced by an adventurer from the North; in this county, where they would go to Calcutta, if necessary, to find an opponent to both Whigs and Tories. All this have the Ministers done in despite of your advice, and of the opinions of every man who know the workings of this country.

"I will look with anxiety for the change you expect; but until I witness it, the prospect of its coming shall have no effect upon my mind or conduct.—Ever truly yours,

"✠ J. DOYLE."

The Times of the day, which had been a powerful eulogist of Lord Grey's government during the progress of the Reform Bill, changed its views as Dr. Doyle had changed his, and now denounced the Ministry with unsparing severity. The other influential journals are not less caustic. "A change must take place," remarks one; "for the country cannot—now that the Reform Bill is passed—brook much longer the utter incapacity of those who are so highly paid for the management of affairs that, to ordinary men of business, are neither intricate nor difficult of comprehension."

Lord Grey at last saw the errors of his Irish policy; but it was now too late to retrieve. This we learn from the following letter to Sir H. Parnell:

"Carlow, 20th December, 1832.

"MY DEAR SIR—I am grieved exceedingly at the necessity imposed on you of declining to stand for the Queen's County. I apprehended for several weeks past that which has occurred, and which I laboured unremittingly, but in vain, to avert. Mr. Lalor, in a conversation I had with him, gave me to understand he concurred in my wish, that no second Repeal candidate should be started; in which state of things I hoped his party would have been friendly to you, especially as the Catholic Clergy, with very few, if any, exceptions, in this diocess would assist your return; but the more violent party, as I apprehended, prevailed; and though the present delusion may cease, the presumption and obstinacy of that party will increase. The chagrin of the Minister at seeing all his own views as to this country proved fallacious is but a poor compensation to men whose fortunes are bound up with Ireland, for the loss and annoyance to which the errors of Government have subjected them, and for the indefinite postponement of the right settlement of Irish affairs—if such settlement be now attainable.

"I will endeavour, as you suggest, to undeceive the willing dupes of those who so perseveringly misrepresent your acts and opinions; but, from the many efforts I have already made in that way with but little success, I fear some new disease must expel that which now affects the public mind ere my opinions shall be attended to, when expressed in favour of one who should never need an apologist with the people of Ireland—but especially with the Catholics.

"In Kildare the clubs were on the point of succeeding in their search for a second Repeal candidate. Had such a person appeared he would, I am confident, be returned with Ruthven.—Ever most truly yours,

"✠ J. DOYLE."

In predicting that Mr. Pat Lalor, a strong Repealer, would probably be Sir Henry's successor in the representation of the Queen's County, Dr. Doyle displayed his usual accuracy of foresight. This very worthy man was returned by a large majority, and continued for several years to represent that important constituency. He is chiefly remembered for his puns, some of which could not fail to have made even Dr. Johnson smile. On one occasion, when Mr. Pease, M.P. for Darlington, and Mr. Baines, Member for Leeds, happened to enter the House together, Mr. Lalor, in his own peculiar dialect, exclaimed—"We are well off now, for here we have *pays* and *bains* at the same time!"

Dr. Doyle meanwhile did not neglect the visitation of his diocess. "During his progress from parish to parish," observes one of his Clergy, "nothing could surpass the rigours of mind and body which he imposed upon himself; the minuteness with which he inquired into the performance of every pastoral function; the series of questions he proposed to us, and for each of which he demanded a distinct answer; the determination with which he insisted upon the removal of every abuse, of whatever description and wherever found; the efforts he made to dispel the clouds of ignorance and superstition, and to substitute the lights of pious and useful information in their stead; the schools which he exhorted and aided to establish; the parochial libraries he founded; the confraternities he instituted; the tenderness with which he regarded the flourishing religious communities subject to his care; the vigilance with which he upheld the fervour of their regular observance, and the zeal with which he endeavoured to extend them in number and utility. How well I remember the devotion with which the perusal of his numerous and beautiful pastorals inspired us—compositions dictated by the bowels of paternal solicitude, and as replete with all the graces of superior writing as they were affecting by the unction of tenderest piety

and soundest doctrine, and memorable for their always useful and sometimes stupendous results."

The late Nicholas Aylward Vigors, Esq., was a candidate for Carlow at this period. He was a barrister by profession, a Carlow man by birth, and had filled the office of Secretary to the Zoological Society of London. On this occasion, however, Colonel Bruen was returned, and Mr. Vigors thrown out. It was a joke at Brookes's and the Reform Club that Vigors need not have left the Zoological Gardens to see Bruen at the head of the poll.

Dr. Doyle, when engaged in the visitation of his diocess, was written to by Mr. Vigors, apprizing him that the day appointed for registering his right to vote was at hand, and begging of him to avail himself of the opportunity. The subjoined letter was written in reply to that application:

"Clongowes Wood College, 13th October, 1832.

"My dear Sir—I could not overcome the difficulty, amounting to repugnance, which I feel in going forward to a hustings; and, if entitled to vote, I might not be able to resist the inclination to employ my suffrage in aid of a friend contending to support the public interests against those who mistake them.

"I have often declared my intention of not registering my title to vote for the town or county of Carlow, or for any other place; and notice of registry has been served for me without my knowledge. I hope no inference prejudicial to you, or to the good cause you espouse, will be deduced from that notice, as the same freedom has been used with many other persons. . . . . .

"This desire which I cherish, of seeing you our representative in the next Parliament, arises from the capacity, with which I know you are gifted, to take a useful part in the proceedings of any deliberative assembly; and this is a talent rare and valuable, but especially necessary in the present and approaching times. Your political opinions are, moreover, the same as those which I myself entertain; and these motives, together with your personal and hereditary virtues and connexion with our town, as they have determined my judgment and most earnest wishes in your favour, so I hope they will influence in a like manner the valuable constituency of Carlow."

The result of the various elections in Dr. Doyle's diocess is inferable from a letter addressed to his early correspondent, Mary Coney:

"Carlow, 17th December, 1832.

"My dear Mary—I must begin by requesting that you will never omit writing to me through an apprehension of encroaching on my time, or through the strange notion you are sometimes

haunted with—that I could be displeased at anything you would write.

"You and all our friends in Wexford and Ross were constantly in my thoughts whilst the cholera raged among you. I seldom wished more that my prayers were worthy of being heard than when I ventured to beg of God to turn away from us so awful a visitation of His mercy and justice. We have been more favoured than we had any reason to hope. I wish we may not be of those who fear God and serve Him whilst His scourge is felt, but become tepid or wicked when the scourge is removed.

"I am exceedingly grieved at the course your Bishop and so many of his Clergy lately entered upon. It is a misfortune to mistake the right mode of acting; and this misfortune in his case is aggravated by the change in his conduct being produced, not by his own good sense, but by external pressure of the kind you mention. His authority, thus weakened, must become less efficient for good purposes.

"I suppose the election of your county Members will be made ere this reaches you. I wish and hope earnestly that the former representatives may be again elected. The opposition raised against them appears to me silly and factious. I should regret it from whatever quarter proceeding; but I deplore that it should have originated and been carried on by persons of my own profession. But these evils must occur in our present state, and I trust, dear Mary, you will learn with me to bear them patiently, and not be led to judge others severely whose intentions may be as pure as our own, though misdirected by error or passion, from which none of us are exempt. I am, however, delighted that all our friends have thought and acted so well. Tell John, and also R. Devereux, how much their conduct has gratified me. In this town our popular Member has just had a most splendid chairing, after a severe contest with a Conservative. Another contest—but for the County—will commence to-morrow. I have taken no share in it, except to preserve united the Liberal interest; which requires no great exertion, as our people, attached to O'Connell and all his whims, prefer the councils of those who hitherto were accustomed to advise them. The adverse party is, however, very strong, and, though Mr. Blackney's return is secure, that of Mr. Wallace is doubtful. My two friends, Sir H. Parnell and More O'Ferrall, in the adjoining counties, are in great danger of losing their election—for, though Mr. O'Connell abstained from denouncing them, the Repealers object to them. I believe I could have secured the return of both; but to do so I should engage in a war of words, which I dislike exceedingly.—Believe me, &c.,

"✠ J. Doyle."

During the general election of this year, no less than thirty-five Members, pledged to support the Repeal of the Union, were returned.

A more than ordinarily severe assault of the disease against which the Bishop had been for some years battling completely prostrated him during the following month. Nevertheless, on Sunday, 27th of January, we find him advocating, in Francis-street Chapel, Dublin, the claims of ninety female orphans on the charity of the public. On the 21st of February, he again addresses his niece, Mary:

"Your faithful messenger delivered here yesterday your store of good things, by which it would appear you intend that my spirits shall not fail me. Mr. Walshe had already prepared me for this arrival; and were you not so abundant in the things of this world, I should rebuke you for your generosity to me, who have so little need of it.

"I suppose you have been alarmed at my illness. It is passing away, and I am gradually recovering my strength. If I be not subdued by the Lent (though I intend not to fast, and the abstinence now is of small account), I have no doubt I shall revive again."

The pains which had recently tormented Dr. Doyle sharpened his sympathy for the sufferings of others. On the following day he writes to another niece:

"Carlow, 22nd February, 1833.

"My dear Kate—I was very glad to hear from you, and particularly gratified to know that the Rev. Mr. O'—— was about to be restored for some time longer to his health and friends. Of all those who regret his pains or sympathize with him in his sufferings, we should be the first, as we always enjoyed the advantage of his special friendship and affectionate regard. Pay him a visit for me; tell him how much I lamented his illness, and how I rejoice at the prospect of his recovery; for though I hope his demise, whenever it may occur, will be only a removal to a happy life, still I cannot but wish that his stay in this world may be somewhat more prolonged. It is well that you have not been visited by the cholera, which has kept us in a state of alarm for several months. How are all your little ones? When you write to me, dear Kate, you must change your mode of address; what you use is too stiff and school-like. You must be familiar, and easy, and affectionate, when writing or conversing with me; so begin your letters with 'My dear Uncle,' and end them in the same way; and do not think of how or what you write, but set down everything that comes into your head as a child tells a story to a father."

We have noticed at p. 40 of this volume Dr. Doyle's wonderful popularity as a conversationalist. This success was not owing to what has been styled "the sovereign gift of making everybody pleased with himself, and drawing out all minds," or to the ready tact which some men possess of catching the tone of their companions thoughts. For all such arts Dr. Doyle had an utter contempt; he was all candour—he perpetually thought aloud, and was sometimes almost Johnsonian in his roughness. In conducting a Clergyman through the new Church at Carlow one day about this period, the Bishop asked him if he knew much about architecture. "Not a great deal, my Lord." "Indeed I believe so," was the laconic rejoinder. On another occasion the late Rev. Mr. C——, a chatty, vivacious, fussy little man, having talked and laughed too much at table, Dr. Doyle said, "I should strongly recommend you, Mr. C——, to apply a few leeches to your temples!" There must have been something singularly fascinating in Dr. Doyle's conversation to render it popular in the teeth of such drawbacks. And yet the men to whom he addressed these and other sarcasms are the warmest in his praise. "Never," writes Bishop Leahy, "did I meet an individual whose conversational powers I had so much reason to admire." "There was a simplicity and strength in his conversation," observes the late Rev. Dr. Clancy, "which is generally the mark of great genius. The character of the man was easily gathered from his conversation, frequently rising to sublimity and never descending to mediocrity."

In January, 1833, O'Connell made a very successful appeal to the people. He touched a chord in the democratic heart which vibrated passionately and proudly. In unfolding his plan for the organization of "an Association of Irish Volunteers" he awakened the glorious traditions of 1782, and the chivalrous spirit of the Dungannon Resolutions. "The patriotism of armed citizens and the Legislative Independence of Ireland" became the popular watchword. As the idea was taken up with enthusiasm, it is not surprising that a liberal response to the appeal for funds to sustain the monster organization should have been made. This new plan of agitation, according to the late Mr. Fagan, M.P., "terrified the Ministers." A portion of the country was already in a state of agrarian insurrection, and it needed but the breath of a powerful leader to blow all Ireland into a blaze. "Our present effort may be only the squibbing of a gun," said O'Connell; "by the next the shot will be completed. It may now be but the flash in the pan; we shall yet have a light and a report." The latter phrase would seem to bear two meanings. Did O'Connell allude to a "Report" from a Com-

mittee of the House of Commons, recommending a Repeal of the Union?

A system of terrorism prevailed in many parts of the country, which no Government constructed on the principle of Lord Grey's could permit to continue unchecked. Witnesses were intimidated from giving evidence, and jurors from bringing in verdicts of guilty. Assassinations daily occurred, and notwithstanding that rewards, to the amount of £12,000, had been offered during several previous months for the apprehension of the perpetrators, two only of the rewards had been claimed. The ordinary process of the law had failed to arrest the monster evil. O'Connell exerted his influence and eloquence to check it, but in vain; and, although the Coercion Bill received severe condemnation at the time, we cannot help thinking—viewing the period historically—that some extraordinary powers were necessary for the preservation of life and property. "Think," exclaimed Sir Robert Peel, "of 196 murders in one year! Why you have gained glorious victories with less loss of life. But it is not the fatal hour of that death which is most terrible; it is the wasting misery of suspense—the agony of expectation; it is listening for weeks and months to every nightly sound, lest it be the fatal knell that is to summon a whole family to destruction."

The late Bishop Clancy, alluding to Dr. Doyle, observes: "The Whitefeet outrages in the Queen's County afflicted him beyond all conception; his spirit appeared broken within him when he casually referred to them in private conversation. There can be no doubt entertained by those who knew him, but that the conduct of those unfortunate victims of that rural insurrection contributed to shorten his career, by inflicting on his sensitive and religious heart the deepest anguish and most painful anticipations."

The speech from the throne in February 1833, strongly recommended measures of coercion for Ireland, and declared an unalterable determination to maintain the Legislative Union. O'Connell having pronounced this to be a "brutal and bloody speech," Lord John Russell moved that his words should be taken down. The celebrated Coercion Bill for Ireland was introduced by Earl Grey. It met with a hurricane of opposition from the Irish Repeal Members. O'Connell denounced it for four hours and five minutes. Some of the English Liberal Members warmly co-operated with him. The political unions at Birmingham also met for the purpose of resisting the Bill. The struggle was a desperate one. On the 25th of February, Lord Althorpe declared that the Government would stand or fall by its success.

It will no doubt surprise many persons to find Dr. Doyle sanc-

tioning the Coercion Bill. Writing to H. Lambert, Esq., M.P., 1st March, 1833, the Bishop says: "If, however, we are not to have good Government or wise laws—and I see no prospect of either—I prefer Lord Grey's Bill to any other less despotic measure. If we are to be subjected to a despotism, let it be the despotism of gentlemen, though but twenty-one years of age, not of the brutal *canaille* composing the Trades' Unions and Blackfeet confederacies. The honest and industrious people of this country will suffer less and prosper more under the iron rule of the constituted authorities—let these be whom they may—than under the yoke of the impious and seditious, who now torment them and drive them into all manner of folly and excess. I have not busied myself in examining the details of Lord Grey's Bill. It is complete in its kind. There is no use in softening it. Let the terror of its intolerable severity prevent the necessity of enforcing it, but where enforced, let it go forth unrestrained. I have been very unwell, and am as yet scarcely better. I do not think the ills of the country affect me, for my health has been declining these last three years."*

On the 5th of March the Bill was carried by 446 to 89. The proportions on the third reading were 345 to 86. It is not surprising that O'Connell should have been filled with strong indignation and bitter disappointment. One of the Repeal Members who had been very intimate with him tells us, "When the Coercion Bill passed he said to me, with hand clenched and lips compressed, 'Ah, England! would that I were justified in raising the standard of revolt against you.'"

It was not so easy to foil O'Connell. In a public letter he writes: "I feel the awful duty imposed on me by the Volunteers. I will endeavour to perform it honestly at least, if not well. I mean to take up in detail the necessary agitation in each county in Ireland. Our enemies shall not triumph over the people, nor put down the popular sentiment."

As a set-off to the measure of Coercion a Bill for the reduction of Irish Bishoprics from twenty-two to twelve was introduced about the same time. Sheil and others were of opinion that the Lords would throw out the Bill, and thus occasion a resignation of Ministers; but acting under the advice of the Duke of Wellington—who some months previously had declared his intention of never

* Mr. Lambert writes: "It is among the most highly valued recollections of my life that I was honoured by his friendship. I revered Bishop Doyle as a distinguished and exemplary ecclesiastic, and looked up to him as a consummate statesman. Dr. Doyle was a century in advance of his generation; he was, therefore, misunderstood and misrepresented. I fear that our public have not yet, by any means, come up to the level of his ideas."

again entering the upper House if Reform should pass—their Lordships decided in favour of the measure by a majority of 59.

Notwithstanding this important reform the Government became still more unpopular. "The run for gold in Ireland," writes Raikes in his journal, "is becoming more serious, and the value of property there is falling." Early in April the last shred of Lord Anglesey's popularity was shattered by placing the county of Kilkenny under martial law, and suppressing in Dublin the recently formidable society of Irish Volunteers. The Viceroy having, however, advised mitigations of the Bill in the following year, Lord Grey, holding a different view, resigned.

O'Connell had once more recourse to epistolary agitation. Letter after letter fell from his pen, and by a special arrangement the newspapers containing them were distributed gratuitously throughout the country. The brevity of his paragraphs, the pith of his sentences, the emphasis of their expression, and the singular clearness of his meaning on all occasions, rendered his letters intelligible to the rudest understanding. It generally happened that some village peasant, whose education had rendered him superior to his fellows, would undertake the task of reading aloud to them these soul-stirring effusions; and thus the system of agitation can hardly be said to have received any serious check. It was in the series of letters which followed the Coercion Bill that O'Connell first applied to the Whigs the epithet "base, bloody, and brutal."

In the midst of this excitement Dr. Doyle left Ireland with a painful presentiment that he should never return alive. The following letter to his early correspondent, Clare, gives an account of his ills and adventures:

"Harrowgate, 12th May, 1833.

"My dear Clare—I bought this long paper a week since for the purpose of writing to you—and through you to all anxious and inquisitive friends—a journal of my travels since I left home. We arrived in Dublin at six o'clock on the day of our departure, and established ourselves in Stephen's-green with an old gentleman named Kinsella, who had been all but raised from the dead by bleeding, hot water, hippo lozenges, and the skill and attention of Dr. M'Namara. His civilities to me were most acceptable, and rendered less painful a very bad evening and night spent under his care.

"In the morning I crept out and breakfasted with Mr. Tench, his family, and Dr. Kinsella. After breakfast, and some laughter, Dr. Kinsella and I set out for my hotel. On the way we fell in with Dr. Nolan and Father Martin Doyle; and these three gentlemen thought proper to carry me, bound hands and feet, to Dr.

Colles's house, where I was placed for a time among the lame, blind, and miserable of all kinds who waited the advice of this second Esculapius. I was in a little time ushered in, and, in the presence of the two doctors, the Bishop and the Priest delivered, in a neat speech, the history of all my diseases. I was listened to with great attention, and then called on to answer certain interrogatories, as you question a child who has incurred the suspicion of not properly conducting herself, or attending as she ought to the admonitions of her parents or the nuns. When this had passed I was permitted to withdraw, and, when recalled, very gravely told I should do half-a-dozen things which I would not; however, I acquiesced in all that was said to me and departed to my hotel, where I continued very ill until three o'clock. At this hour I seated myself in Mr. Tench's chaise, with my trunks, and Mr. Doyle, and a full determination to do nothing of what the doctors had advised, but to follow my own will, which when God directs I do rightly, but when directed by others generally conducts me into some devious path.

"We embarked on board the *Etna* steam-packet at five o'clock. I went to bed at eight; and, without much rest but less of sickness, arrived in Liverpool at half-past four on the following morning (Friday). We breakfasted at six, to the great annoyance of a poor housemaid who prepared it for us with her eyes half-closed from sleep. We were next removed into an omnibus—a sort of long gingle or covered car, which collects all descriptions of travellers and sets them down in Lime-steet, at the railroad to Manchester. From this point we started at seven, and in two hours travelled thirty-eight miles; arrived at Manchester at precisely nine o'clock, and then stepped into the mail-coach then proceeding to Leeds (forty-seven miles), where we dined as best we could, being Friday; rested, and at nine o'clock started for this place, where we were set down at nine o'clock at the Brunswick Hotel In little more than twenty-four hours we thus travelled 221 miles. I was nearly exhausted; they bathed my feet and gave me a good bed, where I slept rather soundly. On Saturday we arose and breakfasted, and found ourselves in the outskirts of the town, encompassed by bogs, morasses, and all the miseries of a country on which the sun never seemed to have shed a genial ray. I sat musing over my misfortunes—sent for a Dr. Richardson, to talk with me on the waters of Harrowgate, at the expense of a guinea; while Mr. Doyle proceeded to engage lodgings in Cornwall House, where we now are—a front drawing-room with two lodging-rooms (small size), at two guineas per week; our food being cooked, fires and all so-forth given to us, and our host a worthy Irishman named Reed, from Armagh. An Irish family—

Mr. and Mrs. Burke of Cork, the latter a cousin of R. M'Carthy—are lodged in the same house, and improve our society—or rather occasionally interrupt our solitude. For a week after our establishment here, the weather continued cold and boisterous. Mr. Doyle caught cold; it brought on a toothache and feverish rheumatism from which, after ten days' suffering, he is only recovered. During the bad weather I proceeded from bad to worse, and became so feeble as to scarcely be able to remain a few hours in the twenty-four out of bed or off the sofa. The spa when taken in the morning relaxes me; and, as a bath afforded no refreshment, I resolved to desist from the sulphurated water and betake myself to the chalybeate mixture of iron and salts. This, with the fine weather for the last week, has made me suffer less, and I think there are about me some symptoms of improvement, which, if I had not felt, or imagined I felt, I would leave this on to-morrow for Cheltenham; but I will now remain for a week, and then decide whether to continue or remove.

"Let no person write to me or expect a letter from me; but do you publish this—not in the newspapers, but by all the wise and unwise people you meet with, and when I am in good humour I will send you a second dispatch.

"We hired a chaise, and drove three miles to Knaresboro' to hear Mass, on the first Sunday we were here. The Clergyman, who dined with us two days, was exceedingly civil, and lent us vestments; and Mr. Doyle has providentially been able to celebrate Mass for us this day and last Sunday in our own apartment. The fens and morasses I mentioned are on one side only of Harrowgate; in all other directions the country is most picturesque—hills, valleys, fertile fields, plantations, and all that perfection of agriculture which distinguishes this country. *All* the people are the most civil and obliging you can imagine. The great bulk of them are Dissenters; they are as hostile as you are in Ireland to the Established Church, and hate the tithes as cordially as we do. I am an object of curiosity to many of them, and the kindness I meet with from them is very gratifying.

"The meat here is excellent; the bread tolerably good; the ale better—but I long for it, and cannot drink it; the vegetables bad; and the butter execrable: different women have been put in requisition to make it for me—but they all failed; it is abominable—I suppose owing to the quality of the soil and herbage.

"The sulphurated spa springs up in the centre of Lower Harrowgate; it emits a putrid effluvia, which is felt as you approach the well and when you drink the water; but it becomes by use less and less offensive. The whole vicinity abounds in different mineral waters, and those of opposite qualities are found to spring up

within a few yards of each other. That which I now take is encompassed with beautiful pleasure-grounds, and is dealt out by an old deaf sybil of a woman, with whom I hold long conversations, whilst she details the merits of the waters and the history of visitors who, for the last half-century, have profited by their use. There are four-wheel carriages here for hire, drawn each by two asses—they are delightful vehicles; and myriads of asses with saddles, for ladies to ride upon. If I remain here I shall get one of those donkies and ride on a side-saddle; I may be stared at for a day—but the English people don't wonder long at anything.

"I think, my dear Clare, you are now satisfied with your old friend; continue your prayers for him. Remember me affectionately to each of the dear nuns, to F——, A——, and to each of the Clergymen.—Believe me, dear Clare, your affectionate friend and servant in Christ,

"✠ J. Doyle."

The minds of the Bishop's family and friends were alternately elevated with hope or depressed by sadness, as conflicting accounts of his health—all from apparently reliable sources—continued to reach Ireland. Dr. Richardson of Harrowgate, addressing the Bishop's niece, 20th May, 1833, writes: "During his sojourn of three weeks here, the Bishop occasionally made a cautious trial of the water without, I am sorry to say, experiencing much benefit. I believe he will likewise visit Cheltenham, and will probably make the tour of the watering-places; but I much doubt whether any of them will do him any good. I am very sorry that I cannot make a more favourable report of my patient; the most I dare venture to say is, that I do not think he lost any ground whilst here."

The Rev. M. Doyle, writing to the same lady from Leamington, on the 30th May, observes: "We quit Harrowgate on the 17th, and arrived here an the 22nd. Had we stopped three weeks longer at the former place the consequences might be serious, as all its waters disagreed with his Lordship. He has got under the care of Dr. Jephson, who has discovered his complaint, and under whom he is doing well. We have no doubt of his recovery now; it is only quite lately we could say so. We hope to be in Dublin on St. John's day. We feel quite pleasant here since the Bishop's improvement. Our hours are varied very much; there is often quite a levee here of earls, lords, and ladies. I must confess the English are equally attentive as the Irish. Communicate the glad tidings to our friends. It is more indeed than his nearest friends had anticipated. For some of the time he was greatly debilitated, and would have gone home to die if he were not confident that I would not leave his bones in this land."

It may truly be said that doctors differ and patients die. The

late Dr. Overden, writing at the time, observes: "I met Dr. Doyle at Leamington. I never saw a man in whose face and gait death is so sadly discernable."

He rallied nevertheless. "Well," he said triumphantly on reaching Dublin, "I have escaped from the thief, and I did not leave my bones in heretic England, after all!"

This reaction, however, would again give place to a wretched depression of both mind and body. The Very Rev. Dr. Furlong, who had been Dr. Doyle's preceptor, writes: "In 1833, I went to Carlow, and spent three or four days with him. He was then very infirm—indeed nearly prostrate all the time. However he rallied on two occasions, and spoke on one of them particularly with all the clearness and vigour he could have done ten years before. During my stay he informed me his life had been a martyrdom during the four years previous. This was in August, the year before he died. He playfully alluded to a warm discussion on the subject of exclusive salvation which we had many years before, and added that he feared there was not much chance of our deciding it that side of the grave."

Archbishop Murray attributed the premature break up of Dr. Doyle's constitution, to the superhuman labours in which he had so long indulged. "Ah," he said, "the activity of my dear friend's mind has worn out his body." This mental anxiety underwent no diminution; the Bishop's mind grew stronger and stronger, while his bodily strength became every day more feeble. The veins of his forehead would swell with indomitable thought, and the brain surge anxiously beneath, as ideas, which he had no longer an opportunity of enunciating and enforcing, crowded eagerly forward. It may be said that his thoughts ought to have been fixed feverishly on eternity, but Dr. Doyle had too long communed with his divine Master to shudder at the contemplation of an event which had been ever foremost in his mind, and to the consummation of which his pure life and secret aspirations had long taught him to look forward tranquilly. He prayed much and fervently; but it was easy to perceive that his patriotic heart had still its political anxieties. He was the dying gladiator of the arena as well as the dying Christian who had fought the good fight, and he could not sink into the bosom of the grave without casting an earnest, lingering look behind.

CHAPTER XLIV.

The Repeal agitation again postponed by O'Connell—Letters to a Friar and to a Nun—Dr. Doyle's preface to the "Lives of the Saints"—He retires from the political arena—The projects which death prevented him from realizing—His treatise on matrimony—Letters to Mariana and Bishop O'Connor—He avails himself of every remission of suffering to discharge his visitation—His appearance presents an affecting spectacle—Powerful effect of his sermons—Incident at Stradbally—His love for little children—What he said at the Synod—His achievements in the confessional—The travelling showmen—Anecdote—Correspondence with Thomas Moore—Lord John Russell—Anecdotes—Fatuity of the people in thirsting for disorder—Repeal revived—Richard Barrett—Letter to Mr. Lambert, M.P.—Incident at Kildare—A political revelation—Unpublished letter from O'Connell on the Whigs—Cautious reception of a visitor—Correspondence with nuns and nieces—Letter to the Right Hon. R. More O'Ferrall, M.P.

EARLY in the year 1832, as the reader may remember, O'Connell greatly distressed Dr. Doyle by relinquishing his advocacy of a legal provision for the poor, and substituting in its stead the Repeal agitation. "My Poor Law," said O'Connell, "is a Repeal of the Union." An incident occurred in June, 1833, which led Dr. Doyle to hope that the great Tribune was about to abandon the pursuit of Repeal, and concentrate the energies of the country on the Poor Law and Tithe Questions. A meeting was held by the Irish Repeal Members, in which the propriety of postponement or immediate discussion of Repeal was debated. A division followed, when, owing to O'Connell's earnestly expressed desire for postponement, a large majority appeared in favour of that move. His organ, *The Pilot*, also exercised considerable influence in promoting the policy of postponement. It denounced immediate discussion of the Repeal as most injurious to the national cause, and called it a desperate experiment.

Dr. Doyle's hopes proved vain, and O'Connell's hostility to Poor Laws continued as unwavering as before. The Bishop's anxiety for the country no doubt accelerated the disease which now depressed his energies, and chilled his hopes. The following letter to Bishop O'Connor was written at this period:

"Carlow, 3rd July, 1833.

"VERY REV. DEAR SIR—Though I have almost lost my usual facility of writing, I cannot omit acknowledging your exceeding kindness to me, not in your letter only, but in providing me with the very rare commodity—good chocolate. I hope soon to feast at your expense. During the pressure of my illness nothing gave me so much uneasiness and pain of mind as the over solicitude of my friends, exhibited in their visits or ill-timed letters to myself or others. I rejoice exceedingly that you did not add to

this pain, as you would have greatly done by visiting me either here or in England. All my convictions, whether arising from reason or religion, condemn useless manifestations of sympathy or solicitude about life or death, and though in this respect I but badly correspond to the interest felt for me, I am unable to divest myself of it or of any part of it.

"In enumerating the advantages and delightful influences of Cove, you omit the eternal rains with which it favours those who resort to it, except in these few months when people do not draw near the fire but retire from it. I believe, for persons affected with pulmonary complaints or nervous affections, it may, with all its rains and tempests, be the choicest winter residence in Ireland; in the summer heats an open coast is preferable. I hope one day to revisit what you so justly call my 'dear South,' but will not at present avail myself of the blessings of Cove.

"Wheresoever I am, or in whatsoever state of health, I remain your faithful and affectionate friend,

"✠ J. Doyle."

Although writing, from being a pleasure, had now become a drudgery to Dr. Doyle, his purely charitable correspondence continued nevertheless without interruption. The following note was intended for the perusal of two sisters, Catharine and Ellen H——, who had long been under his spiritual direction:

"My dear Child—Miss L—— has requested me to write you a line, accompanying the foregoing intelligence of the happy removal of our dear friend. I cannot regret that those I most value should be transferred to that happy life to which we all aspire. Desire dear Ellen to be consoled at the dispensations of our heavenly Father, and not to appear before him otherwise than as living by His spirit, and not by the spirit of this world. Let us bless His name, for all His ways are justice and truth, and pray to Him to give us fortitude and patience to bear the sorrows of our exile, until we are united with those whose labours are ended, and whose rest is eternal and secure.—Assure my dear Ellen, and be assured yourself, of the sincere affection of your faithful servant in Christ."

He also continued, as an arbiter of disputes, to dispense the dictates of his wisdom. Some jealousies and differences had again sprung up between the Augustinian Friars and Secular Clergy of Dungarvan. The note which follows is in reply to a communication from the late Rev. Charles Stuart, Provincial of the Order:

"My dear Sir—I cannot say when I could see you here, for my time at home is uncertain and every moment of it is engaged.

I was very unwell on Monday; yesterday and to-day I am better, thank God—but exceedingly feeble.

"I spoke to Dr. Abraham [R. C. Bishop of Waterford]. He professes the utmost desire to gratify you, and to promote the interests of religion in our Order. I explained to him all your views; he heard all the objections on the part of the Secular Clergy concerned, adverted to Mr. ——'s habits and character, and agreed, fully and cordially, that the best mode was to give faculties to the young man and withhold them from ——; you taking care that the number of Masses in your chapel be not increased, and that a common life, with religious observance, be observed by the community. I need not add to you, who feel rightly on these matters, that the brethren should so exercise their talents and zeal as to afford no cause of umbrage or loss of emolument to the most excellent Dr. Foran [P.P. of Dungarvan] or his Clergy."

Dr. Doyle assures the Rev. Dr. O'Connor that he had lost his usual "facility in writing." We may, therefore, the more readily appreciate the kind alacrity with which he immediately afterwards undertook, at Mr. Coyne's request, to edit "Butler's Lives of the Saints." The circulation of this inestimable work had been hitherto confined to those who could afford to purchase it in twelve costly volumes. To the new edition Dr. Doyle prefixed an erudite and interesting preface. He characterized "The Lives of the Saints" as an historical supplement to the Old and New Testaments—an illustration of all that God has revealed, and of all the sanctity which His divine grace has produced among the children of men. It is a history not so much of men as of all ages and nations—of their manners, customs, laws, usages, and creeds. It is a succinct but most accurate and satisfactory account of all that the Church of God has done or suffered in this world, from the creation to almost our own days—an account not extracted from authentic records only, but one which exhibits at every page the living examples, the speaking proofs of whatever it sets forth or asserts.

But "The Lives of the Saints" is not confined to history, though embracing whatever is most valuable in history, whether sacred, ecclesiastical, or profane. It presents to the reader a mass of general information digested and arranged with an ability and a candour never surpassed. Here no art, no science is left unnoticed. Chronology, criticism, eloquence, painting, sculpture, architecture—in a word, whatever has occupied or distinguished man in times of barbarism or of civilization, in peace or in war, in the countries which surround us or in those which are far remote—all are treated of, not flippantly nor ostentatiously, but with a sobriety and solidity peculiar to the writer.

One quality especially characterizes "The Lives of the Saints." "The doctrines of the Catholic Church are presented to us passing through the ordeal of time unchanged and unchangeable, whilst her discipline is seen to vary from age to age; like a city fixed and immovable, but whose walls, ramparts, and outworks undergo from one period to another the necessary changes, alterations, or repairs. Here are pointed out the persecutions which the Saints endured—persecutions which patience overcame, which the power of God subdued. Here are traced the causes of dissension in the Church, the schisms and heresies which arose, the errors to which the pride and passions of bad men gave birth, the obstinacy of the wicked, the seduction of the innocent, the labours and sufferings of the just—the conflicts which took place between light and darkness—between truth and error, the triumph at one time of the city of God—at another the temporary exaltation of the empire of Satan. In this work we see the great and powerful leaders of God's people, the pastors and doctors of the Church, displaying lights given them from Heaven, and exercising a courage all divine; whilst crowds of the elect are presented to us in every age retiring from the world, hiding their lives with Christ in God, and deserving by their innocence and sanctity to be received into heaven until Christ, who was their life, will again appear, when they also will appear along with him in glory. Here we behold the Apostles and their successors in several ages, calling out to the nations who sat in darkness and in the shadow of death, 'Arise, thou that sleepest, and Christ will enlighten thee'—men of God and gifted with his power, who, by preaching peace, enduring wrongs, and pardoning injuries, subdued the power of tyrants, stopped the mouths of lions, overturned paganism, demolished idols, planted everywhere the standard of the cross, and left to us the whole world illuminated by the rays of divine truth. Here is seen the meek martyr who possessed his soul in patience, who—having suffered the loss of goods, the loss of kindred, the loss of fame—bowed down his head beneath the axe and sealed, by the plentiful effusion of his blood, the testimony which he bore to virtue and to truth. Here the youthful virgin—robed in innocence and sanctity, clothed with the visible protection of God—is seen at one time to yield up her frame, unfit as yet for torments, to the power of the executioner; whilst her spirit, ascending like the smoke of incense, 'passed from earth to Heaven.' At another time we behold her conducted, as it were, into the wilderness by the Spirit, where, having left the house of her father, the allurements of the world and the endearments of life, she dedicates her whole being to the service of God and to the contemplation of those invisible goods which He has reserved for those who love Him. We

behold the prince and the peasant, the warrior and the sage, the rich and the poor, the old and the young, the shepherd and the statesman, the wife and the widow, the Prelate, the Priest, and the recluse—men and women of every class, and age, and degree, and condition, and country, sanctified by the grace of God, exhibiting to the faithful reader models for his imitation, and saying to him in a voice which he cannot fail to understand, 'Go thou, and do likewise.'"

Dr. Doyle had now retired from the well-fought field which bore so many trophies of his prowess; but he ceased not to watch with undying interest the political struggles of his country. He knew that death was at hand, and he was prepared and resigned to die; but still he hoped that the bitter cup might not come until some of the achievements on which he had set his heart should be attained. These anxieties were those of the theologian as well as the tribune. The Parish Priest of Ballinakill writes: "I spent some weeks with Dr. Doyle at Tramore the autumn previous to his death. He frequently expressed a regret that he had not been spared to accomplish a work that then engaged his mind, and on which he seemed to have set his heart—viz., the elaboration of treatises on laws, justice, and contracts; and, lastly, a treatise on matrimony, suited to the existing laws and institutions of this country, and its altered relations with the See of Rome. The matter for those great theological works he had in great part arranged, especially that on laws. I remember one day, when sitting on a rock hanging over the sea, his giving me an epitome or outline of the manner in which he intended to treat the subject of law. It was as simple, as clear, and brilliant a theme as ever man listened to. Oh! what a loss to the ecclesiastical student that those stores of knowledge, moulded by such a master-hand, have not seen the light, especially the treatise on matrimony, now sought to be degraded (so far as human legislation can effect it) into a venal and meretricious contract."*

"We have reason to know," observes Mr. Battersby, "that a few years before his demise, Dr. Doyle had formed arrangements to leave works after him which would not partake of an ephemeral character, but would be standard productions, interesting to all ages and nations."

Dr. Doyle, on his way home from Tramore, passed a week with his former pupil, the Bishop of Ossory. Dr. Kinsella had considerable tact in rallying Dr. Doyle, who, during the period of his sojourn at Kilkenny, seems to have exhibited some improvement both in strength and spirits. The following note to Mariana was thrown off during this interval:

* Letter from the Rev. J. Delany, P.P., to the author, 10th August, 1857.

"5th September, 1833.

"DEAR MARIANA—I write this in Kilkenny, on my return from Tramore (a bathing station). Miss G—— is quite well, but a little impatient in the midst of her resignation. Dr. Harold did you and himself a service by not writing to you of me. It appears I have been subject to active disease for the last four or five years, and am now about escaping it—either into this big, bad world, or into that other, whereof even Moses and the Prophets do not choose to tell us those particulars which most people, especially pious women, would be glad to know. It is to me, my dear friend, a matter of the most perfect indifference whether I am to be detained here or sent to the other side; so do not trouble your head praying for what I never pray myself—but pray the Lord to forgive my sins, and, as to the rest, leave His providence to rule in its own way, which is wiser and better than any we could point out. . . . . I am heartily glad you are gone to dispense happiness, not by rule and compass, but by the exercise of the meekness, humility, and long suffering of our Lord. I could not describe to you how I am, as more changes come over me in a day than did over that vagabond—was it not him whom the children at school call 'Neby-kidnezer?'—whom the Lord sent to graze among the wild beasts for seven years.—But under all these changes I remain unchangeably your sincere and affectionate friend and servant in Christ,

"✠ J. DOYLE."

On the same day he writes to the Very Rev. Dr. O'Connor: "I am mightily averse to committing to the ecclesiastical state children so young as your wards. Were they thrown upon me as they are on you, I would think myself doing all I could for them by assisting, not largely, their mother to rear and educate them: and if I found that at about twenty years of age they were fit and disposed to embrace a clerical life, I would assist them to do so. I do not think you, as a Religious, are justified in undertaking to pay pensions in Propaganda or elsewhere for two so young boys during their classical education. But judge for yourself."

The Bishop, on his return to Carlow, made an effort to resume those exercises of hospitality which had long made his name dear to many friends. The late Rev. Dr. Harold, writing to Mariana in October, 1833, says: "I spent two days at Braganza with our dear friend, Dr. Doyle. You were the subject on which he appeared most pleased to converse. We had often talked of you before, but until then I did not know in what high estimation he held you. I could have given a little world for the place you hold in the heart of that great man. You will join me in thanking God that his health is improved.

While a particle of health remained no inducement deterred our Bishop from acquainting himself, upon the spot, with the minutest concerns of his vast flock in every quarter of the diocess; nor could the multifarious and distracting cares for Ireland which filled him, or his zeal for the vindication of religion, ever make him forget or defer the biennial visitation of his diocess. This zealous disciple of the Lord caught with avidity at every apparent remission of his suffering, which held out the faintest gleam of hope, that he might be enabled to discharge so important a part of episcopal duty. When some of his brother Bishops—alarmed at the catastrophe in which they foresaw such an effort must terminate—conjured him to allow them to add to their own weighty burden the charge of making the visitation of Kildare and Leighlin in his stead, Dr. Doyle resisted the proposal with determination. Dr. Kinsella having implored of him to relax, even ever so little, the wasting anxieties in which he was uninterruptedly engaged, he replied: "Am I not a Bishop? Was it to spare myself I submitted to such a title?"

Some of the sermons delivered by Dr. Doyle on his last visitation were not surpassed in vigour, eloquence, or earnestness, by any of his preceding efforts. They were as energetic as those which distinguished the plenitude of his strength; while their impressiveness derived considerable aid from the pallor of death which had now overspread the Bishop's features. In the emaciated hand which pointed the way to heaven, death was also painfully shadowed. His eye, however, had lost none of its former lustre, nor had his voice grown weak in proportion as his frame decayed. His nerves, too, remained vigorous, although his muscles were unstrung; and while his limbs tottered, his mind bounded with elasticity within. But his general aspect, as he leant upon his crosier, shattered by premature infirmity, conveyed to the observer the idea of a noble ship which had long braved the tempest succumbing at last to its terrible strength.

Dr. Doyle's sermons having been delivered, for the most part, in remote country Chapels, and by the hill-side, and way-side, it may readily be supposed that stenographers, rarely, if ever, formed a portion of the auditory. His sermons were in the highest degree grand and thrilling; they often reached sublimity—always touched the heart. Ireland possessed many gifted orators; but we know of none who left a more exalted opinion of his elocution, or exercised a greater mastery over the feelings of his audience than Dr. Doyle. "His eloquence was of the most nervous character." writes Bishop Walshe, the kinsman and successor of J. K. L. "It is impossible to convey an adequate notion of it. To comprehend it fully, he should be seen and heard. It illuminated what-

ever it touched—it set truth in bold and attractive relief—its force was irresistible. We love to dwell upon the memory of our departed Prelate, who 'shone in his days as the morning star,' and 'honoured the vesture of holiness' in which he was robed." Sad to say, owing to the circumstance we have alluded to, there is hardly a vestige of his sermons preserved. A friend has kindly placed in our hands some unconnected notes of an appeal made by Dr. Doyle about this period on behalf of 1,000 poor orphan children.

The Bishop took for his text the celebrated Epistle addressed by St. Paul to the Christians at Rome. The Jews who had embraced the law of Christ were at first so zealous for the law of their fathers that they would combine both, and even exclude from the new covenant all those who had not belonged to the old. St. Paul reminded them of the insignificance of those works of the law in which they gloried when compared with that faith which is the source and root of all justification. It was by this faith their father, Abraham, had believed in the promises of God, hoping in them even against hope; it was not in the circumcision of his flesh that he became justified before the Lord. The Apostle, in divulging the doctrine of grace, lifts the veil for an instant from the great mystery of predestination; but, as if man could not behold these truths and live, he lets it fall again with an exclamation on the inscrutable judgments and unsearchable ways of God.

Dr. Doyle proceeded to give an eloquent exposition of this Epistle, until he approached those moral truths and duties which he had undertaken, for the sake of the little ones whose cause he pleaded, to unfold.

It may well be supposed that the obligation "to feed the hungry, and clothe the naked, and enlighten those who sit in darkness," was treated by him in a manner thoroughly *con amore*. "Who of you," he asked, "does not know from Isaias that if you feed the hungry, and clothe the naked, and bring the wandering poor into thy home, that thy light shall go before thee, and thy darkness become as the noon-day—that the Lord will lead thee continually, and refresh thy soul in the severest drought—that thou shalt be as a well-watered garden, and as a flowing fountain whose waters shall never fail—that thou shalt even ride upon the high places of the earth, and enjoy the inheritance of Jacob thy father, for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it. Shall I have recourse to the language of the wise and the experience of ages, that the charitable man, although cast down and humbled like Job, is not yet abandoned nor his seed seen seeking for bread? Shall I expound the laws of property, and ground the claims of the destitute—not on mercy, but on right? Shall I exercise a

worldly wisdom, and convince you that it is your interest to support and educate the poor; or shall I appeal to your passions—arouse the feelings of the father, or touch the tender fibres of the mother's heart? No, dearly beloved, I shall content myself by explaining for you what is the *good and the perfect will of God*, as it regards those children whom you have assembled to relieve. And this explanation shall be the only means whereby I will seek to recommend them.

"The *good* will of God. This expression is in general use; but though we all, on every occasion of distress, refer to the goodness of God, we do not attach to the expression any very particular idea. To me it seems to imply not only our confidence in Him, but also His tenderness, His compassion, His love, His mercy for us. Thus Paul, after reminding sinners that by their obstinacy they treasure up for themselves wrath against the day of wrath, inspires them with confidence by the assurance that the goodness of God leads to repentance, and that they should not despise the rulers of that goodness and mercy. Hence we are justified in inferring that towards these children, who are not sinners but innocents in a great degree, the good will of God is a feeling of tenderness, of compassion, and of love. How often do we find in the Gospel that He called the little ones to Him, that He placed one of them in the midst of His disciples, that He told how their guardian angels appeared before the face of God for them, that it would be better to have a millstone tied about one's neck and be cast into the sea than to scandalize one of them—in fine, we are told that the Son of God laid His hands upon them, and embraced them, and blessed them; such was His tenderness and affection for the children of the Jews. This, beloved brethren, was the good will of God, which Paul exhorts you to imitate."

Having laid before his hearers the case of the convert Jew—who, besides neglecting the admonition of the Apostle in refusing succour to the Gentile, repelled with disdain and bitterness the shivering child of Abraham—Dr. Doyle asks what judgment they would pass on him. "A more severe one, no doubt," he continues, "than David passed upon the rich man who took the only sheep of his poor neighbour—the sheep that fed from his hand and slept in his bosom—that he, the rich man, might kill it and serve it up to feast his visitor. You would condemn the Jew in Rome to make a tenfold atonement for the scandals of his tongue and the hardness of his heart. There is no Nathan, however, to say to you, 'Thou art that man;' but if your conscience testifies that you deserve the reproach, cry out with the penitent—'I have sinned against the Lord.' Yes do, dear brethren; but continue with him and exclaim—'Create in me a

new heart, that I may love the orphan, and console the widow, and relieve the distressed. Renew a right spirit within my bowels, that I may compassionate those little ones whom thou lovest, that I may clothe those naked who are thy special inheritance, that I may feed those whom thou hast appointed to represent thyself—renew within me a right spirit, that I may no longer cherish hatred or spread dissension, but do the good, and the acceptable, and the perfect will of God.' "

"He had committed the Holy Scriptures and portions of the Fathers, particularly St. Augustin, to memory," observes the late Bishop Clancy. "He seldom or never composed or wrote out his sermons, but generally took notes of the leading points, their order and division; and thus furnished he was able, at the shortest notice, to preach on any subject of doctrine, morality, or discipline."

When on his last visitation Dr. Doyle passed a day at Stradbally, in order to administer Confirmation to an immense assemblage of children. As the atmosphere of the little chapel was extremely close and the Bishop very much exhausted, he reluctantly found himself compelled to transfer the onerous functions of the day to the chapel-yard, a neat enclosure overhung with laburnum trees. He was so weak that a chair had to be provided for him. The children, as they advanced one by one to the great man for examination, trembled; which Dr. Doyle observing, he endeavoured to give them courage by a few playful expressions. This failing in its object, he had recourse to acts, and presented his silver snuff-box to a bare-footed urchin, asking him politely to take a pinch. The courtesy was so novel and comical that a series of merry, musical laughs rang along the youthful ranks like a chime of bells. In this way Dr. Doyle relieved the children of their bashfulness, and enabled them to answer, collectedly and clearly, the questions which he found it necessary to put, previous to invoking on their heads the light of the Holy Ghost.

Although so miserably debilitated that it was a labour to drag his limbs after him, he nevertheless persevered, without a murmur or a sigh, in the daily accomplishment of an immense amount of duty. But the most singular fact in connexion with the close of his days is, that he austerely rejected the aid of the easy carriage with which the Baroness de Montesquieu had presented him. "I wish," he said, addressing the Rev. James Maher—"I wish that good-natured woman had not sent me this coach. Much as they say against me, I will never leave it in their power to say that the Bishop jaunted in a carriage. I never

knew any man enter a carriage who could dispense with it—unless a fool—especially if that man were a Bishop."*

Dr. Doyle's health seemed so irrevocably broken in the autumn of 1833 that his friends besought him to accept the aid of a Coadjutor. But he was determined to die in harness, and steadily parried all expostulations on the subject. The vigilance with which he looked after the interests of his flock became, if possible, more active. He was a father who went to look for the prodigal child—a shepherd who sought even one sheep. But he laboured in other ways. "His colleagues of the Episcopal Bench," observes Monsignor Meagher, "best can tell—for they know it best—how cheerfully and unfailingly he aided them with his counsel. Well did they appreciate the punctual attendance he gave, even when sinking under the last extremities of debility and pain, to the numerous synods and conventions of their august body—meetings never before, at any period of our history, so frequently repeated, and on whose transactions the Holy Ghost has showered such fertilizing blessings. Well do they remember the ready ardour with which he entered into all their pious views, and opened all the rich stores of his accomplished mind to aid their deliberations!"

Our Bishop, on the eve of an important synod in Dublin, was sitting in the study at Braganza, bound to his seat by a fatal lassitude while a violent shivering shook his frame. The senior Curate entered and found Dr. Doyle seeking for increased warmth by probing the red embers which occupied the grate. The Priest urged Dr. Doyle to relinquish all idea of going to Dublin, and to content himself with sending to the synod a written statement of his views. "Pshaw!" was the reply, "I might as well send this poker. It is absolutely necessary that I should be present to support and defend the opinions I advance." He tore himself from his chair, and started for Dublin. The Very Rev. Dr. Andrew O'Connell observes: "Eight months before his death I saw J.K.L. ascending the stairs of the presbytery in Marlborough-street to attend a synodical meeting, and never did I behold such a living ghost!"

* The Bishop's paternal love for little children and contempt for the use of a carriage contrasted forcibly with the tastes of an episcopal contemporary of the Establishment, who, having been seen beating some poor boys from behind his equipage, was thus caustically lampooned by our friend, John C. O'Callaghan, Esq.:

"I cannot help thinking *that's* curious behaviour
In one who professes to follow our Saviour.
He said: 'Let none check little children's approach;'
You pamper'd Priest whips them away from his coach!
Besides, without meaning the Church to disparage,
May I ask, what Apostle e'er rolled in his carriage?"

We are indebted to a dignitary for the following anecdote. "At a meeting of the Bishops Dr. Doyle proposed a resolution which was opposed by the late Right Rev. Dr. Egan, Bishop of Kerry. Dr. Doyle's heart had been set on carrying it, and he seemed unprepared for opposition. 'I would rather carry that point with your dissent and that of your entire kingdom of Kerry,' he replied, 'than place it in abeyance, much less relinquish it.' Dr. Doyle spoke for three hours, and brought over every Prelate to his views."

Mariana writes: "Although extremely ill he would not leave Dublin without paying me a visit at Rathfarnham; and I would not let him leave the Convent until he promised to go direct to consult Dr. Abraham Colles, which he did; and on his return to Carlow wrote to me to say he had kept his promise; that Colles told him he would certainly shorten his life if he would not allow himself some relaxation. 'So,' he continued, 'I came home and went on as usual;' and that usual meant that he would sit in the sanctuary of the chapel of Carlow, hearing at the rails the confessions of the beggars in particular, where he was exposed to cold and inconvenience in many ways; but he was as austere to himself as he was kind and generous to others."

The late Right Rev. Dr. Kinsella writes: "Even when his body was worn out by a lingering disease, how often have I seen him in the confessional soothing the conscience of the afflicted sinner. Well might he exclaim—'I will seek out that which was lost, and that which was driven away I will bring back again, and I will bind up that which was broken, and I will strengthen that which was weak, and that which was fat and strong I will preserve; and I will feed them in judgment.'" (*Ezek.* xxxiv.)

Dr. Doyle, in the course of his Parliamentary examination in 1825, mentioned that the instances of reparation and restitution of which he had been made the medium by penitents were numerous beyond the power of counting. He was asked whether, in cases of mischief intended to be done, either to the public or to an individual, it was not the Priest's duty to avert that mischief, without disclosing names, by apprizing either the State or the party to whom the mischief was intended to be done. The Bishop replied: "We can make no use of any knowledge derived from confession—but it is uniformly our practice to dissuade the penitent from the intended crime; and I myself have frequently prevented the commission of mischief by obliging the person who felt compunction at being concerned in plotting some evil—not at first to inform, but to dissuade his companions from doing the intended wrong; if he did not effectually succeed thus, then by obliging him to warn the person concerned in the danger, or to

give such information to him, or to a magistrate or other proper authority, as should effectually prevent the intended evil."

Dr. Doyle would sometimes try and relieve the disease which was gnawing his inward man by a saunter around the lawn and pleasure-ground at Braganza. On the particular evening of which we are now speaking his equanimity was somewhat ruffled by the the proximity of some itinerant showmen, who with braying trumpet and deafening gong announced that the performances—not of the most moral character—were "just about to begin." He tried to forget the adjacent nuisance—but all to no effect. Half-an-hour had elapsed, when a man dressed in very extravagant costume entered the gate of Braganza, and, hat in hand, approached the Bishop. "Begone!" exclaimed Dr. Doyle in a voice of thunder; "we allow no mummers here." The visitor tremulously explained, in broken English, that he was but an envoy from a Continental community of Monks, who had conveyed to Ireland the remains of a person said to have received "beatification"—whereupon he presented Dr. Doyle with a considerable portion of a dead body. The Bishop's temper, however, was still ruffled, and, notwithstanding the all but Eastern prostration of his visitor, he replied sternly, "Sir, we need not the ashes of beatified foreigners while we see the bones of our martyred forefathers whitening the soil around us." But in a few minutes the cloud had passed from the Bishop's brow, and he showed his odd-looking visitor every courtesy and hospitality. It is hardly necessary to remind the reader that Ireland is spoken of by all the old writers as "*Insula Sanctorum;*" and the mission of the pious envoy to Ireland may have struck Dr. Doyle as like bringing coals to Newcastle.

Moore's "Travels of an Irish Gentleman in Search of a Religion" was published at this period. Moore had never been introduced to Dr. Doyle, but he held his public character in such high veneration that he sent the work to Dr. Doyle, accompanied by an assurance that it was the only presentation copy he had made. The Bishop examined the theological lucubrations of the Bard of Erin, and in acknowledgment declared, "If St. Augustin were more orthodox and [the Lutheran] Scratchinbach less plausible, it is a book of which any of us might be proud."

The following letter from Moore exhibits the Irish harp upon the seal, accompanied by the appropriate motto, "Dear Harp of my country:"

"Sloperton Cottage, Devizes, 10th December, 1833.

"My dear Lord—It would be difficult for me to convey to you in words my sense of the pleasure and honour which your letter, received a few days since, has conferred upon me; and it

comes the more welcome both from my long expectation of such a favour, and the intelligence it brings that to the revival of your health and spirits I am at last indebted for the gratification of hearing from you. The next great pleasure I look forward to is that of being personally known to you, and I trust the day is not far distant when this wish also will be gratified.

"I feel both the delicacy and strength of your observation on what must be allowed, I fear, to be essential defects in my book. The omission of an answer to the 'plausibilities' of the German arose chiefly from want of space and time; but the view taken of the doctrines of St. Augustin has no such excuse, and might have been avoided had I the aid of a mind like yours to inspire me with better and juster thoughts.—Wishing most sincerely for your perfect return to health and strength, I am, my dear Lord, faithfully and gratefully yours, "THOMAS MOORE."*

Dr. Doyle was exceedingly disgusted with the fatuity of the people in rejecting his advice, and thirsting for disorder. But although they did not in all instances embrace his counsel, they venerated him as a great, and sanctified, and gifted man. During a visitation at Mountmellick the peasants assembled in thousands round the hotel in which he was stopping. He appeared on the balcony, and addressed them for an hour. When he had concluded he turned to a Priest who stood beside him and said: "It is like one singing to the deaf—they are still a prey to infatuation, and bent on disorder. If it were possible to effect an analysis of the mass, I doubt whether, in the entire of that surging sea of heads below, a dozen grains of sound sense would be found." This remark, however, must be read by the light of Mr. Maher's observation in the preceding chapter. A letter to Henry Lambert, Esq., M.P., dated 23rd December, 1833, would seem to have been thrown off under the influence of a similar impulse.

The revival of the Repeal agitation vexed Dr. Doyle. He had reason to fear that some of the ignorant and demoralized rabble, who constituted the Whitefeet and other illegal confederacies, would be only too glad to join the political unions, and make the rallying cry of "Repeal" an excuse for giving vent to the voice of turbulence and insubordination. There were other reasons which

* The following note has been addressed to the author by Lord John Russell, the executor of Thomas Moore:

"I have never had in my possession any letters of the late Right Rev. Dr. Doyle. Mrs. Moore has a number of letters addressed to her late husband which I have never seen. I think you had better write to her yourself, to Sloperton; and if she has any such letters she will no doubt assist you. I do not remember ever having had any correspondence with the late Bishop Doyle; such a circumstance could hardly have escaped my memory, as his writing and character were so striking."

rendered the Repeal Question unacceptable to Dr. Doyle. Careful inquiry and ample thought had convinced him of its impracticability, and O'Connell himself had publicly admitted that "Repeal was but a means to an end."* But, assuming the perfect sincerity of those who advocated the question of Repeal, the fact that "it could never be effected peaceably and without much bloodshed"† was in itself a consideration sufficient to weigh powerfully with a Christian Prelate, whose love of peace had always been proverbial.

During the winter of 1833 the Repeal agitation reached a pitch of intensity equal to, if not exceeding its former strength. Public letters, meetings, and charity dinners, constituted the chief machinery of the organization. Lord Anglesey had retired from the Viceroyalty, and was succeeded by the Marquis Wellesley. The pacificator of India, however, was not destined to be the pacificator of Ireland. Having instituted a State prosecution against Richard Barrett for publishing a letter from O'Connell libellous of the Government, the new Viceroy was all but pelted through the streets of Dublin.‡ O'Connell defended Barrett in a masterly manner; while, with the tact which was a speciality with him, he rendered the speech, from beginning to end, a powerful argument in favour of Repeal. It moreover contained a furious philippic against the Whigs, far more violent and able than that for which his client was put on trial. The excitement of the country increased, and several of the subordinate leaders went much farther than O'Connell was disposed to approve. The following is the letter to Mr. Lambert, M.P., elsewhere alluded to:

"They are so blind and obstinate as to preclude a hope of their return to a better sense; yet the evil in their power to effect is very limited. They may renew the savage scenes of the last year, and bring disgrace and punishment on themselves, but how can their proceedings ever embarrass the march of good government? It is a truth that the mere rabble are the only supporters at present of agitation, and they with their leaders must fall away if the movement party in England do not revolutionize that country, in which case our cry here would be "*Sauve qui peut.*" You or I should require more than ordinary speed in our flight, the late panegyric on one of us notwithstanding. We had no tribute collection, or a word about it, in any chapel of this diocess; but the

* Mr. Fagan writes: "It was scarcely right to have admitted, even on the principle of expediency, that Repeal was but a means to an end."—*Life of Daniel O'Connell*, vol. ii., p. 98.

† See the letter from an influential statesman to Dr. Doyle, p. 240, *ante*.

‡ Lord Wellesley's popularity was also far from served by publicly declaring that the agrarian disturbances were intimately connected with the political agitation then so rife. "They are connected," observed his Excellency, "by an indissoluble chain of cause and consequence."

employeés collected it *ostiatim*. After the exhibition at Kildare they had the impudence to call at my house in their perambulations; but I refused even to see them."

What "the exhibition at Kildare" means it is not easy to determine, unless it can have some connexion with the following incident. In 1833, the new Catholic Church at Kildare was opened for consecration. Dr. Doyle being ill could not attend the ceremonial; and, with a view to make it as attractive as possible, the good Pastor solicited the presence of O'Connell and a few other celebrities. After the consecration, which was remarkably well attended, O'Connell caused a platform to be erected, from which he addressed the people on Repeal. The late Rev. Gerald Doyle of Naas and many other Priests were present. Dr. Doyle appeared greatly annoyed, and, half in earnest, exclaimed, "I protest only for Brennan I would suspend them all." The remark alludes to the worthy Pastor of Kildare, who possessed in an eminent degree the regard of the Bishop. On the morning of the consecration O'Connell made his confession, and received the Blessed Sacrament in the new Church at Kildare.

The state of the country and the condition of the people, political and religious, continued to fill Dr. Doyle with extreme anxiety. In January, 1834, a meeting of the Bishops was held in Dublin. Dr. Doyle, addressing the honorable Member for Wexford, says: "I have been doing everything in my power, since I came to town, to prepare a barrier against the tide of irreligion and multitudinous tyranny now being let loose upon us; and, though I have succeeded to a great extent, I find a dread of the power —— wields to prevail where it ought not, and which is likely enough to deter weak-minded individuals from opposing in time what if unchecked may be irresistible. Dr. Kinsella is much concerned lest his name should appear in the affair of the County Kilkenny."

On the latter ambiguous allusion an interesting piece of secret political history hangs. Lord Duncannon, afterwards Earl of Besborough, had been a consistent advocate of liberal progress, and a warm private friend of O'Connell. A coolness, however, on political grounds sprung up about this period between them; and, although Lord Duncannon had ably represented Kilkenny in several successive Parliaments, O'Connell gave it distinctly to be understood that he ought not again to be returned. In no county—Clare not excepted—had the agitation attained a more formidable head. The people sullenly assembled: some had the daring to march in military order; others, regarding themselves as the elements of a forthcoming outburst, intently watched the expression of the Tribune's eye, and persuaded themselves that,

like the lunar circle, it portended a coming storm. Again the Attorney-General prepared to prosecute O'Connell, who, knowing that the popular movement would receive a serious blow if the Government succeeded in imprisoning him, wrote confidentially to the late Right Rev. Dr. Kinsella, R. C. Bishop of Ossory, requesting that Prelate to use his known influence with Lord Duncannon, then a member of the Ministry, in getting the pending prosecution quashed. The letter, which is still in existence, concludes with a promise that if the interposition proved successful he would not oppose Lord Duncannon's return. The violent tone of the agitation in Kilkenny gradually and almost imperceptibly decreased. O'Connell's volume of declamation, without losing its more prominent characteristics, became more guarded in its utterance. He quietly promoted the return of Lord Duncannon; and the consequence was that the stroke of chastisement which Mr. Francis Blackburne had been in the act of uplifting fell to the ground. Lord Duncannon was a very estimable public character. "Everyone who came in contact with him," observes Mr. M'Cullagh, "felt safe in relying on his word. Lord Duncannon never made any man regret that he had trusted him; hence, he was trusted by persons the most opposite in opinions and irreconcilable in their enmities."

A letter from O'Connell, dated 7th June, 1833, would seem to throw some light on this period of his political career. The names of so many living persons are mentioned in it that we can only venture to transcribe a few lines. The great question of "last night" was "our foreign relations with Portugal:"

"I joined the Whig Ministry last night, and contributed perhaps a good deal to the extent and satisfactory nature of their victory. I have helped them at this crisis—which, however, is not yet over. The Duke of Wellington has the Peers and will try another battle. There is a kind of interregnum—how it will end is uncertain; but this is quite clear that the Tories cannot possibly hold power. In the meantime Germany is in the actual throes of a revolution. 'Wait a while!'

"My speech and vote last night gave me a *proper introduction* to Mr. Littleton. If anything can be done it is now. I am—I think so at least—formidable as an enemy. I have shown an act of unmerited friendship. We shall see whether anything can be done. I am convinced that there never yet was a moment of my political life in which it was so essential to the interests of Ireland that I should be *at large*. My power of locomotion, in England as well as in Ireland, is, I think, essentially necessary for the sake of Ireland to be preserved at this critical juncture. To

be sure I may be mistaken—I may be deceiving myself; but I would not have published one line in Ireland if I thought such publication would put me in a situation to be withheld from action for three years—a period which the Court of King's Bench would readily inflict on me. . . . . To be respected by the Whigs they must feel one to be a formidable enemy. They have always courted their enemies. I look to success *with* them only from attacking them with virulence until they believe me formidable. If I was sentenced, there would be no chance of mitigation without absolute and entire debasement—at least a resignation of my political career."

A gentleman who had for many years performed a very prominent part in Catholic affairs spent a day at Braganza at this period. When he had at last taken his departure Dr. Doyle observed to the Rev. J. Maher: "Mr. —— has been persecuting me for a letter bearing testimony to his ability and rectitude, and, although he tells me that it would be of the greatest possible importance to him, I have refused the request point-blank. Every other Prelate has given him a letter, but of late I have acquired a feeling of unlimited distrust in him. And mark," he added; "if that man, when I am dead, should publish any document of approval as coming from me, you have my authority to repudiate it as a forgery." Dr. Doyle's discrimination proved as usual correct. The gentleman, some years after, completely lost caste with his party.

A gorgeous suit of vestments, which Dr. Doyle had only health to wear on one or two subsequent occasions, having been presented to him by a nun, he thus acknowledged the gift:

"Carlow, 10th December, 1833.

"My dear Friend—Will you be pleased to accept for yourself, and to offer for me to Sister M—— my sincere and grateful thanks for the estimable present, rendered so valuable by the taste and labour expended on it, which you lately sent me. Should I be enabled to use it on any of those great festivals when heaven is supposed to be more than usually propitious to our wants, I will not fail to commend to our Lord and Master those, His faithful servants, who, by ornamenting His altar and His Priesthood, seek thereby to enhance the glory of His name. But some other kind of grateful recollection is due to the dear little children who shared in this holy work. If I visit Maryborough, as I intend and hope, remind me of them, that they may have reason to be content. We had a solemn Mass in our new Church on the first Sunday of Advent. I was (thank God) enabled to assist thereat, and participated largely in the satisfaction felt on that occasion by

all who were present. After six years of care and toil we saw our task accomplished, and all our anticipations fully realized. 'How good, O Israel, is God to the upright of heart!' I wish He would increase our faith in Him, and we could say to a mountain, 'Rise, and be cast into the sea.'

"The weather continues very hard—and if I have not grown as strong as an ox it is owing to its influence. I am (thank God) better than heretofore, and though the reports in the newspapers are great pieces of trumpery they are not totally void of truth.—Praying God to bless you all and confirm you in every good work, I remain, with affectionate regard to each of the nuns, your faithful servant in Christ,

"✠ J. DOYLE."

Addressing one of his nieces he says: "I was glad to hear that our friends in [——] are enabled to live without embarrassment. I have no doubt that their industry, protected by divine Providence, will enable them to proceed and enjoy those little comforts which, in a reasonable quantity, are a great gift from God, and remove a great many temptations; for poverty, like virtue, is the parent of many crimes."

The following letter to the Right Hon. R. More O'Ferrall, M.P., shows how Dr. Doyle, when no longer able to write with freedom, was yet willing to aid, as far as in him lay, those who sought to promote the welfare of their country. The letter is endorsed, "Dr. Doyle on a Plan of Poor Laws:"

"Carlow, 3rd January, 1834.

"MY DEAR SIR—I have been endeavouring to make up my judgment on the proposition you submitted to me. I need not advert to 'the appointment of physicians by a central board, with power, &c.,' as I am most clearly of opinion that the medical department of our charities requires to be entirely new-modelled, and by a separate bill; and that the members of it should have no power, influence, or authority, with regard to the relief of the poor, otherwise than by recommendation to the local committee. If Mr. Wyse's notions of county boards, with defined powers to levy money for necessary purposes (including education and relief of the poor) were adopted, then, *but not otherwise*, would I consent to a central or national board in Dublin, to whom monies, accruing from funds now existing or to arise from a land-tax, would be entrusted, that they from these monies might assist such public works or local charities as should fail if not assisted; the application for such aid to pass, in every instance, through the county board, as constituted by Mr. Wyse's bill.

"If this system—no doubt complex in its nature, but which

a clever man could simplify and render practicable—be not adopted, then my decided and certainly unchangeable opinion is, that all centralization should be avoided as a most pernicious principle in all social legislation—fit only for a military empire, but ruinous to the peace, honesty, frugality, and efficiency of civil institutions. It is a broad principle of nature that every man manages best his own household, and every town its own local concerns. In Poor Laws the more you confine the district, the more of the family industry and good management you ensure—the more you remove the power of taxation; and the more you spread out the taxation, the more delay, the more favoritism, the more jobbing, the infinitely less concern about the burden imposed or the mode of its expenditure. This is also the opinion of Dr. Kinsella, who thinks that my plan, as 'tis called, of relieving the poor—combined, as it ought to be, with emigration, and placing the burden of assessment, agreeable to the plan or scale sketched by William Smith O'Brien, on those who have an interest in real property within the several districts, leaving open, as it does, the question of assisting the able-bodied—is the only plan of relief that will work at all well in this country.

"Whether partiality for my own opinions, or some other hidden cause, influences my judgment, or whether it be decided by the merits of the case, yet that judgment is more and more confirmed by reflection, observation, and experience.—Ever truly yours,

"✠ J. DOYLE.

"P.S.—I think the evils likely to arise from the crowded state of the population in certain localities, would be remedied in a very few years by the working of the Bill and the motives of action in the poor which it would not fail to produce; but if in that matter, or in the foreclosing of mortgages, much evil were found to lurk it could when it appeared be checked by law."

CHAPTER XLV.

The Catholic Oath—James Edward Devereux again—Attempt to bring Dr. Doyle and O'Connell into collision—Political revelations—O'Connell's Repeal motion in Parliament—Correspondence with Lord Cloncurry on the demoralization of the people—"The privileges of a dying Bishop"—Letter to H. G.—His last Pastoral—Anecdote—He swoons in the midst of labour—Letter to Rev. Charles Stuart—Anecdote—Letter from Dr. Doyle requesting the appointment of a Coadjutor-Bishop—Letter to Dr. Murray—The election—Rev. Dr. Cullen—Dr. Doyle's last letter—"Othello's occupation 's gone"—Some pious ladies try to make him a Protestant—Conversations with Rev. James Maher—A dying injunction.

O'Connell continued his exertions with a view to the redress of grievances, for which he received the well-merited gratitude of many. But, in giving a definition of the obligation of the Catholic Oath, he involved himself at this period in somewhat of a difficulty, both with his own and the adverse party. An attempt was made, by James Edward Devereux, to bring the Bishop and the Liberator into collision on the subject; but the former, from motives of delicacy, declined to perform the ungracious task which Mr. Devereux would fain have assigned to him.

"Malvern, [ ] 1834.

"Right Rev. Lord—In 1825 certain Irish Catholic Prelates were summoned to London to be examined before the House of Lords. Their adversaries had for a long time before been employed in consulting, with the utmost care and study, Protestant theologians in all quarters and of all colours, and preparing their queries; so that they confidently expected, as indeed their friends beforehand announced, that the examination of our Prelates would end in their total discomfiture and in the utter disgrace of our holy religion. But here, as usual in their polemical contests with us, the too sanguine hopes of our opponents were disappointed. Our Prelates came out of this ordeal triumphant, having left their adversaries themselves impressed with an undissembled sense of admiration of their profound and ready learning, and the display of their modest and unassuming but eminent talent; and from that day forth both our venerated Clergy and our holy religion stood on higher ground in the public opinion in England than ever they had before occupied.

"But, my Right Rev. Lord, I lament to have now to say that a great change has of late taken place on this subject in the opinion of that same public, and that our holy religion, which, from and after the above examination before the Lords' Committee, was never (except by fanatics) mentioned but with respect, is now everywhere, and by almost all Protestants, spoken of

with the utmost contempt as the religion of men without principle, faith, or honour—whose Bishops and Priests allow oaths to be taken and afterwards to be broken as suits their political interests—a religion which admits of mental reservation, and one, therefore, to which not only the Christian, but no gentleman or man of honour could belong—in short, a religion fitted only for equivocators and perjurers." . . . . .

[A quantity of severe animadversion on Mr. O'Connell follows.]

"It is, my Lord, most humiliating to Catholics, and particularly to Irish Catholics in England, now everywhere to hear their religion reproached as being the religion of equivocators—to behold this repeated *usque ad nauseam* in the country papers and periodicals, and to see sermons advertised to be preached against Popery grounded upon Mr. O'Connell's doctrine on oaths; our adversaries having, as it would appear, manifested great alacrity in profiting of this occasion to proclaim a short-lived triumph over us, as some consolation for the innumerable controversial defeats they have experienced at our hands. How is this evil to be abated—how is our religion to be justified and we to be restored to the good opinions of our fellow-subjects? Certainly not by the writings of laymen, for our adversaries would disclaim their authority on such a subject. This justice, to be adequately done to our religion, must come from a higher quarter. I may humbly presume to suggest that it would not answer, at this time of day, for our Prelates to say that they can in no manner be accountable for the theological opinions of a lawyer. This answer, I admit, might in the abstract be conclusive; but in this case it cannot apply—for the fact is that here our Prelates may be said to be virtually implicated; for, however erroneous the opinion may be, still it is the fixed opinion of the people of England that Mr. O'Connell holds the Bishops and Priests of Ireland under his heel, and that whatever doctrine he thinks proper to promulgate, that doctrine they beforehand approve; and, as evidence of this, the people here will tell you that if the doctrine he has been so long holding forth on the oath had not been approved of by our Prelates, some one of them would have come forward, and, in contradiction to Mr. O'Connell, would have shown what is the Catholic doctrine on that subject. If they are answered that most certainly they one and all disapprove of the learned gentleman's theology, the reply is, that then there must evidently be some reason for their silence; and this ready reason occurs—that many of those right reverend persons having, when they presumed to differ with him, been severely dealt with by Mr. O'Connell, his press, and runners—those right reverend persons, most acutely feeling the regime of terrors under which

they are held by Mr. O'Connell, are unwilling again to encounter the inveterate fury of his said press and his runners and remain silent—here the Prelates of Ireland manifesting a quicker sense of utilitarian prudence than did the Prelates of France, who, sooner than bend to the regime of terror, bared their breasts to the pike of the liberacy of the day, and placed their heads under the guillotine. . . . .

"My intimate conviction of the necessity of this immediate vindication of Catholic doctrines has urged me to take the liberty of intruding on your Lordship. I have now laid the whole case before you, and with it you will deal as to your Lordship's wisdom may seem meet, and that, I can have no doubt, will be—as is usual with your Lordship—in that manner which will most redound to the honour of our holy religion, to the edification of Catholics, and to the satisfaction of our Protestant fellow-subjects, with whom, as Christians and loyal subjects to our King, it is our earnest desire to draw close the Christian bond of fellowship and union. . . . . We, therefore, cannot but look forward with great anxiety to the auspicious moment when one of our Prelates shall at once and for ever expunge from Parliamentary record the honorable Member's special-pleading sophisms on the Oath.—I have, &c.,

"J. E. DEVEREUX,

"One of the five Delegates who, on the 3rd January, 1793, at St. James's, presented the Petition of the Catholics of Ireland to their Royal Benefactor—George III."

Mr. Devereux, hoping to provoke Dr. Doyle to answer O'Connell, further declared that Ireland contained, not as alleged by *The Times* and *Standard*, a Priest-ridden people, but "an O'Connell mob-ridden Priesthood and Prelacy." He reminded Dr. Doyle that because Archbishop Murray did not "cover himself with sackcloth and ashes on the appointment of Chief-Justice Doherty, ridicule and abuse were dealt out to the worthy Prelate" with no sparing hand. Bishop Kinsella of Ossory met, we are assured, the same fate for having given his vote to Lord Duncannon, and "was repeatedly told that if he did not act as the people pleased he should be made to do so." Mr. Devereux next reminded his illustrious correspondent of the treatment which the Right Rev. Dr. Doyle received for "having had the sacrilegious hardihood to support the Poor Laws." "The O'Connell press was set to work," adds Mr. Devereux astutely, "and the Prelate was abused, reviled, and torn to pieces in a manner hitherto unparalleled in the annals of newspaper ruffianism."

The tempter proceeds: "Again, the Right Rev. Dr. Abraham, Catholic Bishop in Waterford, having presented himself at the

hustings to vote for Mr. Wyse, instead of voting for the O'Connell candidate, was hustled, hissed, and spat upon, and sundry significant threats were used, so that the Prelate was obliged to apply to the High Sheriff for an escort, in order that he might get home to his house in safety."

It was all to no use, however. The "Lion of Judah" was not to be roused by the goads of the dexterous delegate.

The immense influence wielded by O'Connell, and which Mr. Devereux had viewed with no little alarm, received, some weeks later, a sensible check. William IV., in his speech from the throne, declared that he viewed the Repeal agitation "with deep regret and just indignation." His Majesty attributed to the practices which had been "used to promote disaffection to the State, and mutual distrust and animosity between the two countries, that spirit of insubordination which had been but too perceptible. To none more than to the deluded instruments of the agitation," he went on, "is the continuance of such a spirit productive of the most ruinous consequences."

O'Connell indignantly demanded discussion, and moved for the appointment of a committee to "inquire into and report on the means by which the Union was carried, and on the effects of that measure upon Ireland." He intended to introduce this memorable motion in a speech of overwhelming power, but, shortly previous to the effort, he lost courage and fell into a state of utter despondency. From a letter of O'Connell's, now first published, we cull the following remarkable passages: "I never felt half so nervous about anything as I do about my Repeal effort. It will be my worst—I sink beneath the load—my materials are confused and totally without arrangement. I am convinced there will be nothing in my speech deserving recollection or any extraordinary exertion by my friends. It is quite true that I have often desponded before a public exertion and afterwards succeeded; but this cannot now be the case. I feel for the first time overpowered!"*

O'Connell spoke for five hours; but the oration wanted fire and force. Mr. Spring Rice replied in a telling speech full of facts and figures, but not altogether free from special pleading. It was on this occasion that he pronounced a handsome eulogium on the character of Dr. Doyle. Only 38 Members voted for O'Connell's motion, while 485 negatived it.

The condition of the country during the spring of 1834 was not of a nature to gratify Dr. Doyle. The following letter to Lord Cloncurry heaves a long-drawn sigh, and is, we believe, the last letter on politics penned by J. K. L.

* The letter is addressed to M. Staunton, Esq., and was written with the object of enlisting his co-operation.

"Carlow, 3rd March, 1834.

"My dear Lord—I am greatly obliged to your Lordship for the letter with which you lately honored me, and the draft of bill which Mr. R. Cassidy had, by your Lordship's direction, forwarded to me some day last week.

"I had partially recovered from a long illness, but have again relapsed into such a state of debility as to be incapable of applying my mind to any subject requiring attention. Should it please God that I would again be enabled to attend to business, I shall derive great gratification from the study of your Lordship's work, which, if I might judge by the preamble, is worth fifty volumes of what is every year spoken or written about Ireland.

"Perhaps it is in part owing to the state of my health that my hopes of the improvement of our country are weakened. I thought there was more intelligence and virtue among the middle classes of our people than there now appears to me to be. Their conduct at the period of the last general election, and since—in suffering themselves to be deceived, and then bestrode by the basest tyranny that ever established itself for any length of time in these latter ages—compels me, God knows how reluctantly, to doubt whether there be sufficient soundness in the community to render it capable of profiting by any liberal system of legislation. As to the lowest classes of the people, their demoralization is extreme, and they thirst for disorder. I am very much of opinion that if there be a chance remaining of yet rescuing the country from the evil genius which troubles and torments it, and of placing the people within the fold of the law and constitution, a measure large and comprehensive, such as your Lordship's professes to be, would be most likely to attain those ends.—I have the honour to be, my dear Lord, &c.,

"✠ J. Doyle."

The Bishop's estimate of the then popular tendency to disorder is corroborated by a despatch from Lord Wellesley to Lord Melbourne, dated 18th April, 1834. The Viceroy enclosed the reports of the provincial inspectors. "Their opinion," he writes, "is unanimously and powerfully given in favour of the renewal of the Coercion Act," and his Excellency adds a most anxious desire that the Act might be renewed.

Mr. Littleton, now Lord Hatherton, filled the office of Irish Secretary under the second Viceroyalty of Lord Wellesley. "I had the greatest admiration," observes Lord Hatherton in a letter to the author, "of Dr. Doyle's mind and character."

When at all able, Dr. Doyle used to come into Carlow every day—sometimes to say Mass at the Convent, at other times to

prepare the little children, by catechetical instruction, for their first Communion. One evening, shortly before the Bishop's death, as he walked home leaning on his Curate's arm, his countenance but too indicative of the unflagging labour and anxiety which day by day was wearing out his constitution, a covered-car, which proceeded in the same direction, drew up, and a respectable lady of the Society of Friends got out. "Bishop," she said, "thou lookest weakly, and if thou and thy Curate take a seat in my vehicle, I will leave thee at home." Dr. Doyle gratefully accepted the courteous proposal, but had no sooner entered the car than he recognized a young lady who had expressed a strong desire to embrace Catholicism, but whose tendency in that direction had been ingeniously driven backward by the arguments and taunts of this Quaker lady. "Madam," he said sternly, "I cannot shut my eyes or my mouth to the cruel act which you must be well aware you have performed towards that fine, ingenuous girl yonder. God, in his infinite goodness, permitted her soul to become filled by a holy vocation. You urged her to turn a deaf ear to His voice, and but for *your* interference she should long since have been baptized." "She *has* been baptized, Bishop," replied the Quaker lady—"baptized in the spirit." "Out upon such baptism," he replied. "Yours is the theory of the Manichees, who held that baptism by water was not necessary to salvation. Without the outward and visible sign it is impossible to confer the inward or invisible grace by which the soul is cleansed from all sin, made the child of God, and an heir to the kingdom of heaven. They who have received the power to become the sons of God must be born thereto, 'not of blood,' which is all corrupted, 'nor of the will of the flesh,' which is equally vicious, nor even of 'the will of man,' which is exceedingly perverse—they must be 'born of God' by regeneration in water and the Word of life—they must be created anew in Christ Jesus, and receive of His fulness. The founders of your Society originally called themselves Seekers, from seeking the truth. Why, therefore, do *you*, who profess to be a faithful disciple of Fox and Penn, attempt to stifle the solemn inquiry which your young friend expressed an anxious desire to institute for her soul's good? You reject the marriage ceremony because, as you allege, there is no Scripture warrant for it; while with singular inconsistency you altogether ignore the most conclusive passages of the Scriptures in favour of baptism. Christ gave His commission to the Apostles to 'baptize in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.' That baptism remits sin is self-evident; for, as Peter says, 'Do penance and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus for the remission of your sins.' Our Lord has told us that 'unless a man be born again of water and the Holy Ghost

he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.' But happily it is not too late to seek and find the truth, for 'he that believeth and is baptized,' saith an Evangelist, 'shall be saved.'"

Dr. Doyle was for a moment silent. "And now, good Madam," he resumed: "having expressed myself in the language of candour and sincerity, I hope you will not take it in anger. I could have wished that some other opportunity had been afforded of uttering my sentiments on this subject; but it is, perhaps, one of the privileges of a dying Bishop to express his condemnation of wrong at all times and in all places. He should make the most of the short period remaining for labour, and for this reason you will, perhaps, pardon the vehemence with which I have spoken." Having now reached the gate of Braganza, the car stopped. "You must enter my hermitage," he said, "and partake of some refreshment, if for no other reason than to show me that you have not taken my rebuke as an offence." "Well, Bishop," replied the good lady, "I embrace thy proposal in the spirit in which it is offered." She came in, and partook of luncheon. St. Paul's remark that Bishops should be hospitable was never more completely realized. Dr. Doyle's demeanour was eminently cordial and conciliatory. His feeling heart admonished him that he had been led by zeal to transgress, in some degree, the bounds of courtesy, and he now endeavoured to compensate his guest to the full. She was all the more struck by his amiable manner, from the contrast it presented to that honest but unpalatable bluntness which she had so short a time previously experienced, and her eyes filled with tears as the Bishop, warmly grasping her hand, observed that in all probability she would never again see him alive.

Dr. Doyle's early correspondent, H. G., sought a renewal of their epistolary intercourse, but his once vigorous thoughts had ceased to bound, and his hand was weak and powerless:

"2nd March, 1834.

"DEAR HANNAH—I am not able to write letters, and have very rarely done so for some time past. My strength has left me, and my illness has many fatal symptoms; but life or death from the hands of God are indifferent to me—I confide in His mercy. I know the charity you all bear towards me, and that you will continue to pray to God for me. I beg that he may bless you all."

The Bishop's sense of duty, however, was still indomitable, and he was determined to die in the helmet of his office. It may well be imagined what an effort it must have caused him to produce, at this period of prostration, a *brochure* of fourteen pages. During the Lent of 1834, he published a pastoral address to his flock, which in more than one place alludes to his own approaching dissolution:

"Another year has passed, and we have been brought nearer to the judgment-seat of God. The holy time of Lent has commenced, when we are called upon to judge ourselves, that our sins may not be brought in judgment against us at that awful tribunal where each and all of us must shortly appear. The Almighty God, who has placed me in his ministry to watch over you, that I may render to him an account of your souls, has created in my heart an unceasing solicitude for your welfare. This solicitude and the continual pain I feel on account of the wants, or the errors, or the faults which prevail among you, urge me to address to you, at this holy time, a few words of instruction and advice. Receive those words from me, beloved brethren, as a message sent to you from God; 'for we,' says the Apostle Paul, speaking of himself and his fellow Apostles, and of those who after them were to enter upon their labours—'for we,' says he, 'are ambassadors for Christ—God, as it were, exhorting by us.'"

The Lent, he explained, was not only a time of peace and reconciliation, but of repentance, atonement, and penance. The latter consisted of alms-deeds, prayer, and mortification. Having relapsed into sin after baptism there remains nought but a terrible anticipation of judgment, unless, aided by divine grace, we stir up by prayer the faith that is in us, and, fixing our eyes on Christ and detesting our past sins, we form a purpose of a new and better life. Thus we may awaken the hope that for the Saviour's sake God will be propitious to us. The Bishop impressively explained the means by which "if our sins were as red as scarlet, they should become whitened like snow." And referring to the relaxed rigours of Lent, he said: "Light, indeed, and short is the mortification which the Church enjoins; and lighter still and shorter it has become, so as to appear at present but as the shadow of what it once has been." Dr. Doyle briefly laid down the regulations which he wished his people to observe during the Lent. "If we be desired to watch over you in order to give an account of your souls to Him who has purchased them with His blood, you are commanded to obey us and be subject to us, that we may give that account not with sadness but with joy. If we be not faithful dispensers of the mysteries of God we shall be cast out with the wicked steward mentioned in the Gospel; but if you do not hear us and attend to our words whilst we preach that Gospel, it will be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrha on the last day than for you. Hear us therefore, beloved brethren, and let the word of God dwell abundantly in you."

But it was not fasting from the flesh-pots alone which Dr. Doyle so earnestly inculcated. His flock should also fast from sin. He besought them to look back and see how far they had

departed from the law of God. He reminded them of the love they were obliged to bear their neighbour, without distinction of friends or enemies, and urged them to compare with that obligation the envy, the anger, the strife, broils, and even bloodshed which of late had been heard of among them. These were the attributes of the old man, of which they should strip themselves in order to put on the new. And, quoting from the Scripture, he added: "Put ye on, therefore, as the elect of God, holy and beloved, the bowels of mercy, benignity, humility, modesty, patience—bearing with one another and forgiving one another. Even as the Lord hath forgiven you, so you also. But above all things have charity, which is the bond of perfection."

The Bishop, however, felt that it was in vain to exhort his flock to holiness of life if the causes which tempted them to swerve from it were not removed. These he analyzed one by one. The use of ardent spirits received strong condemnation at his hands. "It consumes the substance of the poor, destroys the health and vigour of youth, stupifies manhood, and brutalizes old age." Theft, lies, lust, and blood were its inseparable companions. He could say with the Prophet that his "throat had become hoarse" crying out against that vice; and yet it prevailed—nay, prospered in the midst of the nakedness and desolation which extended on every side. "Oh, senseless people," exclaimed the dying Bishop, "who has bewitched you not to obey the truth? The law of God condemned drunkenness as a crime which deserved hell; it enjoined sobriety as a virtue most necessary for a Christian people." Dr. Doyle concluded by saying, that he who could command them in all things prescribed by that law was yet unwilling to do so, lest such command should be turned into an occasion of offence and a rock of scandal; but he implored of all who were prone to intemperance to desist for the sake of God and of Christ Jesus, before whose tribunal both Prelate and people should shortly stand.

This address was written; but there were several spoken about the same time. In one of his later admonitory appeals to the students or children at Carlow, he felt so weak that, contrary to custom, he was obliged to sit upon a form while addressing them.

Dr. Doyle had always been in the habit of dining at the same table with his Curates. One day during this spring he was helped to a leg of chicken; but he had only eaten a tiny portion of it when the Priests observed that he could not go on. "Will your Lordship try something else?" asked Mr. Maher. "Your dinner is an excellent one," replied the Bishop; "but I cannot touch it. My appetite," he added with an effort at cheerfulness. observing that his companions appeared sad, "has become 'small

by degrees and beautifully less,' until a scarcely perceptible particle of fowl more than satisfies me. I am reminded of the story of the old man and his donkey. He gradually reduced the feeding of the animal until two straws a-day were sufficient to sustain life; but the moment he put him off with one straw, poor Jack died."

"St. Austin preached constantly," observes his biographer. "Sometimes every day, and sometimes twice on the same day. He did not desist even when he was so weak as to be scarce able to speak; but he seemed to gather strength in preaching, as we learn from his forty-second sermon; and his ardour for the salvation of souls made him forget the pains of sickness." These remarks are singularly applicable to Dr. Doyle. We have already seen how closely he copied some of the finest characteristics of St. Augustin. In this particular he was also his zealous imitator. The Rev. Dr. O'Brien, addressing the author, observes: "I well remember, shortly before the death of Dr. Doyle, that, after celebrating Mass at Carlow Convent and otherwise taxing his shattered constitution, he fainted from sheer exhaustion. He had already announced his intention of preaching that day; and, as soon as he partially recovered from the swoon, the Priests endeavoured to dissuade him from carrying out his zealous purpose. But all to no use; he was not to be turned from his resolution. Through life it had been his motto to falter at nothing which man had ever achieved before him. He was determined to accomplish what St. Augustin had mastered. 'I'll lean upon God;' he said; 'He will not withdraw to let me fall.' The Church was already filled by hundreds anxiously waiting to hear the Bishop's sermon and receive his benediction. I went to hear the Evangelist contend with the empire of Death for the hour which he thought duty demanded. With a countenance pale and careworn, and marked by the haggard hue of wasted energy, he tottered up the stairs of the pulpit. He was obliged to keep both hands firmly grasped to the front of the pulpit, or he should have fallen. He preached with wondrous power nevertheless, and almost with stentorian strength of lung. I well remember the piercing intonation of his first words—'We must preach, brethren, and woe to him who does not preach.' The sermon was listened to with breathless attention by Priests and people. It was a splendid cornucopia of truths and precepts, sublime and practical."

Christ laid down His life for His flock; and so fatally exhausting were the Bishop's labours in behalf of his charge that it seemed as though he desired to imitate Him, even to the sacrifice of life itself.

Dr. Doyle had the occasional power, during this advanced stage of his disease, of concentrating the life of many days in a single

effort; but once achieved, he would relapse into languor and remain prostrate beneath its influence until again aroused by a new call of duty. As in the case we have cited, the inspiration held him up until he delivered the divine warning; but when the elixir was withdrawn, he sunk back mute and passionless.

The Bishop's friends were filled with deep anxiety on his account. The late Very Rev. Charles Stuart, who had made some studies with him in early life, overwhelmed by the emotions which a recollection of by-gone days aroused, was on the point of starting for Carlow to tender the homage of his love and sympathy, when he received the following reply:

"Carlow, 10th April, 1834.

"My dear Charles—I seldom attempt to write a letter. I am fully convinced of your affection for me, and assure you 'tis mutual. When lately in Dublin I gave the servants directions to deny me to all visitors, but these directions were not always observed. I am sorry you were not of those to whom they opposed no obstacle. I would regret your coming here. I am no longer able to converse, and the presence even of my friends, after a short time, becomes painful to me. About my death or recovery I feel perfectly indifferent, knowing that the designs of God will be fulfilled; and having no link to bind me to this world, I bow with the more freedom and confidence to the divine mercy.—Most truly and affectionately yours in Christ,

"✠ J. Doyle."

As may be gathered from this letter, he did not relish visitors during his last illness. Mrs. Coney having got the Rev. Mr. Maher to break to Dr. Doyle the news of her advent, the following dialogue ensued: "You'll have a visitor to-day." "Who?" "A lady." "I shan't see her." "Oh, but you must—your niece, Mary." "I wish to the Lord she was in Halifax." As soon as the lady made her appearance, however, he received her most kindly; and what was then a novelty, he made an effort to join both guest and Curates at dinner. "My Lord," she said, "you ought to drink a little claret." "There's not a drop in the house," he replied. "Oh, but there is." "I had really quite forgotten it—bring it in." The Bishop drank a little and appeared revived. His niece had brought it unknown to him.

This revival was of short duration. "I saw him on the 29th of April," writes Bishop O'Connor, "and he was so enfeebled as to be hardly able to help himself to a pinch of snuff." Previous to this interview Dr. Doyle had addressed to each of his Parish Priests, a copy of the following circular:

"REV. SIR—His Holiness the Pope, by virtue of a rescript directed to me, bearing date the 9th day of March last past, having graciously permitted me to convene a meeting of the parochial Clergy of these diocesses, to be held in the manner and form prescribed by the decree of the Congregation of the 17th October, 1829, at such time and place as I might appoint conformably to the said decree, for the purpose that the said Clergy would commend by their suffrages three ecclesiastical persons to his Holiness, of whom he might be pleased to appoint one to be my Coadjutor, with a right of succession in these sees; now these presents are sent to apprize you of the above, and to require your attendance at a meeting of the aforesaid Clergy, to be held in our Cathedral Church in Carlow, for the purpose above-mentioned, at the hour of ten o'clock in the forenoon, on Monday the 21st of April instant."

The following note, is addressed to the Most Rev. Dr. Murray:

"Braganza, 21st April, 1834.

"MY DEAR LORD—I am unable to take any active share in the meeting of the Clergy to be held this day. May I therefore beg your Grace will have the goodness to preside over the said meeting, which will find its greatest happiness in attending to every intimation of your Grace's will.—I remain, &c.,

"✠ J. DOYLE."

Forty-three Parish Priests accordingly assembled. At the termination of Mass to the Holy Ghost all the congregation were ordered to leave the Cathedral, except the Parish Priests, who are the sole electors in this diocess, there being no chapter nor canons. The names returned by the scrutators were, Rev. Edward Nolan, Professor of Theology in Carlow College, 38 votes; Rev. Mr. Flanagan, V.G., 31 votes; Rev. Denis Lawlor, P.P., 26 votes. The voting was carried on by private ballot, until the three who had the above majorities were publicly declared.

Dr. Doyle had corresponded with the present Most Rev. Dr. Cullen, in his double capacity of agent to the Irish Catholic Bishops at Rome, and Rector of the Irish College in the same city. He remembered him at Carlow College, in 1819, as a youth of no ordinary promise, and he knew him in 1834 to be one of the ablest theologians in the Church. Dr. Cullen had barely attained his twenty-sixth year; but it would seem that Dr. Doyle, with that matchless depth of penetration which characterized him, discerned in the young Priest all the requisite materials for a great Bishop. When the Clergy had assembled to deliberate upon the solemn task of electing a successor to Dr. Doyle, he

musingly exclaimed—"May God direct them in their choice. I wonder will they have the good sense to elect that boy in Rome. He possesses every requisite qualification, even to being a native of this diocess." Dr. Cullen's appointment, sixteen years afterwards, to the Primatial chair, and the efficient manner in which his episcopal and other duties have been since discharged attest the far-seeing discrimination of J. K. L.

The following letter to Mariana is the last written by Dr. Doyle:

"Carlow, 4th May, 1834.

"My dear Friend—I was of course much gratified by the receipt of your last letter; but since it has been in my hands I was unable to tell you I had received it. I am now quite unable to write, though my hand as you observe is but little shaken, and unless I speedily improve—and I believe my most sanguine friends scarcely hope I shall—this is the last time I will attempt to disturb your peace by placing before you that image of coming dissolution which so strongly affects you. It is *merely possible* that my present illness be not for death; but supposing the contrary, have I not lived long enough? The objects for which I seem to have been sent into the world are, in a great degree, attained; and as the mercy of God is above all His works, and as He hates nothing of what He has made, may we not hope that He is chastising my offences before He calls me to judgment—a judgment which no man can stand. These, dear Mariana, are my hopes; for as I never received aught but good from the hand of God, I can scarcely fear that He will break me, like the rod mentioned by a Prophet, and cast me away. 'All his gifts,' says St. Paul, 'are without repentance'—that is, He is never sorry for any grace or gift he bestows, and if so, I humbly hope He will take away my sins like a cloud, and perfect the gifts he has conferred upon me from the days of my youth. I feel no kind of attachment to any thing in this world, and the threatened separation from my friends gives me no pain. Strive to wean yourself by degrees from all your friends living and dead; pray for us, and be content. May God bless you, dear Mariana, and believe me your faithful and affectionate servant in Christ,

"✠ J. Doyle."

The Vicar-General opened all Dr. Doyle's letters for several weeks before his death. "Well, what letters to-day?" he would ask. "Six, my Lord; one from the Secretary of State, soliciting your opinion on his new Bill; another from Sydney Smith, declaring that the public expression of your opinion on Church property at this crisis would be hailed as a boon by the British Dissenters as well as the Irish Roman Catholics; a third from

Father ——, begging of you to give him faculties; a fourth from a Parson, arguing a point of theology with you; and two from evangelical ladies, urging you to embrace the truths of Protestantism." Regarding the political letters, Dr. Doyle would merely mutter, "Othello's occupation 's gone." To the Priest, although not under suspension, he declined for sufficient reasons to grant faculties. Father Maher afterwards communicated this decision to Dr. Doyle's successors, Bishops Nolan and Haly, both of whom religiously observed what they regarded as a dying injunction. The Vicar-General next read for Dr. Doyle a long communication, signed "Maria," expressing wonder that so powerful a mind as his should be oppressed by the trammels of Popery, and arguing fluently on polemics. "Ah!" he would say, "what a pity that their knowledge is not commensurate with their zeal. If they possessed the true faith what charity they would have. They seek the truth, but do not find it. Dear, dear! how glibly they quote from the Sacred Volume, covering their own nakedness with its shreds and patches. May the Holy Ghost inspire them to find the truth. Pity that zeal so strong should not find the right field for its exercise." "She encloses a high flown description," proceeded Father Maher, "of the last moments of a fair Methodistic friend." "Read it," said the Bishop. The Priest accordingly did so. The account was extremely inflated, and dwelt particularly on the lady's hopes in the merits of Christ. "Poor, creature," said Dr. Doyle with a writhe of pain; "in what else could she trust?"

Father Maher, on another day, took up a newspaper, and read aloud a long letter by an eminent dignitary who then and since enjoyed a high reputation for his eloquence and force. "Ah!" exclaimed J. K. L., turning on his pillow, "there is no ballast in him."

Dr. Doyle's dying injunction, that a certain Clergyman should never receive faculties in the diocess of Kildare and Leighlin, was no exceptional case of episcopal austerity. After his death a manuscript book fell into the hands of Bishop Nolan, wherein was recorded, for the guidance of that Prelate and his successors, the names of families in the diocess of which no member should be at any time ordained Priest. He made this rule in the case of families who had already given to the altar persons not of exemplary conduct.

CHAPTER XLVI.

CLOSING SCENES.

"There is nothing in history which is so improving to the reader as those accounts which we meet with of the deaths of eminent persons, and of their behaviour in that dreadful season. I may also add that there are no parts in history which affect and please the reader in so sensible a manner: the reason I take to be this—because there is no other single circumstance in the story of any person, which can possibly be the case of every one who reads."—*Addison's Spectator.*

"The wise good man is gone—
His honoured head lies low,
And his thoughts of power are done,
And his voice's manly flow;
And the pen, that for truth like a sword was drawn,
Is still and soulless now."—Bishop Doane.

In one of the interesting conversations which passed between the Bishop and his Vicar-General, he was asked by the latter if he would not wish to live longer. "About my death or recovery," said Dr. Doyle, "I feel perfectly indifferent I came into the world without any exercise of my will, and it is only fitting that I should leave it in the same manner. I never knew any one who wished to live longer in order to do a great deal of good who did not do a great deal of harm. All my hopes are in the mercies of God. Am I not as near them now as though I were to remain forty years longer on earth?" And on another day he said, "Christ showed mercy to the penitent thief; may I not hope for mercy too?"

The Bishop devoted much time to prayer and meditation. The intervals he would sometimes employ in the consideration of such metaphysical subjects as the nature and the attributes of the soul. Nor is it surprising that a man of vigorous intellect, who knew his soul to be on the eve of separation from the body, should meditate much on the destination and immortality of that soul.

A lassitude continued to crush him down, especially when left much alone; but his intellectual activity was so great that, like the pendulum of a clock, the slightest touch would set it going. Any slight impulse imparted by a genial mind rarely failed to set in motion the dying Bishop's thoughts.

A distinguished pulpit orator and writer has, at our request, jotted down the following reminiscences of a visit to Dr. Doyle at this period:

"About six weeks before the death of Dr. Doyle, a Priest visited him; it was late in the evening, and the sun was just setting in a cloudless May sky. The Bishop was alone, was very much exhausted, and in fact so feeble as to remain erect with difficulty. He continually complained of a feeling of suffocation, and he had been often removed from room to room looking for relief from this overwhelming sensation. On this occasion he was carried to the library-window, and thus situated he pensively fixed his eyes, as nearly as the position of the house would permit, on the darkening shades of the west. Although he was aware that the Priest (an intimate visitor) had entered the room, having heard his name announced by the servant, he still kept his large hazel eyes rivetted to the same view, and remained for a considerable time silent and motionless as a statue. Then awakening, as it were from a revery, and turning round with a sad smile, 'Alas!' he said, 'how little conscious—or rather how indifferent are men to the glorious lessons which our good God every day, every hour, every minute, places before us in every object that surrounds us to captivate the intellect and to move the heart. What signify the ideas of men, on paper or in conversation, in comparison with the facts displayed before us in the wonderful works of nature. Oh! such power, such wisdom, such order, and such Providence; and in their silent exhibition, such eloquence—such persuasion! What a cheering picture of opening life was that sun as it rose this morning in the east; and what a sorrowful emblem of the decline of our days it is now, as it is about to disappear in the west! What a picture in its way, on this glorious evening, of the death of the just man, as, after a brilliant, spotless life, the day of existence is spent, and the darkness of the grave is about to commence—ah! yes; the dark, dark grave! All nature will be lighted up again to-morrow morning; but not so the grave—'*Semper hyems in tumulo imperat.*' But it is too the glorious grave, as the soul rises from it to the never-ending day of eternity. It is the end of the battle of life—there the soul and body separate, and the wrench must be terrific. In the awful struggle between life and death the grave appears to conquer. But no, my dear friend,' he said (assuming a noble look, as it were, of haughty defiance); 'the soul of the just man conquers here—and, Lord, how true are the words, 'Oh, grave! where is thy victory?' It is surprising,' he continued, 'how imperfectly these ideas strike us when men are in vigorous youth. In the weak, serious, and ruminative moments of life these thoughts cannot make that impression which one glance at one's own grave produces. While death speaks to others we listen with comparative unconcern; but be assured when death is seen approaching ourselves—when his

voice sounds in the ear like a funeral knell, you become in an instant like a dead man, hating and despising everything in this world except holiness of life. And what a grace from God—what a favor from Heaven, to purify us by sickness beforehand. It is a divine messenger to bid us prepare—it is the voice of God himself, who in love speaks to us to save us.'

"During the delivery of this sermon, of which the Priest declares that the foregoing is a mere outline, he seemed perfectly happy; his spirits towards the end became singularly buoyant; his voice took a deep, solemn, measured tone; and being at the time a mere skeleton, wrapped in a thick counterpane, he looked like a being who belonged neither to this world or the next, but placed on the boundary between both, reviewing the vanities of the one, and the solid glories of the other. The sermon, in fact, was the epitome of the Christian life, and it was delivered with the incomparable firmness of manner which distinguished him in life, and which was predominant in his character, even on the brink of the grave. There was no whining, no tears in this scene; neither was there fearless presumption. It was the courageous feeling of a great servant of God; it was the noble bearing of an eminent Prelate of the Church, glancing at the world which he was about to quit, and looking steadily into the eternity just opening before him; it was the fulfilment of all his teaching and his example through life."

The resignation of all right and title to earthly possessions made in his youth, he respected rigorously to the last. The week before his death he wrote, for form sake, a will of two lines—"All things that I possess came to me from the Church; and to the Church and to the poor let them return all."

"He had been contemplating a journey to the Continent for the last six months," observes the late Bishop Clancy, "and a residence there for two years, and, through the generosity of his Priests and friends, made some provision for that expensive journey; but as this was not now practicable, he ordered the sum collected to be distributed amongst the Convent-schools and other charitable institutions."

Dr. Doyle expressed a wish to be interred in the same grave with his predecessor, Dr. O'Keefe, who when dying directed that his body should be borne by paupers and buried beneath the walk of the churchyard. But Dr. Doyle was assured that were the bones of J. K. L. interred anywhere outside the Cathedral, the warm-hearted people would carry them away. "Well, if so," said he, "take care that you do not spoil my new chapel. Let there be no monument or any unnecessary expense."

"Knowing that Dr. Doyle was on the point of death," writes

Bishop O'Connor, "I called at Braganza on my way to London on the 12th of June, 1834, to take my last leave of him. I had just been appointed to the episcopacy through his exertions—but without my knowledge. He recommended me to the Holy See through Dr. Murray. Being educated in Portugal he was very anxious to promote the mission in the East Indies, and when the opportunity occurred he fixed on me *proprio motu*, and felt gratified that an Irish Augustinian should be the first British-born subject that ever was a R. C. Bishop in British India. I knew nothing of the matter until the bulls were presented to me. Father Maher introduced me into Dr. Doyle's bed-room, where he lay upon a sofa, dying. He conversed with me a short time as well as the weakness of approaching death would permit He was scarcely able to raise himself on his couch as I knelt down to implore his blessing. He placed his hand upon my head and said, 'Go—do good. God bless you!' The expressions almost threw him into the agony, and I retired. I received these last words as an oracle from on high; and I had afterwards the comfort to think that his blessing was fruitful, in my being the instrument of reducing chaos to order, and that the mission of Madras ever since is one of the most happy and fruitful in the Church."*

The Very Rev. Canon Dunne writes: "I had the melancholy gratification of witnessing his holy and and thoroughly Catholic feeling in his chamber of death. I visited him after he had received the last sacraments of the Church. One of his respected Parish Priests accompanied me. The Bishop was able to give me his usual familiar salute, calling me by my Christian-name with the enfeebled tongue from which I so often heard words of fiery eloquence. It was then I found that the suffering Prelate caused his exhausted frame to be carried out of his death-bed to be stretched in a sheet on the bare floor, that with lowly reverence and profoundest respect he might receive as viaticum the body and blood of Christ. The good Priest told me this with wonder, but I was not surprised." †

The Bishop having said, "Take this body of flesh and fling it on the floor," his attendants gathered up the four corners of the sheet and placed their burden upon the ground. Dr. Doyle several times endeavoured to raise his long bony arms in order to meet his fingers in an attitude of prayer, but they as often fell, from sheer debility, At last the Rev. James Maher presented the Holy Viaticum. "The sublimity and joy of the Bishop's prayer," says Mr. Maher, "while I repeated the words, '*Ecce Agnus Dei*,'

* Letter from the Lord Bishop of Saldes, 6th May, 1855.

† Canon Dunne had frequently seen Dr. Doyle manifest extraordinary demonstrations of respect in presence of the Eucharist. See p. 50, *ante*.

baffles all description. It seemed to me as if the dying Prelate absolutely saw a vision of Christ standing meekly and lovingly before him, and that he was fired with an ardour to become instantaneously dissolved."

On the day previous to his death, Father Martin Doyle celebrated Mass at Braganza. The dying Bishop answered with audible accuracy every part of the Mass to which it is an acolyte's duty to respond. His bed-room windows were open to admit fresh air. The person who occupied the gate-lodge informs us, that so strong and sonorous was his voice to the last, that every motion of it, either in prayer or conversation, could be distinctly heard at the bottom of the long avenue leading to Braganza House. "During this tedious and fatal illness," proceeds the same informant, "he could not sleep unless an occasional doze of a few minutes, from which almost the dropping of a pin would arouse him. You might see Father Edward Nolan, afterwards the Bishop, gliding on tip-toe along the gravelled walks or across the lawn, with hat in hand, endeavouring to silence or chase away the cuckoo."

Considering that the season was midsummer and not winter, the visit of two robin-red-breasts to the sick-room may be noticed as interesting. They remained fluttering round, and sometimes perching on the uncurtained bed. The Priests, struck by the novelty of the circumstance, made no effort to expel the little visitors, and the robins hung lovingly over the Bishop's head until death released him.

The Very Rev. Dr. Taylor writes: "It was my melancholy consolation to sit by Dr. Doyle's bedside for some hours the evening before he died, and there to read out prayers for him and to listen to him joining in them audibly. From time to time he used to fall off in swoons that seemed each of them the immediate prelude of death: while he was in one of those I was reciting aloud the prayers for a departing soul, the attendants on their knees answering, when unexpectedly he again came to himself, and, noticing his servant-man in tears, he said in a firm voice: 'John, why are you crying?' 'Oh! my Lord,' said the young man sobbing, 'what will become of me when I lose you?' 'My child,' said the dying Bishop, 'where is your faith? Will not our good God continue to take care of you?—the hairs of your head are numbered with him.'* Soon after this he heard the clock on the stair-head strike, and having asked, 'What

* Determined to the last to break down that haughty feeling of which we spoke (vol. i., p. 449), Dr. Doyle, with exemplary humility, begged his servants' pardon for any exclamation of peevishness or impatience which in the torture of his prolonged illness might have escaped him.—W. J. F.

o'clock is that?' I answered, 'Seven.' 'Blessed be the name of the Lord,' said he, 'have I lived so long?' Soon after this the swoons began to follow in quick succession."*

The present Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin was by the bedside of Dr. Doyle the whole of his last night in this world. At 3 o'clock, just as the grey dawn was breaking, Dr. Doyle requested to be carried from his bed, and placed opposite an open window. In this position he slightly revived. The fresh air of morning was laden with fragrance. The song of the blackbird mingled with the harsher tones of the corncrake. The Bishop's eyes rested on the rich country, smiling in the luxuriance of June. To the last, his mind was as clear and collected as possible. Having detailed to the good Priest who supported his knees several directions which he wished to have carried out, Dr. Doyle gave his thoughts entirely up to God, and indulged in a prolonged series of ejaculatory prayers. "He made his confession to the late Dr. Nolan," continues the Right Rev. Dr. Walshe. "He received the Holy Eucharist and the Sacrament of Extreme Unction. The fervent piety, the touching sentiments of lively faith, hope, and charity with which the dying Prelate received these last rites can never be forgotten by those who witnessed the striking and edifying spectacle. May my last end be like to his!"†

The fortitude, the resignation, the holy joy with which he submitted to the stroke of God, was indeed singularly grand and edifying. "How well," writes Monsignor Meagher—"how well, like Paul, the great Apostle of nations—whose character his so strongly resembled, and from whose inspired and inspiring writings he drew so much of that sublime spirit which breathes through his own—might the dying Bishop not have exclaimed: 'I have fought the good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith, and now there is laid up for me a crown of glory which the Lord shall render to me, the just Judge.' But no! humble and mortified to the last, he could not endure the utterance of a word that reminded him of any good he had done—to God alone he gave all the merit, on God alone were all his ideas fixed. When exhausted nature apprized him that the last sad struggle was approaching, he called for the Viaticum. But recollecting that his Master had expired on the hard bed of the cross, and anxious to resemble him even in His end, he ordered his mourning Priests to lift him almost naked from his bed and stretch him upon the cold and rigid floor; and there, in humiliation, and penance, and

* Letter from the Very Rev. Dr. Taylor to the author, dated Maryborough, the August, 1860.

† Some other particulars regarding the Bishop's death, in reply to an absurd misrepresentation, will be found adduced in Appendix No. 10.

prayer, James Kildare and Leighlin accepted the last earthly embrace of his God."

It may with truth be said that Dr. Doyle not only taught his people how to live, but how to die also. "Never, in my life," records the late Bishop of Ossory, "was I so edified as by the death of that Prelate; the firmness of his faith—the ardour of his hope—the fire of his charity, gave the fullest manifestation of his being about to take possession of a better life. Like St. Paul, he was burning with anxiety to be 'dissolved and to be with Christ,' but he was contented still to linger in pain, that he might be more like his dying Saviour."

Whilst in his agony the sacrifice of the Mass was offered up at Braganza, the Cathedral, the College, and in the neighbouring parishes, to solicit for him the grace of a happy death; and at 9 o'clock on Sunday morning, 15th June, 1834, Dr. Doyle, in the 48th year of his age and the 15th of his episcopate, passed from this life to receive an "imperishable crown" from the Master whom he had so long and so faithfully served.

The Irish correspondent of *The Standard* writes: "I have just come from seeing the remains of Dr. Doyle. The body was lying as he died—on a narrow truckle-bed not six inches wider than his body apparently, and with only a straw mattress beneath him. Thus it would seem that bodily penance was added to his emaciating illness."

All the shops in Carlow, Catholic and Protestant, remained, with few exceptions, closed during several successive days. The Cathedral, College, and Convent bells tolled throughout the entire week. On Monday permission was given to the public to view the remains as they lay in state, dressed with mitre, rochet, cross, and crozier. "The road, from the town to the dwelling-house," records Bishop Clancy, "was crowded with people of every rank and age, from the wealthy shopkeeper, merchant, and farmer, to the poorest tradesman and labourer. The children also, and the aged, pressed forward to bid a long farewell to that spiritual parent and benefactor who so often eloquently preached to them a future and a better world."

On Tuesday, vast crowds assembled at Braganza and appealed to the Clergy to allow them to testify their respect by unyoking the horses from the hearse, and drawing it the entire way by the exercise of their own muscle. This filial request having been assented to, the melancholy procession moved slowly on, the Priests chanting the psalms *Miserere* and *De Profundis*. The students and professors of the College, attired in surplices and soutanes, met the remains at the outer door of the Cathedral. The venerable President, Dr. Fitzgerald, was attired in a mourn-

ing cope and stole, and, during the reading of the service, wept so deeply as to attract and excite the sympathy of all present. Prayers for the dead continued to be offered on Tuesday and Wednesday; whilst the students kept mournful vigils over the body during two nights, as it lay in an open coffin.

The following lines, suggested by impressions at the time, record the emotions of the moment, as well as the various accompaniments of a spectacle which few now survive to remember and describe:

God's holy house in mourning lay,
  No light through the windows beaming;
The flickering lamps shed their feeble ray,
  Like stars at midnight gleaming.

Through the vaulted aisles sad music stole,
  And the dirge of death was knelling,
For the Sovereign Judge had summoned a soul
  To depart from its earthly dwelling.

Before the altar a corse was laid,
  In a sacred robe arrayed there—
The crosier, and cross, and the mitred head,
  Too plainly told who was laid there.

Crowds were around, but sadness and awe
  Held them mute, and a chill came o'er them
As they gazed on the pale, cold corse and saw
  That their Father lay dead before them.

Oh! had you seen the poor people there,
  By the side of that body kneeling—
Their horny hands uplifted in prayer,
  While tears down their cheeks were stealing!

And, oh! had you seen them moving on,
  With reverent air and lowly,
To touch the robe of him that was gone,
  As a relic precious and holy!

The solemn scene had saddened me so,
  That to fly from the grief that pressed me,
I turned to leave, but, ere I could go,
  A stranger's voice addressed me:

"And wherefore this pomp, and this funeral knell,
  And these crowds that weep as they gather?"
"Ah! wherefore?" I said, "that open shell
  Holds their Prelate, their Friend, and their Father."

To the Lord he lived—in the Lord he died—
  To Him were his pure thoughts tending;
And surely with Him hath gone to abide,
  'Mid the joys that know no ending!

On the wealth of this world he looked as nought,
  As nought he regarded its pleasure;
In heaven alone he found what he sought—
  A sure and abiding treasure.

An Apostle of Christ—in the Church a light—
  The cross of his Master bore he—
Like a pillar of fire through the world's dark night,
  Leading on to the promised glory!

. . . . .

'Mid all his cares would he never withhold
  Defence when his country needed—
Ah, no! to the world her wrongs he told—
  For her rights, for her poor he pleaded.

But, alas! he was filled with a spirit too brave,
  That to gen'rous conflicts bore him;
He fell in his prime, and an early grave
  Is waiting now to close o'er him!

Religion bewails her vanished son,
  And Letters the light bereft them;
His country grieves that her champion is gone,
  And the poor that their friend has left them.

Ah! when shall we look on his like again?
  But shall we forget him?—Never!
Great, glorious Doyle! may thy soul remain
  In bliss for ever and ever!

On Tuesday a solemn office and High Mass were celebrated in the darkened Cathedral. The Right Rev. Dr. Kinsella acted as celebrant. The Most Rev. Dr. Murray presided in the choir; "and if one may judge from the expression of his countenance," observes a contemporary letter, "and the plaintive tones and pathetic manner in which he read the usual prayers, his heart struggled with no ordinary feelings of sorrow for the Suffragan and friend lying dead before him." The Most Rev. Dr. Slattery, the Right Rev. Dr. Murphy, and the Right Rev. Dr. Keatinge, were also present.

At 3 o'clock the funeral cortege left the College-park. It consisted of the female children from the Convent, 400 persons in scarfs and hat-bands, the lay and ecclesiastical students, the Professors and Clergy, the pall-bearers, including Walter Blackney, Esq., M.P., and Thomas Wallace, Esq., M.P., the chief mourners, and the relatives of the Right Rev. Dr. Doyle. The procession was two miles in length, and included not less than 20,000 persons. On its return at five o'clock, the body was received by the Bishops at the western door of the Cathedral. The mortal remains of J. K. L. were then lowered into a deep grave, lined with brick,

opposite the altar, amid the manly tears, the throbbing hearts, and fervent benedictions of Prelates, Priests, and people.

Sobs told that J. K. L. was gone; but a consolatory assurance came—that he was not altogether lost to his flock. His were not the virtues whose merits should be measured by the period of his brief sojourn here. His deeds were not those whose results terminate with life's short span. Not alone the souls whom his efforts sanctified remain to perfect in themselves the piety which he inspired, and to propagate long and far its influence among others—not alone the Priesthood whom he instructed—the pious institutions which he reared—the wise regulations he established—and "the good works that perish not" of which he was the architect, remain to attest his unwearied zeal, and extend the benefits and perpetuate the merits of his apostolic life; but the charms of his bright example, the recollections of his public and domestic virtues, the ardent devotion and lofty and commanding wisdom of his imperishable writings, are left to guide his successors, to edify his people, to exalt his country, to console the Church, and to enlighten mankind.

APPENDICES.

I.

GENEALOGY OF THE DOYLES.

(See Vol. i., p. 1.)

MR. COYLE of Edgeworthstown writes, "This name comes down from Dubhghall (king of Ulster in the tenth century), according to an Irish manuscript in my possession, which contains genealogical tables of the saints, monarchs, and kings of the Milesian race in Ireland."

It is right to add, however, that the highly distinguished Irish scholar, Professor Eugene O'Curry, in a letter which only reached us in time to notice in this Appendix, dissents from the above statement.

Professor O'Curry further communicates the following Inquisition taken at Carlow on the 16th day of September, 1607 (*Temp.* Jac. I.): "Teige M'Donoghe Reoghe and alii liber' tenentes nationis vocat' Slaght Donell Done O'Doyle, seis' sunt de ōibus ter' de Killemone Rahandarragh, Killemorly, and Knockroe contin' 1 mart land que limitant' cum baroniis de Fforte, Drones, Symoling [Tymoling], and le Duffrey."

Professor O'Curry continues:

"That the name O'Dubhghaill did not become finally settled down to O'Doyle, even to the year 1602, we have satisfactory evidence in the following instances:

"In a general pardon of the first year of James I., granted to the O'Moores, O'Kellys, and others, of Leinster, we find included—James Fitz-Donagh O'Doyle, Philip O'Doyle Fitz-Philip O'Dowell, Patrick Fitz-Teige O'Dowell, Dermot M'Fer O'Dowell. And again, with the O'Tooles, O'Byrnes, O'Cullens, &c.—Mortogh M'Edward O'Dowell. And again, with the O'Ryans, O'Moraghos, and many others, of Wexford county—Tirlogh O'Dowell of Brownswood; Hugh M'Shane O'Dowell of the same; Owen Roe O'Dowell of the same, gentleman; Owen M'Couly O'Dowell of the same, gentleman; Hugh O'Dowell of Cloghnekeragh, Wexford County, yeoman. And again, 2nd James I., with the MacMoroghs, O'Dorans, &c., of County Wexford—David O'Doyle of Temple-M'Derrie, yeoman. And again, 3rd James I., with the O'Byrnes, O'Ryans, O'Dorans, &c.—Patrick Boy O'Doyle, Teige M'Morrice O'Doyle of Knockroe, Morrice M'Teige O'Doyle, Gilpatrick More O'Doyle of Knockroe. And again, 4th James I., with the O'Toole's, O'Byrnes, &c.—Teige M'William Moyle O'Doyle of Coilegarow, Shane M'Teige Moyle O'Doyle of the same, Donogh M'Shane O'Doyle of Ballincullin, Dermot O'Doyle of Knockeyo. And again, 5th James I.—Edward M'William O'Doyle of Carrowgarne, Wicklow County; Edward Duffe M'Dermod O'Doyle of Coylebay, same County. And again,

6th James I.—James M'Teige O'Dowell of Knockroe, County Carlow; Morris M'Teige O'Dowell of the same. And again, 10th James I.—Isabell O'Dowell, Spinster, Carlow County. And again, 11th James I.—Donnell Moyle M'William Glasse O'Doulle of Nuenosse in Wexford, yeoman. Again, 16th James I., we find a grant 'To Richard M'Donell O'Doyle, gent.—in Kilhobuck Territory—Garrytinod and Kildeas, 244 acres; Knockleduff, otherwise Aghcleduff, 129 acres.—Total rent, £3 3*s.* 4*d.*, Eng.' (Co. Wexford).

"It is hoped that in a matter of such importance as the true descent and identification of the ancestral territory of the distinguished subject of this memoir, such a monotonous paragraph as the above will be tolerated. It appears to leave no question as to the true locality of that auspicious event. When a family extends over such a wide expanse of country, and occupies such a historical position in relation to other families of acknowledged identity, it would be absurd to think that the O'Dubhghaills, or O'Dowells, or O'Doyle's, or O'Douells, should not be equally indigenous with their positive brethren."

We omitted to mention in our account of the Doyle family that Sir John Doyle, the celebrated Peninsular officer, and Sir John Milley Doyle, a not less distinguished soldier, both claimed relationship to Dr. Doyle. Of this we have proof in a letter from Sir John Doyle to the Bishop, dated 16th May, 1831. (See also Dodd's Peerage for 1844, p. 120.)

II.

FORFEITED ESTATES.

(Vol., i. p. 3.),

Strafford, in one of his letters (vol. i. p. 353) admits the necessity of packing a jury for affecting forfeitures, with a view to "plantations." "Nay," he adds, "in case there be no title to be made good to these countries in the Crown, I should not despair to have them passed to the King by an immediate Act of Parliament."

Strafford, in another letter (p. 339) admits that he "inquired after fit men to serve upon juries, and treated with such as would give furtherance to the King's title."

The Judges were bribed with four shillings in the pound of the value of all lands received before them for the Crown; and we find Strafford boasting (vol. ii., p. 41) that by means of this mercenary expedient he made the Chief Baron and other Judges "attend to the affair as if it were their own private business." The Viceroy was not less pliant than the Judges. In a letter to Laud, dated 1st October, 1633, Strafford observes: "I am in the hands of my maister, to be moulded to honour or dishonour as shall be to his good pleasure, without having whereon to complain." This letter has been suppressed by the editor of Strafford's State-papers.

A day of retribution, however, was at hand, and the English Commons at last felt itself constrained to condemn Strafford's administration. "Jurors," it said, "who gave their verdict according to their conscience were censured in the Castle-chamber in great fines, sometimes pilloried, with loss of ears, and bored through the tongue, and sometimes marked in the forehead, with other infamous punishments." It transpired that a Galway jury who refused to find for the King were subjected to penalties of £4,000 each. The Sheriff was fined £1,000 at the same time for having returned an inefficient panel. Sir John Davis, originally a pliant commissioner, had been appointed Judge to enforce the findings of the juries, and received for his pains 4,000 acres of the confiscated estates.

III.

THE INQUISITION.

(Vol. i., p. 24.)

This terrible tribunal would seem to have been first established in the early part of the thirteenth century, in consequence of the heretical contumacy of the Albigenses. Its expressed object was to inquire into the faith of suspected persons, to labour for the suppression of heresy, to exhort princes and magistrates to exercise the laws, to register the number of recusants, to stimulate the Prelacy in their duties, and to forward accurate information on the state of the Church generally to Rome. It was in Spain and Portugal that the Inquisition first struck root. During Napoleon's occupation of Spain in 1808 he suppressed the Inquisition—not on the score of its cruelty or injustice, but as "encroaching on the royal authority." This mandate the Cortes confirmed in 1813, by a special decree; but on the restoration of Ferdinand, a year later, "the Inquisition was re-established at the desire of many learned Prelates, bodies, and corporations, with a view to preserve the tranquillity of the kingdom."

IV.

DOMESTIC NOMINATION.

(Vol. i., p. 42.)

The O'Conor Don, in his capacity of chairman at a Catholic meeting in Roscommon in 1814, said: "He was most happy to inform them that their Bishops had come to a final and irrevocable decision against the Veto. There was another point in which the Bishops had concurred—domestic nomination by chapters. Dr. Murray had in their name, when on his mission to Rome, pressed the Pope to accede to it. If conceded it would do away with all grounds for securities, and effectually guard against foreign influence."—There is no evidence, however, to show that the Prelates decided in

favour of domestic nomination; but it would seem that a large portion of the second order of Clergy published resolutions in support of that principle. Matthew O'Connor of Mount Druid, author of the "Military Memoirs of the Irish Nation," contended, in reply to the O'Conor Don, that the Clergy could not exercise the right of domestic nomination without the abuse incident to popular elections. "You have had," he said, "a small sample of the mischiefs that would ensue in the scandals and intrigues at the late election of a Vicar-Capitular for Tuam; and confident I am that this substantially domestic nomination would very soon extinguish the Catholic religion in this country. We would be scared out of our own communion by the turbulent and intriguing conduct of its ministers, and seek refuge in other communions from the disgrace of our own. Our connexion with the See of Rome, so essential to our religion, would be severed; and such of us as should remain Catholics would become the sport of factions, and the Crown should ultimately interpose to put down these riotous elections, and assume the *congé d'elire*. The authority of the Bishops is here again flung in my face. They have agreed to domestic nomination; Dr. Murray has petitioned the Pope to accede to it. So says your worthy chairman. He is a man of too much honour to question his veracity, and of too good understanding to question the correctness of his information. He has made the same assertion in Clarendon-street Chapel; it has appeared in the public prints, and still stands a record undenied and uncontradicted. I take it, therefore, as an incontrovertible fact; but it is a fact that exhibits our Bishops in a pitiful and vacillating light. Mark their resolution in 1810: 'Resolved—that the idea of making the election of the Bishops entirely national, by confining said elections to chapters alone, or to chapters and metropolitans not within our competence, and though it had been free from the guilt of schism, would, in the present circumstances of the Irish Catholics, subject our religion to the most serious and unseemly disadvantages, and, in our judgment, would most probably lapse into the sole and positive appointment of the Crown.' I now call upon those Bishops, in the name of consistency, by every tie that connects them with the Catholic people of Ireland—I call upon them, for the sake of that sacred trust committed to them, to retract, publicly and solemnly, their mischievous determination; and if they shall refuse to do so, let them for the remainder of their days hide their heads in shame, and sorrow, and humiliation. Petition, however, as they may, the Pope will never accede to it; and we laymen may brawl and scold—but our noise will be as impotent as the whistling of the winds."

But although hostile to domestic nomination, Mr. O'Connor favoured both the Veto and the plan for pensioning the Clergy.

Considerable excitement and irritation prevailed. A Dominican Friar published a pamphlet condemnatory of the principle, and animadversive of the Clergy who openly favoured it. The Catholic organs were frantic with indignation: they pronounced the Domi-

nicans to have been the patrons of the Inquisition, and that if the Friar in question could conjure it up, the Priests who favoured domestic nomination would be placed upon the rack for their temerity. The Clergy complained of the Dominican to Dr. Troy, who, it appears, declined to express any opinion, but wrote to the Friar for an explanation. *Carrick's Morning Post* said, "We have seen the Dominican's answer to the complaints of the respectable body of Clergymen who felt themselves aggrieved by his pamphlet; and we must freely admit that we saw in it no very favorable specimen of the humility, and moderation, and mildness, and forbearance, and charity, which we had been led to expect from a reverend gentleman professing to belong to a religious order. and following the practice enjoined by its rules and precepts. We saw in it petulance and overweening conceit, uncharitable insinuations of improper motives, and charges made which should have been avoided in common decency."

The following letter, addressed to the late Rev. Nicholas Clayton, O.S.A., with whom Dr. Doyle travelled and studied on the Continent, records what few seem to know—that the latter had serious intentions of accepting a Professor's chair in Maynooth College. We also learn that at this early period of his life report had been making Dr. Doyle a Bishop "twice over." The letter reached us at too late a moment to insert in its proper place.

"Carlow College, 14th December, 1814.

"My dear Nicholas—I received your letter early in November, and, as you said you would not return from your excursion until Advent, I have just allowed you time enough to recover from your fatigue before I would impose on you the labour of wading through my long reply; for, barren as the times are of intelligence, I am resolved to send you as long a letter as though I had much to say. To begin with the weather (that never failing topic)—it is as bad here as it had been in Russia when Buonoparte wrote his 29th Bulletin. The sea will defend you in Galway against the intense cold which freezes one half of my leg, whilst the other moiety is half-roasted before the fire. The elements seem to have changed their character, when one seeks in water a remedy for cold. I hope you returned richer than you went abroad, as I have no doubt that you travelled along strongly impressed with the doctrine of St. Paul: 'If we give you spiritual things why not receive of your temporal things?' But, as there is always a strong analogy between the order of nature and that of grace, I fear that the intense cold of the season caused the charity also of many to wax cold; at all events, whatever you got is of much value in these times; for, if just apprehensions of *general distress* prevail, what must become of your neighbourhood, where (we are told) almost all has been injured or destroyed.

"In Cork there has been a new conflict between the Friars and Bishop: the latter was defeated—and I am glad of it; he acted

cruelly and capriciously; but such proceedings always terminate in the triumph of justice. Another contest of a similar nature is going on in Kilkenny. The Dominicans re-opened their old Church against the will of the Bishop. He withdrew their faculties, and their appeal is pending. Thus you see how regularly the Regulars are at war; but in justice to ourselves we appear to have the right side of the question in every dispute. Do you know I feel a great interest in the affairs of the *orders*, and would wish often to be in some place where I might serve them directly; but then I could not bear the idea of depending for my support on the public—a public scarcely able or willing to support their parochial Clergy. But why do I mention this, as I have not gone to Maynooth as you perceive? The report of my intending to go there reached our Bishop; he got alarmed and entreated of me to remain here—if I pleased *in perpetuum* and on my own terms, as he considered that my going would be the ruin of the establishment. I replied that I would consult with my friends, but as yet I have given him no answer. I will remain for the present, but will give no pledge as to the future. Report has been making me a Bishop 'twice over;' so you see how beset I am with cares. I, however, was never better in health or more composed in mind (thank God), nor less troubled about my future fate. Give my love to Austin.—I am &c.,

"JAMES DOYLE."

V.

DR. DOYLE'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH REV. R. J. M'GHEE.

(Vol. i., p. 77.)

"Carlow College, 31st October, 1817.

"REV. SIR—I appreciate highly the zeal and candour that inclines you, 'as a Gospel minister,' to express your opinion on the practice of our Church which regulates the reading of the Bible, by withholding it from such persons as would not in her opinion profit by it, or who might abuse it; and enjoining all those who read it to receive such interpretation of the different parts as has been bestowed by the Fathers of the Church—those pastors and teachers whom Christ has given 'for the perfection of the saints, for the work of the ministry'—even 'till we all meet in the unity of faith, that we may not be children tossed to and fro by every wind of doctrine in the wickedness of men, in the craftiness by which they lie in wait to deceive. (*Ephes.* iv.) You consider this practice as unscriptural and contrary to the practice of Christ and his Apostles, who referred the people to the Scriptures: you add that it is the undoubted right of every man to read the Bible, and the duty of every Christian minister to induce all to search the Scriptures. Under this impression you express a hope that *we* should shortly see the matter in this point of view, and conclude by a pious wish, in which I heartily concur, that we may all behold the cross as the ground of our hope

before God, through Him who was wounded for our transgressions, and by whose bruises we are healed. These remarks of yours seem to call for some explanation from me, as it is my duty always to render an account of the hope that is in me, and to vindicate, as far as I am able, the doctrine and practice of that Church of which I am a most unworthy minister. Indeed, Rev. Sir, I should be desirous to remove from your generous mind even a shadow of misconception; it is by mutual explanations and cool discussions that difficulties are overcome, peace preserved, and charity promoted.

"You are well aware that we Catholics recognize in the Church of Christ a supreme authority, and that all our rights as Christians are subject to its control. We are of opinion that as in society natural rights, if unrestrained, would create anarchy, but when regulated by law produce civil liberty—so in the Christian society certain rights, if unrestrained, would engender schisms and heresies, but when regulated by Church authority they produce that evangelical liberty to which civil liberty bears a faint resemblance.

"We do then acknowledge with you that every Christian, according to his respective capacity, has a right to all those gifts which our Redeemer has bestowed on his followers; and among these gifts the sacred Scriptures hold a high place. But then these rights, however undoubted, must be regulated; otherwise, like in the civil state, all would be confusion, Is not the Priesthood, for example, given to the Church? And permit me to ask, have all the members of the Church an undoubted right to become Priests, or only such of them 'as are called by God as Aaron was?' Is not the ministry of the Word granted to the Church? And are all entitled to preach? No, plainly; for how can they preach unless they are sent? So the Scriptures are given to the Church; and those who are placed by the Holy Ghost to govern it may permit the reading of the Scriptures to such of their subjects as may profit by them, and withhold such permission from those who might use it 'to their own destruction.' This salutary authority 'is necessary, in order to preserve the unity of spirit in the bond of peace.' (*Ephes.*, iv.) If every member of the Church—which is the body of Christ—were to define his own rights, and exercise them according to his caprice, where would be that harmony between the several parts which the Apostle (1 *Cor.*, xii.) so earnestly recommended? But it is not so; 'for God hath set the members every one in the body as it hath pleased him.' (1 *Cor. ut supra.*)

"This is no theory of modern invention—it is the Christian religion as established by its Founder. As His Father sent him, vested with all power in heaven and on earth, so did He send His Apostles to teach all nations, to baptize them, and teach them what they had got in command—and so He would remain with them even to the end of the world. Whosoever despises them, despises Him; and whosoever hears them, hears Him. The Apostles and their successors—those Bishops whom the Holy Ghost has placed to govern the Church

of God, form with their flocks that entire congregation of Christians against which the gates of hell will not prevail—that Church of the living God which is the pillar and the ground of truth—that Church, in fine, which if any person refuse to hear, he is thenceforth to be rejected as a heathen and a publican. (*Matt.*, xxviii; *Acts ; Tim.; et ab passim.*)

"Submitting then, as we do, to this authority so plainly established and vested with such high prerogatives, we receive the Scriptures as our birthright in Christ, that we may be instructed and consoled whilst we meditate on them night and day. We receive them as the written law given by Christ to his subjects; but should their sense be hidden from us, or their meaning appear doubtful—whereas there are many things in them hard to be understood, which the ignorant and unstable wrest to their own perdition (1 *Peter*)—then we must have recourse to the authority established by Christ—that is, to those pastors and teachers whom He has given to His Church, and to whom He left His own power to teach all truth, even to the consummation of ages.

"The faithful, then, who have an undoubted right to read the Scriptures, must use this right subject to the regulation of the Church. Times and circumstances may require that this right be suspended with regard to certain classes of persons, and numberless individuals—such as children, stupid people, and those who cannot read—can never, of course, make use of it. [A line illegible in the MS.] This circumstance alone is sufficient to show that the study of the Bible is not necessary for salvation—even for the majority of mankind. In the C. Church no right is taken away; but in the exercise of the most undoubted rights we will have 'the reason to be captivated to the obedience of faith.' It is the want of this salutary obedience to the authority instituted by Christ which produces in some Churches anarchy instead of liberty, confusion in place of order. We consider the man who lifts his voice against the Church even as a heathen and a publican. We are taught by St. Paul (*Tit.*, iii.) to avoid him as being subverted for having preferred his own opinion to that of the Church—'he sinneth, and is condemned by his own judgment.' 'Tis thus the C. Church has always taught and practised; she has condemned in every age those impious men who blasphemed her majesty and taught error, supporting their pride and impiety by texts of Scripture. Yes, it was quoted by Apolinaris, Valentinian, Manes, and every other heresiarch down to the present day—nay, Satan himself quoted Scripture when he tempted our Redeemer in the desert. Even in our time is verified the remark of St. Jerome—that every fanatical old woman, every silly old man, every prating disputant, can quote Scripture to support their absurd theories in religion.

"Thus it is, Rev. Sir, that Catholics avoid those extremes to which others are subject. We 'are not wise beyond what becometh, but are wise to sobriety.' We know that our Redeemer referred the

Jews to the Scriptures as containing the prophecies which regarded himself; so we refer all inquirers to the Scriptures for the proofs of the doctrines which we teach. But as He who did not need the testimony of man received, nevertheless, the testimony of the Baptist, the testimony of His Father, and more than once appealed to the works which He wrought as a proof of His mission—so do we receive the testimony of God by His grace which is within us, the testimony of the Scriptures, and the testimony of the Church. When we dispute with those who are not Christians, such as Jews and Deists, we refer them to the Scriptures as Christ did; but when a person once professes the religion of Jesus, he must admit that there is on earth a Church which teaches; and to this Church he must be referred for the interpretations of the Scriptures, as they are hard to be understood and liable to be wrested to his own perdition. Had this Church been established when Christ referred the Jews to the Scriptures and to His works, He would also have referred them there; for the teachers of His law would be as worthy of being heard as the Scribes and Pharisees who sat in the chair of Moses, and whose decisions on that account He commanded to be received.

"This explanation of the passage alluded to in your letter, will also serve to remove every doubt which might arise from the comparison made by the people of Baria, between the ancient prophecies and the doctrine of St. Paul; they were not as yet Christians, and, of course, could not be referred to the Church. They were to be converted by miracles and by such wisdom as the Scripture afforded; but having once embraced the faith, they must have obeyed the constituted authorities, that they might not become as heathens and publicans.

"It would exceed the limits even of this letter, already too long, to state and explain the different texts from Isaias and Jeremiah, and from the Apostles John and Paul, which would seem to countenance the strange opinion that all persons can of themselves understand the Scriptures; but one answer suffices for them all—that these holy writers, from time to time, paint the advantages of interior grace, its overflowing in the Church, and the light which it imports to true believers. But if the texts alluded to proved more than this, they would prove too much; they would make the unction of the spirit to supersede all necessity of teachers in the New Law, and render the office of the Apostles and their successors—nay, yours and mine alike superfluous. But woe to such as are of this opinion—'they follow their own spirit and see nothing; they prophecy lies, saying the Lord hath spoken when the Lord hath not spoken.'

"But in good faith, we should in matters of doubt or dispute in religion (and such there will always be, for, according to St. Paul [1 *Cor.*, xi. 19] 'there must be heresies, that such as are proved may be made manifest')—we should, I say, in such cases follow the example of the Apostles as laid down in Acts, xv., where we are told 'that when a dispute arose at Antioch, relative to the obser-

vance of the Mosaic law, it was not settled by a reference to the Bible, nor to any individual however spiritual, but to St. Peter and the Apostle in Jerusalem, who after a regular consultation decided it, saying: 'It hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us,' &c. Here we have a precedent which the Church has always followed. In her councils she accursed Arias and all other heretics down to the present day, commanding her children to avoid them as being subverted and condemned by following their own judgment rather than her's whilst she directed them in the way of truth—commanding them to observe her doctrine as Paul commanded the churches through which he passed to observe the decrees of the Apostles in Jerusalem.

"The authority of the Church is so intimately connected with the right of reading and interpreting the Bible, that I could not separate them in the observations which I found myself called on to make in reply to your letter. Had you confined yourself to what regarded the publication of my former note, I should not trespass on your indulgence so much as I have done. If any expression of mine should appear harsh, it is the subject which has elicited it. That exclusive authority which I have awarded to the Church of Christ is attributed to her in one shape or other by every sect of Christians. This very partial view of the subject which I have taken, is also founded on a concession which I only make for the greater facility of replying to your observations—namely, that what is Scriptural or what is not, cannot be known without previously admitting the authority of the Church to determine it. But we are in the habit of allowing many things to our adversaries, that we may be permitted from time to time to vindicate the wisdom of our doctrine and the purity of our faith.—Believe me, &c.,

"JAMES DOYLE."

VI.

FAREWELL ADDRESS OF THE DIVINITY STUDENTS TO DR. DOYLE.

(Vol. i., p. 91.)

The following Address accompanied a cup of great value:

"VERY REV. AND DEAR SIR—We, the pupils of your care, cannot look forward to a separation without endeavouring to testify our gratitude for your kindnesses and our respect for your conduct. The zeal which you have manifested for our improvement, and the tenderness with which you have supplied our literary wants, call forth our warmest thanks, and most tender affection. The treasures of your mind, highly gifted by nature and improved by education, have been spread before us; we had but to collect the fruits of your cultivation. Under the auspices of your paternal care, we have advanced in the attainment of science and in the aquirement of that knowledge which our high vocation requires. But, Sir, you were not satisfied with maturing the judgment without expanding the soul—and while you

enlarged the understanding you wished to improve the heart: feeling so strongly within yourself the sweets of virtue, you desired that we should participate in the enjoyment. You wished to purify our hearts from every terrestrial consideration, and induce us to action by that sublime motive of charity which unites to our God.

"You have therefore exhibited to us virtue in her most captivating form, pointed out the rewards to which she conducted us, and your example, while it confirmed your doctrine challenged our imitation. But, Sir, your virtues, though the source of our pride yet lead to a separation; and though we rejoice at the cause, we regret the effect. From you, however, we have not learned to be selfish—you have not taught us to prefer our private interest to the public welfare; hence the tear that trembles in the eye at your departure will be repressed by the smile at your elevation. Go forth, then, to the world, which your virtues will adorn and your example instruct. Ascend, Sir, to that sphere which the brilliancy of your talents will illumine, the warmth of your zeal consume—where the gratitude of a docile people and a pious and enlightened Clergy will remunerate your care, and the conversion of souls—the most acceptable recompense—shall bless your exertions.

"But, Sir, permit us to retain the memory of days that are past, and, filled with the recollection of benefits received, allow us to present you with this poor testimonial of our esteem and love."

To which he replied: "Your Address, and the very valuable mark of your esteem and attachment with which it is accompanied, have filled me with sentiments of affection and gratitude. You have overrated my services and rewarded them beyond their deserts. Your own talents and zealous co-operation, while they called forth my best exertions, supported me in the discharge of a laborious and important duty. Your advancement in virtue and knowledge had been for me an ample compensation; you have added to this a cup of great beauty and value. I shall always preserve it; and in whatever situation Providence may place me, it will remind me that a conscientious discharge of duty, whilst it inspires *a better hope*, promotes also the true interests, and secures the approval of those for whom we may be destined to labour. You have caused my name to be engraven on this cup—yours shall be recorded in my heart.

I am indebted to Mr. J. W. Hanna for the following list of the succession of Bishops of Kildare during the 17th and 18th centuries. Dr. Doyle was the first Catholic who openly acknowledged that the Stuart family, after the Revolution of 1688, enjoyed the privilege of nominating the Irish Bishops—a right not only exercised by James II. but by his son and grandson:

Right Rev. John Dempsey, succeeded 1693, having been nominated by James II., the 4th of August, 1693, to be Bishop of Kildare

and Administrator of Leighlin. In 1704, he was acting as Parish Priest of Killraney, near Castlecarberry.*

Edward Murphy succeeded. He had been Parish Priest of St. Audeon's, Dublin. In 1724, he was translated to Dublin.

Bernard Dunn, of an Ossory family and a graduate of the Sorbonne, succeeded, and was consecrated in Paris by the Archbishop of Leus. He died at Rathcoffey, 15th August, 1733.

Stephen Dowdall, *alias* Manville—a native of Navan in Meath, and who studied in Lisbon and Aungiers in France, and for some time Chaplain to the Imperial Ambassador in London—succeeded in 1734, and died in 1736.

James O'Gallagher, appointed Bishop of Raphoe in 1721; was translated to Kildare in 1737. He published, in 1735, at Dublin seventeen Irish sermons, and died in 1747.

John O'Keefe succeeded, on Dr. O'Gallagher's death, and died 1787. In 1780, Dr. O'Keefe, wishing to have a Coadjutor, postulated

Richard O'Reilly, Parish Priest of Kilcock, who was consecrated such by Archbishop Carpenter of Dublin; but the Primate, Anthony Blake, having been attacked by paralysis, and constantly residing in Connaught, Dr. O'Reilly was translated as his Coadjutor to Armagh, with right of succession, and succeeded, on Dr. Blake's death, November, 1787, as Primate. On Dr. O'Reilly's removal to Armagh Dr. O'Keefe postulated.

Daniel Delany, who was consecrated in 1782, and succeeded in 1787, dying at Tullow, of which he had been Parish Priest, 9th July, 1814.

VII.

CONFERENCES.

We learn from the Secret Statutes of the diocess of Kildare, &c., that

"Conferences in moral and dogmatic theology and on the rites of the Church, are held annually in the first and second weeks of every month from July to October. The Bishop or Master of Conference presides; the latter is vested with all the authority of the Ordinary, and, while presiding, is reverenced and obeyed. All the Clergy are bound to attend the Conferences of their respective districts, unless exempted by special license of the Ordinary; but this license does not exempt them from the fines to be paid by absent Clergymen. These fines are levied by the President, and applied as the members of the Conference may direct.

"All the Clergy are equally bound to act as respondents when called on. The Conference commences with prayer at 11 o'clock in the forenoon. The Priest who has previously been appointed to preach then delivers his discourse. At its close the Clergy retire to the sacristy, and, according to their seniority, range themselves at each side of the Master, who," observes the *Statuta Diocesana*, "will

* Copied out of Carte's Stuart Papers in the Bodleian.

require of one Curate, and after him of one Parish Priest, to make a few remarks on the sermon, its composition and delivery, pointing out, with modesty and charity, the defects or good qualities he may have observed therein.

"The Master will then desire the two Priests previously appointed to defend to take their seats before him, and will call successively upon one or two more of the Clergy to propose or argue, with either of the defendants, one or more of the propositions, or of the questions arising thereon, which have been marked out as the matter of the Conference, taking special care that the order of the propositions as set forth in the schedule be adhered to; that no irrelevant matter be introduced, or desultory conversation, whether relating to theological or other subjects, be permitted. This done the master himself proceeds to interrogate each of the Clergy present until 3 o'clock in the afternoon, when, having specified the questions to be discussed at the next Conference, and named the Clergyman who shall preach, the assembly recite the short prayer '*Actionis Nostras*,' and then partake of dinner." "To promote economy," adds the *Statuta Diocesana*, "as well as to avoid the appearance of luxury, no wine is to be introduced at or after dinner. The Clergy shall separate precisely at 6 o'clock, and will not afterwards, in the town or village where they assemble, take wine or any other inebriating beverage. No lay-person can be admitted to dine with the Clergy on the day of Conference."

The statutes declare that if any Priest shall be absent from two Conferences in the same year, without license in writing from the Bishop or Vicar-General, he is suspended *ipso facto*. (See chap. v. *De Collationibus Theologicis*.)

VIII.

THE UNION OF THE CHURCHES.

(Vol. i., p. 324.)

THE CHURCH OF ROME ADMITTED TO BE HOLY AND APOSTOLIC BY EMINENT PROTESTANT DIVINES.

"I confess that under the Papacy are many good Christian things—nay, all that is good in Christianity. I acknowledge that in Popery is the true Scripture, true baptism, the true sacrament of the altar, true keys for the remission of sin, true office of preaching, true catechism, the ten commandments, and the articles of faith—nay, I say that in Popery is true Christianity, even the very kernel of Christianity."—*Luther's Book Against the Anabaptists.*

"Papists are to be accounted the House of God."—*Dr. Morton on the Kingdom of Israel.*

"The Church of Rome is a true Church of Christ, as well since as before the Council of Trent."—*Bishop Montague's Appeal.*

"The most learned Protestant writers have owned the Church of Rome to be the Church of God."—*Dr. Baro's Sermons.*

"There is no difference between Rome and England in fundamentals at all—the former being a true Church."—*Heylin's Answer to Burton.*

"Our Church makes no articles of faith but such as have the testimony and approbation of Rome itself."—*Stillingfleet's Defence of Laud.*

"I find no position necessary to salvation prohibited, none destructive to salvation enjoined to be believed by Rome; and therefore I must necessarily accept it for a true Church, as in the Church of England I have always known it accepted, seeing there can be no question made but that it continueth the same visible body by the succession of Bishops and laws that were first founded by the Apostles."—*Thorndyke's Epilogue.*

"Our Protestant religion is not contrary to the Christian religion, or even to the Roman Catholic."—*Confession of Augsburg.*

It may perhaps be added that when the Princess Walfenbuttle was about to be married to Charles III. of Spain, she applied to the University of Helmstadt; and its Protestant professors, by an article dated 28th of April, 1707, declared that the Princess could conscientiously become a Catholic, and receive and publicly profess the doctrines of R. Catholicism. The Reformers could not have seceded on the ground of the doctrine of infallibility, for the Anglican Church pretended to the same unerring and irrefragable judgment, as witness the 13th statute of Elizabeth and its confirmation by the Act of Uniformity, 13 and 14 Charles II. See also the 36th canon passed in convocation, A.D. 1603. The late Bishop Van Mildert, a Protestant theologian of the first class, in one of his sermons for "Boyle's Lecture," tells us that the Reformers did "not question the power of the Pope to decree rights of ceremonies, nor its authority in matters of faith"

We will now refer to some Protestant testimonies in favour of the Papal supremacy, and the importance of a reconciliation with Rome:

"The Pope's supremacy would tend much to preserve amongst different nations unity of doctrine. If other points were agreed on the Pope's supremacy might be easily allowed."—*Melancthon's Epist. et Respons ad Billicanium.*

"I am clearly of opinion, as are many others, that Protestants will never be united with each other until they are so with those who adhere to the See of Rome."—*Grotius' Discus. of Rivetus' Apol.* [And Grotius concludes a long train of remarks on this subject with a wish to see "the ancient and respectable order of things restored again."]

"Seeing it has been granted by the Church of England that there ever was salvation in the Church of Rome as a true one, I am very confident that no Church can separate from Rome but must make themselves schismatics before God. . . . . I insist on such a principle as may serve to reunite us with Rome, being well

assured that we never can be well united with ourselves otherwise, and that not only the Reformation, but our common Christianity will be lost in the divisions which will never have an end other wise."—*Dr. Thorndyke on Forbearance.*

"As the Church of Christ is but one, there cannot be two separate communions in it without schism; and the schism lies on the side of that party which separates."—*Archdeacon Daubeny's Guide to the Church.*

"We have been forced to renounce the communion of the whole world."—*Calvin's Epis.*, xiv.

"If I had any bias it hath been desire of peace, which our common Saviour left as a legacy to His Church—that I might live to see the reunion of Christendom, for which I shall always bow the knees of my heart to the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ."—*Archbishop Bramhall.*

For Bishop Burnet's views in favour of a union between Catholics and Protestants, see his *Exposition of the twenty-eighth Article of the Church of England.* Among later writings of a similar tendency may be mentioned a work published in 1818, by the Vicar of St. Bartholomew, who earnestly urged that the Church of which he was a minister should re-unite with the See of Rome, as the only remedy for the religious dissonance then prevailing in England.

How closely the views of learned Protestants assimilate to the Catholic doctrine of the Real Presence, the following extracts will show:

"We believe the True Presence no less than you do. And the King [James] believes Christ to be not only present in reality, but also truly adorable in the Eucharist; whilst we ourselves do adore with St. Ambrose the very flesh of Christ in the mysteries."—*Bishop Andrew's Answer to Bellarmin.*

"Christ says 'tis there! St. Paul says 'tis there! And our Church says 'tis there—and that truly, really, and essentially! Our faith may see it—our senses cannot."—*Dr. Lawrence.*

"The altar is the greatest place of God's residence on earth—yea, greater than the pulpit, for there it is *hoc est corpus meum!* In the pulpit it is, at most, *hoc est verbum meum!* And a greater reverence is due to the body than to the word of the Lord, and to the throne of where His body is usually present than to the seat where His word is preached."—*Primate Laud.*

"The holy communion of the body and blood of Christ."—*Archbishop Marsh.*

"Nay, God forbid we should deny that the flesh and blood of Christ are truly present and truly received of the faithful at the Lord's table. It is the doctrine we teach and comfort ourselves with."—*Dr. Bilson's True Subject.*

"Christ is present really and substantially by an incomprehensible mystery."—*Bishop Casin.*

"The body and blood of Christ are verily and indeed received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper."—*Book of Common Prayer.*

Bishops Usher, Montague, Pomel, Overrall, Buckuell, Hall, Field, and Dr. Shaw, express themselves not less strongly. We shall now adduce some high Protestant authorities who, in point of fact, absolutely defend the Mass by conceding that the celebration of the Lord's Supper is a propitiatory sacrifice for sin:

"The name of *Mass* may still be kept; it is an indifferent thing whether it be said in Latin or the vulgar tongue."—*Luther Against Carlostadius*, &c.

"It is not only propitiatory and may be offered up for the remission of our daily sin, but impetratory, and may be be rightly offered to obtain all blessings."—*Bishop Forbes's De Eucharistica.*

"The consecrated elements are truly the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross, the body of Christ being contained in them. The Sacrifice of the Eucharist, inasmuch as it is the same Sacrifice of the Cross, is both propitiatory and impetratory."—*Thorndyke's Epilogue.*

Dr. Johnson, in his "Unbloody Sacrifice," Dr. Hicke's in his "Christian Priesthood," and Dr. Brett in his "Scriptural Account of the Eucharist," have recorded not less striking views, while the eminent scholars Mede and Grabe go, if possible, further, and enthusiastically acknowledge the sacrifice of the Mass.*

Purgatory and prayers for the dead are usually considered great stumbling-blocks to Protestants—we shall see with what truth:

"I do firmly believe—nay, I am bold to say that I know there is a purgatory, and I am easily persuaded that mention is made thereof in Scripture. At the same time I know no more of it than that the souls who suffer therein are to be assisted by our prayers and good works. It being sufficient for us to know that they do suffer, and that their sufferings ought to be alleviated; leave the rest to God."—*Luther's Dispute at Leipsic.*

"Let not the ancient practice of praying for and making oblations for the dead be any more rejected by Protestants as unlawful. It is a practice received throughout the universal Church of Christ, which did ever believe it, both pious and charitable. The Fathers were of opinion that some light sins, not remitted in this life, were forgiven after death, by the intercession of the Church in her public prayers, and especially those offered up in the celebration of the tremendous mysteries; and it is no absurdity to believe so."—*Bishop Forbes on Purgatory.*

Bishops Andrews, Usher, Montague, Taylor, Sheldon, Barrow, and Blanford, together with Doct rs Paley, Johnson, Leibnitz, and Thorndyke, argue to the same effect; and that notorious sceptic, John Huss, speaks of "the predestinate in Purgatory—so called from their expecting eternal happiness, both from the mercy of God and

* In the first liturgy of Edward VI. were steadily retained not only the word "Mass," but Priests and altars, with their usual vestures and ornaments, sacrifice, paten and corporals, chalice, with wine and water, communion-bread in the form of a wafer, triple mersions, chrysm and oils, prayers for the dead, extreme unction, and crossings. (See Stat. 2 and 3, Ed. VI., c. 1.)

the assistance of the militant Church on earth;" while Melancthon (*Apolog. Conf. Aug.*) and Calvin (*Instit. lib.* iii., *c.* 5.) make equally remarkable concessions. Cranmer and Ridley both expressly pray for the dead in the first liturgy of the Church of England.

Some Protestants inveigh against the use of sacred images whether in Churches or elsewhere:

"The pictures of Christ," says Bishop Montague, "of the Blessed Virgin, and of the Saints, may be had in houses, set up in churches; respect and honour may be given to them. If you call this *dulia*, we give it. Let doctrine and practice go together—we agree."*

And Dr. Thorndyke, in his "Just Weights," seconds these views. "Far from looking on the cross put into the hands of dying persons as an object of idolatry, Luther on the contrary holds it for a monument of piety, and a wholesome admonition that recalled to our minds the death and passion of Jesus Christ."—*Bossuet's Variations of the Protestant Churches.*

An uncompromising hostility to auricular confession and the priestly power of absolution is supposed by many to form an important characteristic of Protestantism. The following extracts are not without interest:

"Private confession is a very ancient practice in the Church. . . . . Priests have power not only to pronounce but to give remission of sins: it is the doctrine of our Prayer-book—justifiable, therefore, being the practice of the Church of England."—*Bishop Montague.*

"After this I spoke to two of the Bishops, who told me there were many things in the R. C. Church which it were very much to be wished we had kept, as confession, which was no doubt commanded by God; that praying for the dead was one of the ancient things in Christianity; that for their parts they did it daily, though they would not own it; and afterwards, pressing one of them very much upon

* In the illustrated edition of Luther's works published by Melancthon, the Patriarch of Protestantism is represented on his knees before a crucifix. "A crucifix with wax-lights burning round it stood in Queen Elizabeth's private chapel," writes Macauley. "She always spoke with disgust of the marriage of Priests. Burleigh prevailed on her to connive at the marriages of Churchmen. But she would only connive; and the children sprung from such marriages were illegitimate till the accession of James I." Queen Elizabeth was equally reverential in regard to "the sign of the cross." (See Heylin's "History of the Reformation."

Every parson baptizing a child must say, in accordance with the prescribed form in the rubric—"We receive this child into the congregation of Christ's flock, and do sign him with the sign of the cross." The rubric adds—"Here the Priest shall make a cross upon the child's forehead" The minister also makes sanctified or holy water, saying—"Sanctify this water to the mystical washing away of sin," and sprinkles the child "in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.—Amen." The principle of two essentially Popish practices are here devoutly recognised.

The sign of the cross is also used at coronations. The royal ornaments, bread, wine, oil, churches, cemeteries, swords, military banners, and other inanimate things, are blessed by the Protestant Church with a form derived from the Roman Pontifical.

the other points, he told me that if he had been bred a Catholic he would not change his religion."—*Anne Hyde, Countess of York's Account of her Conversion.*

"All our sins must be confessed. He who would be sure of pardon let him find a Priest and make his humble confession to him. Heaven waits and expects the Priest's sentence here; and what he binds or looses the Lord confirms in heaven."—*Bishop Sparrow on Confession.*

"Have recourse to your spiritual physician, and freely disclose the nature and malignancy of your disease—nor come to him only with such mind as you would go to a learned man, but as to one that hath authority, delegated to him from God himself, to absolve you from your sins."—*Chillingworth.*

Luther went even farther than Catholics; and in his Catechism requires that the penitent in confession should expressly declare that he believes "the forgiveness of the Priest to be the forgiveness of God."

Latimer "wished to God that confession was kept in England;" and even Ridley declared his conviction that it would "do much good to Christ's congregation." Jeremy Taylor exhorts—"If you find any one particular sin or more that lies heavy upon you, disburden yourself of it into the bosom of your Confessor."

A similar invitation is repeatedly addressed to the congregation by the officiating Clergyman in Christ Church, Dublin, and, we believe, in every other place of Protestant worship. The following are the precise words used: "If there be any of you whose consience is troubled, lacking comfort or counsel, let him come to me or some other discreet Priest, and confess and open his sins secretly, &c., that of us, as a minister of God and of the Church, he may receive comfort and absolution." The language in which Anglican absolution is conveyed may be found in *the Order for the Visitation of the Sick*, still retained in the *Book of Common Prayer*, "after which confession the Priest shall absolve him (if he humbly and heartily desire it), after this sort: 'Our Lord Jesus Christ who hath left power to his Church to absolve all sinners who truly repent and believe in him, of his great mercy forgive thee thine offences and by his authority committed to *me, I absolve thee from* all thy *sins*, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.—Amen.'"

When a Protestant Clergyman is being ordained, the Bishop says: "Receive ye the Holy Ghost, whose sins ye forgive they are forgiven, and whose sins ye retain they are retained." Further important data on this subject may be found in Fuller's Church History (b. x., p. 9), Bishop Andrew's Court Sermon (c. xx., xxiii.), and Heylin's Life of Laud (part ii., p. 415). Laud was confessor to the Duke of Buckingham, and Bishop Morley to the Duchess of York. The celebrated declaration of the faculty of divinity in the Protestant University of Helmstadt, in favour of auricular confession, might also be adduced here; as also the Confession of Augsburgh, which styles

absolution a sacrament. In the Commination of the Church of England she speaks of penance, even public penance, as a godly custom and discipline.

The Catholic doctrine of the invocation and intercession of saints, though frequently condemned has been as often zealously vindicated by learned Protestants:

"Who can deny that God works great miracles at the tombs of the saints? I therefore, with the whole Catholic Church, hold that the saints may be honoured and invocated by us."—*Luther.—In Purg.*

"She (the Blessed Virgin) is to be prayed to, that God may, through her intercession, grant our requests."—*Luther on the Magnificat.*

"Nay, at your last hour cease not to call upon our Blessed Lady, the holy Angels, the Apostle whose name you bear, and every other saint to whom you have been devout during life, that they may intercede for you."—*Ibid.*

"The Saints are mediators of prayer and intercession. . . . . I own that Christ is not wronged in His mediation. It is no impiety to say, as Papists do, 'Holy Mary, pray for me!' 'Holy Peter, pray for me.'"—*Bishop Montague on the Invocation of Saints.*

The *Book of Common Prayer* consecrates the 2nd February to the Purification of the Blessed Virgin, the 25th March to her Annunciation, the 2nd July to her Visitation, and the 8th September to the Nativity—thus acknowledging her the greatest Saint in heaven. Numerous other testimonies might be cited, including Molanus, who in his answer to Bossuet says that if the Catholics will declare that their prayers to saints are to be understood simply as intercession—such as, "Holy Mary, pray for me to thy divine Son!"—then all danger in such prayers is over. There is not a Roman Catholic in the world who would refuse to make the above declaration, and this Thorndyke well knew when he warned his brethren "not to lead people by the nose to believe they can prove Papists to be idolaters when they cannot." Archbishop Sheldon and Bishops Blandford and Gunning have expressed themselves to the same effect. It is worthy of remark that the Church of England keeps particular days in honour of many of the Pope's Saints; and has one holyday for all the saints in general, and another for St. Michael and all the angels. Holydays in honour of Popes Boniface, Gregory, and Sylvester, are set apart for public worship, and are duly authorized.

Further coincidences of agreement might be abundantly adduced. The *Book of Common Prayer* observes the same days of feasts, fasts, abstinence, and vigils, throughout the entire year. In the reign of Elizabeth the Irish Parliament passed an Act for uniformity in common prayer, with permission of saying the same in *Latin*. A canon of the Church of England, dated 1640, regards an indulgence, and a regulated sum of money to be paid for it. Both Churches pray for heretics, and consider, theologically, that there is

no salvation outside their pale—a fact which the Athanasian creed, constantly and publicly read in the Church of England, very explicitly declares. The Catholic ritual of Mentz, in its exhortation to dying persons, says: "We put all our trust in the merits of Jesus Christ, whom God has given to the world in his love truly divine." At the holy name of Jesus, in Protestant as well as Catholic Churches the congregation bow. The gospels, epistles, and collects of the Church of England, are the same as those in the Catholic liturgy. Both Churches have the burial service, the reservation of confirmation, and order to Bishops, the different episcopal and sacerdotal dress, the organ, and the cathedral service. An effort to restore conventual institutions has lately commenced, and there are at present more than twenty sisterhoods in the Church of England.

The baneful consequences of interpreting the Bible according to individual fancy and caprice have been pointed out by Bishop Marsh, Dr. Balguy, and several other Protestant divines. "Open your Bibles," says the latter; "take the first page that occurs in either testament, and tell me, without disguise, is there nothing in it too hard for your understanding?" Sir T. Wyse, in his History of the Catholic Association (*ap.* xcviii.), reminds us that Primate Stewart, Archbishop Magee, Bishop Jebb, Bishop Mant, "and many other learned Prelates, have stated it as their opinion that note and comment are absolutely essential to the right understanding of the Sacred Volume." Luther himself says (*Cont. Zuing.*): "If the world endureth much longer, we shall be forced, by reason of the contrary interpretations of the Bible which now prevail, to adopt again and take refuge in the decrees of the councils, if we have a mind to maintain unity of faith."*

Many Protestants seem to be of opinion that an important principle of their Church, as laid down by the early Reformers, teaches the rejection of tradition in interpreting the Sacred Volume. The best writers of the Church of England, however—such as Bishops Pearson, Beveridge, Ball, Andrews, and Archbishop Laud—maintain ecclesiastical traditions, and the authority of the four first General Councils. It is the Sectaries, not Lutherans, who have moved in the opposite direction, asserting the Bible as the sole rule of faith, and that every mind is capable of understanding and explaining it.

The outcry against the Pope and his "excommunications," raised by a leading English journal, in 1860, led to the enumeration in "Notes and Queries" of a variety of well-authenticated cases, in which the

* We had concluded our transcription of the foregoing remarkable admissions when a book, published in 1837, fell under our observation, which all who feel an interest in the subject should see. The author is Dr. J. V. Honinghaus, a learned German. We transcribe the very expessive title of this important compilation. "The result of my wanderings through the territory of Protestant Literature; or, the necessity of return to the Catholic Church Demonstrated exclusively from the Confessions of Protestant Theologians and Philosophers."

Church of England claimed and exercised the power of excommunication. Parker, for instance, solemnly excommunicated Cheney, A.D. 1571, for having absented himself from the synod held at Worcester. The narrative is given at length in Collier's "Ecclesiastical History," ix. 342; but many similar examples may be found in "Notes and Queries," 2nd series, ix. pp. 428-9. The article in quesiton might be supplemented by an extract or two from the Prayer-book at present in use among Protestants, from which it appeared that the principle of excommunication is even at the present moment, fully recognized by the Church of England. From the Anglican Prayer-book we learn that on every Ash-Wednesday the Clergy are obliged publicly, not only to regret that "the godly discipline" regarding excommunicated persons should have fallen into desuetude, but to express an anxious desire that this point of discipline might be restored to its former lustre. Ten distinct curses are then pronounced on different classes of offenders, to which the congregation respond "Amen." "The Articles of Religion," at the end of the volume, are equally conclusive on the subject of excommunication. "Art. xxxiii." is headed "*Of Excommunicated Persons—how they are to be avoided.*" The Prelates and Clergy of the Established Church are obliged to subscribe to this solemn religious profession with an oath.

The following extract from a newspaper of 16th November, 1860, is not without interest: "The *Ami de la Religion* announces the return to Catholic unity of the Bulgarian nation *en masse*, in number about four millions. The Bishop of Bulgaria, on the 23rd of October, his Clergy, and people signed a document, previously approved by the Archbishop of Constantinople, in which they renounce communion with the Greek Patriarch, and place the Bulgarian Church under the authority and protection of the See of Rome."

IX.

LETTER DESCRIPTIVE OF THE BEAUTIES OF WICKLOW.

(See vol. ii. p. 168.)

The following is a fragment of a letter written by Dr. Doyle six years previous to his consecration as Bishop. It is the only document from his pen which reveals his passion for the beauties of picturesque scenery. He had by nature a strong love of solitude;* and it would, no doubt, have been the acme of his ambition to have passed his days in privacy among the haunts which he so lovingly describes. It may be said that Dr. Doyle attaches undue importance to this excursion; but in the days of which he speaks, a tour to the County Wicklow was regarded in much the same light as a trip to the Lakes of Cumberland would be now. In reading some of

* *Vide* vol. i., p. 191.

the following paragraphs our remark (vol. i., p. 48) should be borne in mind. His English style was still hampered by Continental idioms. Dr. Doyle is describing a visit to Tinnahinch, the residence of the illustrious Grattan:

. . . . . "And I can assure you that for some minutes the feelings excited within me were too strong for expression. I was enraptured with the situation of this man's dwelling, but still more with the recollection of himself and our dear country, which, as he has said, 'he had watched in her cradle and conducted to her tomb.' Her wrongs, her suffering, her virtues and faults, the greatness of her sons, and his own watchfulness, passed quickly before my mind. I gave a sigh, and having adored that Providence which disposes all things, I resolved to forget that I was an Irishman, and accordingly resumed my observations. From the rising-ground above Mr. Grattan's you can only see a confused but romantic collection of wood, mountain, and water. On passing the entrance to his house, which is still concealed, you come to the top of another bridge, where a valley, a river, the house, a wood, the plantations, and even the man's own genius, seem to present themselves in a group to your view. The car stopped, and I was able to ascertain that the house, large but irregular (consisting apparently of several parts built at different periods), is at the foot of a hill, and within a few paces of a river which flows gently through enormous rocks, and passes under a bridge within sight of the hall-door. The opposite bank is wooded; the garden is to the rere, and a covered walk passing by it conducts through the plantations which ascend the hill, and crown the summit of it as far as we could observe. I left this place with regret, casting a last and melancholy look on those sequestered shades where Grattan's genius was nursed and cherished, and seem still to brood over the wrongs of his country and devise means of restoring her lost rights, or of re-asserting her independence. In a moment we were at the gate which leads into the demesne of Lord Powerscourt: we proceeded about a mile and a-half, passed two or three gates, gazed on trees and hills, sheep and deer, till at length all our attention was arrested by the celebrated Waterfall, for which our eyes had been eagerly searching. 'Tis a huge rock, or rather an angle formed by two rocks which meet, and over their united summits a torrent of water rushes, which, breaking in white foam upon the cliffs, falls from a height of above 300 feet into a narrow basin, which is so shaded by masses of broken rock that the water is partially concealed till it bursts out in a large body at a short distance below. Here a wooden bridge is thrown across, and the noble proprietor has a delightful cottage on the farther bank. Trees occasionally interrupt the view, and wherever you move you come to a new prospect.

"The atmosphere near the rock is cold and moist, from the many particles of water which are driven from it in perpetual succession. We dined on the sod, and conversed with rapture on the surround-

ing beauties. The day was declining, and we had still to see the Dargle. We returned by Tinnahinch. I stopped, leaned over the wall, sighed and said, 'Farewell!' It is not easy to describe the Dargle. A dark and rapid river rushes through a narrow valley; two steep hills enclose it; they are planted and passable by walks. You occasionally come to a precipice—you look to the river beneath you—to the valley, up and down—to the mountains within your view—to the cottages and mansion-house, and you are in amazement; it is like a dream of fairy-land. But there is one spot more favoured than all the rest, where Grattan has a thatched cottage. His family were there, and we saw them; but he was not at home. We had yet ten miles to travel, and we departed. The country continued the same as we passed through the Glen of the Downs and Newtown-mountkennedy home. . . . .

"I availed myself of this moment of leisure to give you an account of what I had seen—from which you may infer how little liable I am to forget my absent friends, and how anxious I would be to share with them the gratifications which I enjoy. 'Tis now the morning of Thursday, the 11th inst., and I have got up rather earlier than usual that I may have time, before the family joins me, to give you an account of yesterday. The morning was fine, and after breakfast, accompanied as usual by my fair and amiable companions, &c. &c., we set out to visit Bellevue, the seat of Mr. Peter Latouche. This place—distant from us about six miles, and fourteen from Dublin—is situated on one of those hills which form the Glen of the Downs, and of which I have frequently made mention. We passed through the Glen, and then ascended by a winding road to the village of Delgany, and having left the village and the sea, which reaches it to the right, we entered the demesne of Bellevue. As we drove towards the house the most magnificent prospects of the County Wicklow opened upon us. Mountains and hills, with their tops bare and their sides covered with corn and flocks, overhung valleys of the most luxuriant richness; trees in full bloom, cottages, mansions, and hamlets, all rich or neat, appeared in every direction. Roses in full bloom, woodbine, and a variety of evergreens cover the walls of the houses and cottages. From these our eyes were turned towards the sea—fifty miles of the coast, rocks, light-houses, bays, and harbours appear. The day being clear and calm some ships appeared in the offing under easy sail, and completed the beauty of a prospect already rich enough for the most avaricious eye."

[Mr. Doyle having been invited to inspect the beautiful residence and gardens of Mr. Latouche, here enters into a minute description of the house, its furniture, its articles of vertu, paintings, octagon, and conservatory.]

"Mrs. Latouche is ever employed in works of piety and benevolence; religious tracts were met with on every side, and everywhere were traces found of her refined taste and zeal. A grand walk, shaded

with trees conducted us to it. It belongs to Mrs. Latouche, and is used by her for giving tea-parties, or for indulging in retirement, as, in all probability, 'tis here she devises those plans for the amusement and advantage of society in the execution of which her time, her talents, and her fortune, are constantly employed. The cottage stands on the pinnacle of a rock which overhangs the deep and beautiful valley called the Glen of the Downs. This lies underneath you nobly planted. To the right is the finest part of the County Wicklow; before you are high and craggy mountains; to the left is the sea, the town of Wicklow, Wicklow Head and lighthouse, Killiney Bay, the village of Delgany, and all the improvements of Bellevue. Nothing can exceed the scenery—so beautiful, so diversified. The place itself consists of a grotto, to which you enter by a narrow passage almost closed with ivy and myrtle: a large window at the end looks into the valley, which may be 400 yards deep: the grotto itself would accommodate forty persons. On the top of this stands the tea-room, beautifully furnished and ornamented; a superb set of china and numberless natural curiosities, such as shells, &c. The roof is circular, brought to a point above, and ceiled with rich tapestry that hangs in large festoons by six or eight windows which look in every direction; a huge tiger guards the passage, which, though dead perhaps for a century, has still terror in his looks. There are two apartments over this, with a few plain chairs and a sofa, where one might retire to read or rest when the pleasures of this little paradise had satiated the mind. We had seen Bellevue as far as nature and art could render it agreeable; but those parts of it which are most valuable to a reflecting mind, and particularly to you and your sisters, still remain to be described. The dairy of Mrs. Latouche is exquisitely neat, and shows how domestic she may be in the midst of her other occupations: 'tis nearly square, stands in a shady place at a little distance from the house; it has marble slabs to support the coolers, which are all of delf; the entire of the furniture is neat and elegant. Next is her chapel, where *she herself* gives morning prayer to her servants; she has a choir and a band which we heard perform, and is composed of her domestics and dependants. The chapel is arranged as Protestant churches generally are, but the furniture of it is extremely rich; it might conveniently contain 150 persons. I believe you know that Mrs. Latouche has erected, endowed, and continues to support, two schools—one for boys, the other for females; and when they are of age she gives them a little establishment in her village of Delgany, having first got them married. We went to visit the school of the females, they are about twenty in number at present; all of them are very handsome, for such she prefers taking as being most liable to misfortune. They are neatly clothed, well lodged, and, I am confident, well supported: their education is taken the greatest care of, and there is a mildness and amiability in their manner which greatly pleases. Most of them are large girls, and I felt the deepest interest for them; most of

them, I presume, are the children of Catholic parents, driven by temporal wants to expose their offspring to the danger of losing their souls. Good God! and this best of women, with the best intentions, to be made the instrument of their ruin. I could not describe all I felt upon the occasion; and I bid each of those whom I spoke to an affectionate farewell. How hidden are the designs of Providence, and how unsearchable are his ways! One consoling reflection supported my mind—namely, that their morals are guarded with the strictest care; all their notions are of a religious tendency, their errors are entirely involuntary, and many, very many of them, will preserve their innocence, and if they do they will be saved—nay, the Almighty will be indulgent even to their faults. At the gate of Bellevue, Mrs. Latouche has converted her porter's lodge into a shop, where the produce of her factory is disposed of. In this factory forty females, under the direction of a mistress, are taught to make plaids and bonnets of various descriptions; we saw them at work, and were, as usual, greatly pleased with their appearance. The standing order of the factory, printed in large characters, is, 'A place for every thing, and every thing in its own place.' One of the rules is, that each girl at entering the factory put on a clean cap, bib, and handkerchief, which are prepared for them, having first deposited their own in a convenient place; when going away they deposit those of the factory and resume their own. The village of Delgany has nothing particular about it; the inhabitants are the former pupils of the charitable patroness. . . . .

"Our party, however, were greatly incommoded by the unsought-for companionship of some persons who came in a barouche from Dublin to see the beauties of the country. They were rude, rustic—nay, barbarous in their manner, though genteelly dressed. We were constantly making efforts to keep clear of them; and they, with equal industry, followed on our footsteps. They even attempted to take cherries in the garden. I could scarcely restrain my indignation, until some reflection enabled me to pity their misfortune. Much money, good clothes, vulgar habits, and a total want of education, rendered these creatures foolish vain, silly, and contemptible. We quitted these delightful scenes about 5 o'clock. On our return we fell in with numbers of poor women on cars, with crowds of children returning from the Foundling Hospital in Dublin to the lower parts of this county and the adjoining parts of Wexford. Again our religious feelings were put on the rack, and again we had to reflect that the providence of God sometimes permits that the best institutions should become instruments for working out the ruin of many. Adieu."

X.

THE TITHE-COMMITTEE OF 1832.

It may interest the reader to know the names of the Peers, spiritual and temporal, who gave Dr. Doyle so searching an examination in the Lords. The following is a list of the Committee: The Archbishops of Canterbury and Armagh; the Bishops of London and Killaloe; the Duke of Wellington; the Marquises of Lansdowne, Downshire, Clanrickarde; Earls Grey, Carlisle, Caledon, Rosslyn, Gossford, Harrowby; Lords Durham, Ducre, Plunket, Wynford, Chaworth, and Cloncurry. The Committee of the House of Commons comprised Mr. Stanley; Lords Duncannon and Ebrington; Sir R. Peel; Sir J. Newport; Sir T. Baring; Sir R. Musgrave; Sir J. Byng; Messrs. Goulburn, Brownlow, Carew, Vesey Fitzgerald, Estcourt, Penryn, Crampton, Sadler, Lefroy, J. Grattan, Littleton, Leader, and Baldwin.

Thus good care would seem to have been taken to provide the Parsons with zealous champions. It caused some dissatisfaction at the time that the Catholic people should not have been represented on either Committee by a single Catholic Member.

The following extract of a letter, with which we have just been honored by the Earl of Clancarty, affords further evidence of the fact that many of the Conservative Peers, who conscientiously opposed Catholic Emancipation and the abolition of tithes, entertained quite as generous an appreciation of the character of Dr. Doyle as those with whom he had been, in political and religious feeling, identified:

"Galbally, 30th March, 1861.

". . . . As one of the ablest men of his day, and the most distinguished of the order to which he belonged, Dr. Doyle's name is interwoven with the annals of Ireland at the most important epoch of her history; and his memoirs will not fail to be both interesting and instructive.—Your faithful servant,

"CLANCARTY."

XI.

DEATH OF DR. DOYLE.

There are not a few unreflecting persons who, with a most superficial knowledge of the Bishop's life, have allowed their views to be influenced by a series of ingenious misrepresentations which have long continued to flow unchecked from the indefatigable pen of an interested party. This postscript is written for the perusal of such persons—not for those who have read and studied the Life of Dr. Doyle. The assertion has been repeatedly made by Evangelical writers—that J. K. L., whose entire life was a formidable opposition to Protestantism, died a Protestant.

We will rapidly trace the origin and progress of this strange misrepresentation. In the interval which elapsed between the Bishop's death and his lying in state, the Rev. Mr. B——, a Protestant Clergyman, accompanied by the Misses Anderson, called at Braganza House, and expressed an anxious desire to see the corpse. The Rev. Mr. Maher unhesitatingly gratified the curiosity of the visitors. On the following day a letter appeared in one of the Evangelical organs announcing that Dr. Doyle had refused the rites of "the Romish Church" at his death, and embraced the truths of Protestantism. The writer of this letter was the Rev. Mr. B——. Few zealots even of his own party would have credited the statement but that Mr. B—— gave a very accurate description of Dr. Doyle's uncurtained iron bed, which was regarded as a circumstanstial proof that this zealous Preacher of the Word had obtained access to the dying Prelate's bedside.

In *The Morning Chronicle* of Thursday, 19th June, 1834, we read: "The Conservative papers here have got up a story that the deceased Prelate wavered in his religious opinions towards the close of his career; but there is not a particle of truth in the statement."

The untenable character of the tale, however, did not prevent the indefatigable Bishop Philpotts, who had been so often made to feel the weight of Dr. Doyle's lash, from submitting to the House of Lords, in 1835, a new edition of the myth. To respect the memory of the dead was a pagan maxim; but Dr. Philpotts in his unworthy revenge would seem not to have had even pagan virtue. Bishop Clancy, the former friend of Dr. Doyle, having flung back the calumny in the teeth of the spiritual Peer, it soon dropped into temporary oblivion. But five years later we find it diffusing once more its unhealthy odour. *The Times* of 5th November, 1840, contains the following paragraph:

"The Rev. Charles Fleury, Chaplain of the Molyneux Asylum [Dublin], in his sermon denouncing the errors of the R. C. Church, stated from the pulpit that the late Dr. Doyle died in the faith of Protestantism, and for some time before his death was solemnly abjuring the doctrines of Popery, and that faith in the blood of Christ and His righteousness was the only means of salvation. Mr. Fleury stated that two ladies, the nieces of Dr. Doyle, and who had lived with him for some time before his death, solemnly assured Mr. Fleury that the Bishop died a sincere convert to Protestantism."

This is a bad though an embellished version of the Anderson story.* If the Misses Anderson had been Dr. Doyle's wards, it does not follow that they were also his nieces; and it is equally extravagant so assume that because he occasionally permitted them to call at Braganza, "they lived with him for some time before his death."

The above paragraph from *The Times*, having been copied into the Paris papers it caught the eye of the late Bishop Clancy, who,

* *Vide* 157, *et seq.*, of the present volume.

addressed a brief refutation of it to the editor of *Galignani's Messenger*. This letter, after considerable delay, we have succeeded in exhuming. Dr. Clancy writes:

"I was on the spot with the Prelate during the deplorable malady which deprived Ireland and Catholicism of an illustrious defender; and I hope that you will append my testimony, which *contradicts in the most absolute manner* the report spread through a spirit of malice, falsehood, and folly, upon the last moments of Dr. Doyle, and which announces (so unfoundedly) his apostacy from the Catholic faith. As this imposture, enveloped as it is in so many and such delusive details, has been propagated in France, I think that the following facts will not be without interest. For four years previous to his ever-to-be-deplored death, no member of his family lived with the venerable Prelate. Thus, the narrative given to the Chaplain of the Molyneux Asylum, inserted in *The Times*, will be found to be totally unlike the truth; or rather a base calumny invented at pleasure. I am convinced that the holy Prelate died as he lived, closely united to the faith, and to the venerated head of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church; and this conviction is based upon the following circumstances: First, the holy sacrifice of the Mass was celebrated every Sunday, and several times during the week, in an oratory closely adjoining the bedchamber of the sick Prelate. Secondly, some days previous to his death I was with the worthy Prelate, when he requested Dr. Nolan (his successor) to hear *his confession, after which he received the adorable Eucharist*, with the most lively faith and the most affecting sentiments. Thirdly, I was kneeling beside his bed when the Rev. James Maher recited, some moments before his death, the prayers of the dying (only in use among Catholics), and such as are found in the Roman ritual. The illustrious Bishop responded to the litanies. His voice, although dying, could be distinctly heard; and by incessant prayers he asked of his God the grace of a holy death. He entreated me and several other Priests to watch with him; and, during the night, he repeated with love these tender words—'Lord Jesus, have mercy on me! Holy Mary, pray for me!' And his heart expressed with effusion other like sentiments—undoubted proofs of his piety and of his faith.

"It is needless to recall here the testimony of this solid and pure faith which inspired those memorable answers in the two houses of Parliament, and those immortal works in which are found so vast an erudition and so extended a knowledge. His country grateful and always in mourning, has erected a monument to his memory in order to transmit to posterity the fame of his patriotism, and to recall the most learned, the most orthodox, and the most holy of the Bishops of modern times.—I have the honour to be,

"✠ WILLIAM CLANCY,

"Bishop of Oriense, and V. A. of British Guiana."

This letter seems to have been quite unknown to both the slan-

derers and vindicators of Dr. Doyle's memory in Ireland. The writer has been long in his grave; and in citing his impressive testimony on the subject we may be said to summon a witness from the dead.

Whether the Rev. Charles Fleury saw Bishop Clancy's letter we cannot say; but it is, at least, certain that the fable lay quiet for the next ten years. On the publication, however, of "The Morning of Life, a memoir of Miss Anderson," it rose once more in vigorous resuscitation. As the points which have been advanced in that work, with a view to strengthen the imputed Protestantism of Dr. Doyle, are all quoted by Mr. Prebendary Fishburne in a public letter, dated the 31st of December, 1855, we refrain from noticing them until we come to deal with that letter.

In 1854 a work entitled "The Secret History of Romanism," by the Rev. Dawson Massey, appeared. It announces Dr. Doyle's adhesion to Protestantism as a fact unquestioned and unquestionable, but fails to adduce any proofs in support of the assertion. In England the calumny was frequently uttered about the same time, and as often refuted with much point by the Rev. Dr. Cahill. But as Bulwer Lytton says: "When the world has once got hold of a lie, it is astonishing how hard it is to get it out of the world. You beat it about the head till it seems to have given up the ghost, and lo! the next day it is as healthy as ever."

In 1855 we find the Rev. Robert Fishburne, Prebendary of Aghold and Rural Dean, at a meeting of the Carlow Auxiliary Bible Society, stating "there were strong reasons for believing that Dr. Doyle had embraced the truths of Protestantism; nor would he, previous to his decease, receive the last rites of the Romish Church, or allow any of his Clergy to come near him."

The present Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin read Mr. Fishburne's statement with great surprise, and publicly declared, "It is notoriously false. I am in a position to bear conclusive testimony upon the matter. To remove, then, the erroneous impressions which may exist in the minds of any of my Protestant brethren, I deem it right to notice the statement I have quoted. I was for many years well acquainted with the late Right Rev. Dr. Doyle. For the last two years of his life I was one of his chaplains. During his tedious illness I was very frequently, almost daily, with him. I was with him the day before his demise, and was by his bedside the whole of the last night of his life in this world. Now I distinctly, positively, and emphatically declare that the statement which I have quoted is, in the whole of it and in every part of it, totally untrue."

The Very Rev. Dr. Lyster, Protestant Dean of Leighlin, as chairman of the Carlow Bible Society, called upon Mr. Fishburne to offer an explanation of the statements he made, "which I am sure," he added, "your right feelings of justice and honour will at once prompt you to give." The Prebendary complied with the Dean's suggestion, and in the public letter to which we have already

alluded, said: "I was speaking to the resolution, 'That the great hostility at present manifested towards the Bible should excite this society to renewed activity in its operations.' I showed that the hostility was a part of the system of the Church of Rome, expressed by her Popes, advocated by her Bishops, practised by her monks, and applauded by her Priests." Mr. Fishburne cited Dr. Doyle as a formidable opponent of the Bible, and remarked as a significant fact, that shortly before the decease of that Prelate, he had embraced "the truths of Protestantism."

Mr. Fishburne, in reply to Dean Lyster's letter, continues: "I am sure you are desirous of being correctly informed; I beg of you to hear me patiently, and you shall find that I have not spoken without cause. During the principal period of Dr. Doyle's history, it was universally believed that a more able champion of the Church of Rome had not for years, if ever, appeared. To him was attributed the attack made by his Priests upon the Bible Society in Carlow, in the year 1824. At that time the famous discussion took place. I was present at it as secretary of the society. It lasted for two days, and made a wonderful impression. Four Priests delivered well-prepared speeches, largely drawn from 'Milner's End of Controversy,' and which were attributed to the instructions of Dr. Doyle (1). It was not long after that discussion that an event took place, whether caused by the arguments of the Protestant Clergy who spoke on that occasion (2) or not, I shall not presume to say, but the fact is most remarkable. Dr. Doyle addressed a letter to Mr. Robinson, the then Chancellor of the Exchequer of England, proposing (3) a *union* of the Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches."

There are no less than three inaccuracies in this extract. The 1st assumption is disproved by vol. i., pp. 432-3, of "The Life of Dr. Doyle." Of the 2nd we will merely say that it is rather odd how Dr. Doyle's letter on the union of the Churches could be attributed to the powerful arguments of the Biblical divines at the Carlow discussion, when we know that his letter is dated 3rd May, 1824, and that the Carlow discussion began on Thursday, 18th November, 1824. From the 3rd assertion it would appear that Dr. Doyle started the subject, which is not the fact. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had made an able speech in Parliament on brotherly union; and Dr. Doyle, glad to see the hand of conciliation extended from so influential a quarter, and during a season of unexampled polemic acrimony, replied that his project of uniting the Churches, which distract and divide us, would be a good mode of pacifying Ireland, and consolidating the interests of the empire. Mr. Fishburne quotes some passages from this letter, dated 3rd May, 1824, and adds: "These were the sentiments of this great man, after the arguments which were used by the Protestant speakers at the famous Discussion [in November, 1824]—arguments which made such an impression on the hearers that the Protestant Clergy who spoke were obliged to fly from the violence of the people." (1)

Mr. Fishburne continues: "We have now to be introduced to another most important circumstance in the Bishop's history." This is the preamble to a narrative of Dr. Doyle's guardianship of and acquaintance with the Misses Anderson, which will be found detailed at much greater length in chapter xxx. of "The Life of Dr. Doyle." Mr. Fishburne continues: "In order to corroborate the opinions generally held, and with which I was well acquainted at the time, I shall quote some passages from a book which has long been in circulation, entitled 'The Morning of Life, a Memoir of Miss A——n.' I do not vouch for that book, only that it helps to confirm what is known from other sources, and I believe it to be correct." It is a novel circumstance to find a logician citing an authority he "cannot vouch for" in order to "confirm" an improbable statement. Mr. Fishburne attaches considerable importance to the point that Dr. Doyle, after he had vainly laboured to dissuade the Misses Anderson from holding Protestant views, ceased not to regard them with a kind, paternal feeling. Mr. Fishburne perversely interprets this generous quality as a proof that Dr. Doyle had himself begun to waver in his religious views. "Of course, Sir," proceeds the Prebendary, "you and I must know that a change like this could not long escape the watchful eyes of those who were constantly about him; nor is it then to be wondered at, that results followed which have not been uncommon in the secret history of the Church of Rome. Let us refer to the memoir: 'for nearly a year before she left Carlow, she had noticed a great difference in his general health; he frequently complained of not feeling well, of great lassitude, and yet he did not suffer pain and had no symptoms of any disease; but he became thin and languid, without being able in any way to account for it!'"

Comment would ruin this.

"About this time, too," proceeds the Prebendary, "the sermons which he preached were most impressive. One very remarkable sermon was on 'Justification,' to show that a sinner can only be saved by faith in the death and merits of a crucified Saviour. And the last sermon, I am told, he ever preached was, to declare the importance and the duty of reading the Scriptures. I did not hear this myself, I never heard him preach but once, and that was on the crucifixion of our Blessed Lord!"

All this, with the exception of the last point, is entirely hearsay. But even assuming as a fact that Dr. Doyle preached on "Justification," he said no more than had been already inculcated by the Catholic Ritual of Mentz, which, in its exhortation to dying persons, says, "We put all our trust in the merits of Jesus Christ whom God has given to the world in his love truly divine." Whether he ever preached the sermon on "Justification" is, however, somewhat problematical when we recall to mind the anecdote printed at p. 491 of this volume.

Mr. Fishburne quoting from the memoir of the Misses Anderson, writes: "They had not been long in Dublin before they heard

that their reverend guardian was dangerously ill. They immediately started off to Carlow, but were not allowed to see him. They wrote frequently to ask for a time to be appointed when they might have an interview with him; a day was often fixed, but each time they were doomed to be disappointed. The Priests who lived in his house made various excuses; and, in spite of their persevering efforts, he died without their having seen him."

"Now, Sir," observes the Prebendary, "allow me to ask you, what was the reason of all this? These two young women had publicly left the Church of Rome. Might it not have been a strong inducement to them to return if they had seen one whom they so much venerated and loved, dying in peace in the Church which they had left? Why, then, were not those two persons, who were so anxious, allowed to witness the striking and edifying spectacle? They were not admitted—they were refused admittance—and this is a fact which can 'never be forgotten.'"

The reader by turning to the Life of Dr. Doyle (vol. ii. p. 488), will find a letter from the great Prelate, written two months before his decease and addressed to one of his oldest friends, in which this passage occurs, "I would regret your coming here; I am no longer able to converse, and the presence even of my friends, after a time, becomes painful to me." And at p. 458 we read: "During the pressure of my illness nothing gave me so much uneasiness and pain of mind as the over solicitude of my friends, exhibited in their visits or ill-timed letters to myself or others. I rejoice exceedingly that you did not add to this pain, as you would have greatly done by visiting me." The inference sought to be drawn by the biographer of Miss Anderson, and by the Rev. Robert Fishburne, seems a singularly strained one.

But there are other links in the evangelical chain of circumstantial evidence which have still to be broken up. "What were the sufferings of his mind and body," proceeds Mr. Fishburne mysteriously—"what was 'the discipline' which he had to endure, cannot now be told, and perhaps may never all be told till the resurrection of the just. But it is pleasing to know that the little book of Scripture texts, which one of these young women had given him, was recovered by her again after his decease, bearing numerous marks made with his pencil to those passages of the Word of God which tell the all-sufficiency of the finished work of Christ, and which point the sinner to Jesus, and which seemed to have given comfort to his soul."

This ingenious point is effectively refuted by the following extract from a letter, addressed by Miss Keefe of Carlow to the Rev. R. Fishburne. It is now published for the first time:

"Dear Rev. Sir—Of the particulars of Dr. Doyle's last days, I myself am a living witness. For many years previous to his death he had been my spiritual director. I visited Braganza almost daily during his last illness, to inquire after his health, and was

there when he received the last sacraments. So far from his Priests not being allowed to approach him, I can certify that the following Clergymen were present on the occasion: Dr. Nolan, Dr. Clancy, both since dead; Rev. Mr. Hardinge, and the Rev. Mr. Rafter, also dead; Rev. Mr. Dunne, P.P. of Castledermott, and Rev. Martin Doyle, P.P., Graiguenamana. The last-named Clergyman said Mass for him in my presence on the morning of his decease. Rev. Dr. Walshe and the Rev. Mr. Hughes were also present. The Rev. James Maher annointed him, and Dr. Nolan administered the holy Viaticum. The nurses and servants of the house, some of whom are still living, witnessed those facts. I have spoken to the Rev. Mr. Hughes on the subject (is an eye-witness of what occurred) and he agrees that the above statement is in every part correct, and reminds me that the nurse, whose intellect must have been very dull indeed, supported the Bishop's head while he was receiving the adorable Eucharist. As to Bessie Anderson's little book of Scripture texts, 'tis true she sent such a thing to Dr. Doyle: she offered me also a copy, and on my mentioning the circumstance to the Bishop, he said, 'Oh, that poor simpleton, Bessie Anderson, she sent me that book; it is full of errors; I have marked them, and ordered it to be sent back to her.' The truth of these circumstances I am ready to verify on my solemn oath; and moreover, Rev. Sir, should you do me the honour of calling at my house, I will detail to you many others which I cannot crowd into a private letter, and which may tend to disabuse you of the marvellous delusion under which you seem to labour."

Mr. Fishburne, we are assured, did *not* call on Miss Keefe.

Canon Dunne, whose authority Miss Keefe cites, thus addresses the writer of these pages: "I never can forget Dr. Doyle's death-bed scene. "It filled my mind with whatever was most holy in the last moments of a sainted Bishop. There were blasphemers on Calvary, at the foot of the cross of our dying Lord, who cried out 'vah!' and defied his power; why should not the great champion of his Church in our days have his maligners too? They would feign blacken the last moments of Dr. Doyle's bright career, at the very time that he was giving to me and to every spectator the most remarkable proofs that, with St. Paul, he kept the faith, and was now terminating the good fight by breathing his last breath in the bosom and with all the consolations of the Holy Roman Catholic Church. These deep impressions of the lamented close of the life of the renowned James Kildare and Leighlin, can never be effaced from my mind. I often wished, I had so cherished a friend to fortify myself at the awful hour of death."

But to resume Mr. Fishburne's letter. "The last subject," he writes, "to which I shall at present allude, concerning Dr. Doyle, is his funeral, which I saw, and need no one's testimony but my own. It took place in Carlow, on the 19th of June, 1834. And where, let me ask, were the multitudes which, on other occassions, follow

to the grave the honoured inhabitants of this country? Where were the Roman Catholic gentry? Where were the people of his rich and extensive diocess? There was a time when if he, who once exercised such a mighty influence in his Church, had died, thousands would have flocked in from every quarter to follow him to the grave. But now there was nothing of the sort. Two carriages, a few hired jaunting-cars and other humble vehicles, only formed the procession. . . . . It was said at the time, and believed extensively, that '*he had outlived his fame.*' This and other expressions were used to my knowledge, whether right or wrong, to show the altered opinion of the flock towards their Bishop whom they once almost adored. An electric shock had, as it were, been sent throughout the whole body of his extensive diocess which paralyzed the former affections of his people, and he was not honoured as he once would have been in his passage to his last long home."

We may observe, that there was no railway travelling or telegraphic communication in those days, and it was not possible for his influential friends, most of whom were in London, to arrive in time for the funeral; but the attendance, nevertheless, on that mournful occasion was of a highly respectable character. "As to the attendance at the funeral," writes Miss Keefe, in the unpublished letter to Mr. Fishburne already noticed, "you differ not alone with me, but with everyone in Carlow whom I have spoken to on the subject."

But we have a more conclusive authority to cite on this point than the personal impression of the Carlow lady and her friends. In that impartial historic record—*The Annual Register*—under the head of "Chronicle, June, 1834," p. 86, we read: "There were above 150 Clergymen present from the different diocesses of Dublin, Kildare, Ferns, Waterford, and Cashel, and several members of the Religious Orders. The Church was crowded to excess with the gentry and people of this and the neighbouring towns and counties." [After describing the order and route of the procession, the writer chronicles as follows:] "The procession was about two miles in length, there being at least 20,000 persons in attendance. The hearse was drawn by six horses, the people having been prevented on this occasion from drawing the hearse through the town and country."

Mr. Fishburne's assertion, that there was no sorrow manifested by the people of Carlow, is not borne out by the public journals of the time. In *The Carlow Post* of the day we read: "Such was the deep and universal feeling of sorrowful and anxious inquiry, created throughout this town and surrounding counties, when the death of Dr. Doyle was announced on Sunday, that we deemed it due to the public to publish on Monday a second edition of *The Carlow Morning Post.* All the copies of our journal were purchased in the course of a few hours; and so numerous have been the applications at our office since, that we republish to-day the same article, with such other observations and incidents as occurred during the week, regarding the public marks of respect, reverence, and grief manifested."

At the month's memory of Dr. Doyle, similar manifestations of grief were observable. The Irish correspondent of *The Sun* records, that whenever the preacher alluded to the departed worth of Dr. Doyle, "the effect was manifested by sighs and tears."

There is another point in Mr. Fishburne's letter to be noticed. "During his last illness," he writes, "I who am no stranger in these parts, for I am just thirty-three years in holy orders in this neighbourhood—I can tell you that there was a very general opinion, whether right or wrong, that Dr. Doyle was dying a Protestant."

If so, it may be asked, why did not the Protestants attend the funeral, which, according to Mr. Fishburne, was utterly deserted by the Bishop's own flock. The Prebendary continues: "A friend of mine, who is still alive, told me that he was in the town of Tullow on the day of Dr. Doyle's death, when a party of colliers arrived, with coals from the Queen's County, who had passed through Carlow on their way. They brought the news that the Bishop was dead, and had turned Protestant; and my friend tells me that the awful manner in which he heard them execrating Dr. Doyle, cursing and damning him to all eternity, was most appalling."

Assuming this anecdote to be true, it proves nothing. The colliers of the Queen's County were men of the worst possible character. Under the barbarous appellation of Blackfeet and Whitefeet Dr. Doyle had repeatedly denounced and anathematized them. He found it impossible to reclaim those desperadoes, who in return were not slow in anathematizing him. God's annointed was not safe from their blows or curses. Dr. Doyle mentioned in his Parliamentary evidence, on the 16th March, 1825, that a Priest who opposed the Whitefeet would have been murdered by them, but that he removed him to another parish.

The letter of the Rev. Robert Fishburne, from which we have made not a few citations, was published in *The Sentinel* newspaper of the 2nd of February, 1856. An editorial paragraph, headed, "Narrative of the Conversion of a Roman Catholic Bishop," directed attention to Mr. Fishburne's lucubration. "We entreat that all our readers may peruse this interesting document," wrote the editor. "Would that the Wilberforces, the Mannings, the Oakeleys would read, mark, and digest it. Scarcely anything more calculated to edify could be placed in their hands. We owe to Prebendary Fishburne a debt of gratitude for the memoir."

In the following issue of *The Sentinel*, a letter appeared under the signature of B. M., improving on the effect produced by Mr. Fishburne's revelations. The writer declared that he had personal knowledge of the "gloomy forebodings" with which the Romanists of Carlow regarded "the fearlessness and patronizing spirit with which their Bishop entered into the general views, and co-operated with the committees of the Carlow Public Day Schools and Industrial Repository—together with the growing favour and esteem evinced by every class of Protestants." We are assured by the Rev. James Maher,

the executor and former Curate of Dr. Doyle, that his illustrious chief never co-operated with the committees in question.

Mr. Fishburne also sought to demonstrate, on hearsay evidence, Dr. Doyle's approval of those public day schools which his executor denies that he ever approved. Mr. Fishburne describes a visit of Dr. Doyle to a Protestant School-room, in order to attend a meeting of the Fever Hospital Committee, and adds: "He subsequently went into that part of the house where were the repository of work and soup-kitchen for the poor, where he remained for some time, and, on leaving, said, in a most emphatic manner, 'I am now going, and I leave my blessing with you all.'" Assuming the latter anecdote to be true, what does it prove? It is very probable that the scientific, industrial, and charitable institutions of Protestants, were as much objects of Dr. Doyle's respect and regard as of their own.

The letter of B. M., in support of Mr. Fishburne's allegations, went on to describe an interview with the widow Coleman who occasionally nurse-tended Dr. Doyle during his last illness. "When asked had the Dr. received the last rites of the Church, at the time of his death, she emphatically said, '*Not in my presence.*'" Mr. Fishburne in alluding to this nurse-tender recorded the fact, unhappily for his logic: "She *seemed possessed of very dull intellect*, and either could not or would not repeat anything he [Dr. Doyle] said. Whether the late widow Coleman was present or otherwise at the administration of the Blessed Sacrament to Dr. Doyle, matters little. The Rev. J. Hughes, now P.P. of Naas, observes: "I was one of *seven* Priests who were present, on the evening before the death of the great Prelate, when he received the Viaticum from his successor, Dr. Nolan."

Mr. Fishburne's ally, "B. M.," concluded his letter by saying that Dr. Doyle's funeral was "a sad disappointment," for if the *cortege* were divested of "the slender trains of compulsory attendance" including "various tribes of Monks and Christian Brothers," "the attendance was sadly meagre indeed." The Rev. James Maher assures us that neither the one nor the other joined in the procession.

But there is another point much relied upon by those who maintain that Dr. Doyle died a Protestant. This, of which it is only right to give them the benefit, transpires in the following letters addressed to the writer by Augustus Granville Stapleton, the private secretary and biographer of George Canning:

"Warbrook, Winchfield, Herts, 21st July, 1859.

"SIR—I beg leave to acknowledge your letter of the 20th, and to assure you that to the best of my knowledge no correspondence ever passed between Mr. Canning and Bishop Doyle. Mr. Canning, however, I know had a high opinion of his character.

"If the particulars of the latter end of Dr. Doyle's life are such as have been communicated to me, I can only say that I wish you success in dealing with a very delicate subject.—I have, &c.,

"A. G. STAPLETON."

The biographer of Dr. Doyle, in reply to this letter, informed Mr. Stapleton that if he would kindly favour him with any arguments or evidence he happened to possess tending to support the opinion that Dr. Doyle had embraced the Protestant faith, they should be honestly inserted in the Prelate's Life. The following letter is in reply to this intimation:

"Warbrook, Winchfield, 27th July, 1859.

"SIR—I really feel that I owe you an apology for the somewhat hasty observation which I made at the end of my letter. I certainly did allude to the reported conversion of Dr. Doyle to the Protestant faith, but I qualified my remark with an *if*. About nine years ago I made a tour through Ireland, and I certainly was told in different quarters, and with considerable circumstantiality of detail, that Dr. Doyle died a Protestant; and one thing I specially remember—that it was said that in a gallery containing the busts of *all* the Roman Catholic Bishops in Ireland of his day, that of the Dr. was excluded by the express resolution of those Bishops. But at this distance of time I do not recollect who were the individuals who told me these stories, nor could I undertake to repeat the details.—I have, &c.,

"A. G. STAPLETON."

"The one thing which Mr. Stapleton specially remembers," is an exaggerated version of a questionable anecdote, printed at p. 54 of the "Morning of Life, or Memoirs of Miss Anderson." "The gallery" in question, according to this book, was not in Ireland, but at "Prior Park Mansion, near Bath." There is not a word of evidence adduced in the work to prove that the bust 'was excluded by the express resolve of the Roman Catholic Bishops in Ireland, or any other Bishops. No such incident or anything resembling it ever occurred. It may be added, that the bust of Dr. Doyle is extremely scarce; and although the writer of these lines has been for the last five years searching for it, he has not yet been able to procure it at any price.

At p. 24 of our first volume we have striking proofs that Dr. Doyle possessed a singularly inquiring spirit, and powerful abilities for guiding him in the search of true religion; and it would indeed be strange if he had not made up his mind on a point so momentous many years previous to "the last scene of all."

The peculiar misrepresentation which it has been our duty to expose is no novelty in biographic history. Ibn Chalecan, an Arabian author, who wrote in Arabic, as Plutarch did in Greek, the lives of illustrious men, makes use of the following words in mentioning the death of Abulpharagius, Primate of the Jacobites—a Christian Prelate, to whom, for his great abilities, erudition, and virtues, Dr. Doyle might not be inaptly compared. "He (Abulpharagius) was a Christian, and yet many of the learned Mussulmans were his disciples. He is *reported*," concludes the Mahometan writer, "*to have renounced the Christian faith when he was near death!*" Following the spirit of the Mussulman scribe, shoals of evangelical pens

have sought to misrepresent the views held by Dr. Doyle at the hour of Death. It has been stated that the inference fairly deducible from these labours is, that Dr. Doyle's entire life was a monster hypocrisy. But we will place a more charitable construction on the act. The philosoper Bayle, after classing the Mahometan's idle tale about Abulpharagius, among the numberless fables of this sort which are inherent to all sects, observes: "The Mahometans could scarce believe that so great a man was inwardly a Christian; they chose rather to think that he concealed his real sentiments, till the approach of death put an end to his reasons for dissembling them. This prejudice universally prevails. Every one imagines that the truths of *his* religion are so clear that the men of genius of another party cannot but be convinced of them, and that it is only worldly motives which prevent their making outward profession of them. They flatter themselves that at the fatal hour, when the eternal doom affects the mind most strongly, these dissemblers will give truth the glory, and throw aside the mask.

'Dii longæ noctis, quorum jam numina nobis
Mors instans majora facit!'
(Dido in Sil. Italic. lib. viii. v. 140.)

'Ye deities of everlasting night,
Whose forms in death rise larger to the sight!'

"For according to Lucretius,

——'Veræ voces tum demum pectore ab imo
Ejiciuntur, et eripitur persona manet res.'
(Lucret. lib. iii. v. 57.)

'Truth then breaks forth, extorted by our fears,
And all the man, without disguise, appears.'

"It is from this wrong principle (continues Bayle) that so many idle stories arise, which are inserted in Moreri's Dictionary. It is likewise (he goes on) the source of I know not how many discourses, in which certain persons are made to say—'*The religion I profess is the best for this world, but not in the article of death.*'" "But the truth is (adds Bayle elsewhere) excepting a few persons, every one wishes to die in the religion in which he was educated."

Several poetical tributes to the worth of Dr. Doyle found expression while the country was in mourning. Mr. Ivers of Carlow wrote:

"The Cedar fall'n—for mourning now prepare.
He's gone! the patriot Prelate of Kildare;
Tho' short his course, the lights he left behind
Proclaim the effulgence of his mighty mind.

"The Church's ornament—his Country's pride,
The moving pillar, sent to be our guide:
In him the true philanthropist we trace—
His fold, the globe; his flock, the human race.

"Frugal, yet hospitable; dignified, yet mild,
Refined his wit, yet playful as a child;
His pure humility gave all access—
His door and purse were open to distress.

. . . . . .

"Incessant study, preaching, mental toil
Sapped the weak fabric of the saintly Doyle;
Renown'd Braganza! long shall history tell,
Thy master's name, the powerful J. K. L."

The sisters H——, of whose correspondence with Dr. Doyle we have had frequent use in the foregoing memoir, were left in a sadly bereaved and afflicted state by the death of this paternal Bishop. The following lines from the pen of Miss H——, a Nun, are now published for the first time,

Say, O my sister, should we grieve
Because the friend we loved is gone,
From all earth's varied woes, to live
In bliss before our Saviour's throne?

Or should we mourn because denied
The last adieu to friendship given?
Remember how we always prayed
That we should meet our friend in heaven.

We're hastening onward, day by day,
And, trusting Jesus, soon shall find
The Jordan's rolling flood give way
For us to gain the promised land.

Blest land! by God himself decreed
The weary pilgrim's home;
No sland'ring tongue can there be heard,
Nor evil ever come.

Here, fairest, fondest hopes deceive;
Here, enemies abound:
There—truth, and peace, and perfect love;
There, holiness is found.

No sin is there—O glorious thought!
No faithful heart by sorrow riven—
There friends shall meet, and need not part—
None ever weep or sigh in heaven.

Breathe not his honoured name,
Silently keep it;
Hushed be the saddening theme,
In secrecy keep it.
Call not a warmer flow
To eyes that are aching;
Wake not a deeper throe
In hearts that are breaking.

Oh, 'tis a placid rest,
  Who should deplore it;
Trance of the pure and blest,
  Angels watch o'er it.
Sleep of his mortal night,
  Sorrow can't break it;
Heavens, our morning light,
  Alone shall awake it.

Nobly thy course is run,
  Splendour is round it;
Bravely thy fight is won,
  Freedom hath crowned it.
In the high warfare
  Of heaven grown hoary,
Thou'st join like the summer sun
  Shrouded in glory.

Twine, twine the victor wreath,
  Spirits that meet him;
Sweet songs of triumph breathe,
  Seraphs that greet him.
From his high resting-place
  Who him shall sever;
With his God, face to face,
  Leave him for ever.

HOGAN'S MONUMENT.

Shortly after the death of Dr. Doyle, a meeting was held at Carlow with a view to promote the erection of a suitable monument to his memory. Letters proffering cordial co-operation from Lord Duncannon, Lord Monteagle, and James and Henry Grattan, were read. The following very creditable communication from the late Earl of Shrewsbury is addressed to the Very Rev. Dr. Fogarty, P.P., V.G., Lismore, whose warm interest in the present work we take this opportunity of again acknowledging:

"Schwalbach, 20th September, 1834.

"Dear and Very Rev. Sir—With feelings of deep sorrow I received your sad communication of the premature demise of that inestimable Prelate, the Right Rev. Dr. Doyle, the illustrious Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin. I cannot but feelingly express the fervent tribute of my lively gratitude and most profound veneration for a Prelate uniformly distinguished by the most unremitting zeal and activity, and by the most incessant charity and disinterested purity in the discharge of all his sacred duties—a Prelate whom no dangers have ever terrified, and no seduction has ever led astray, and no temptation could ever bribe from the faithful performance of the duties he owed to his God and to his country; ever the firm, and manly, and decided advocate and supporter of the rights of the

people, and of every measure calculated to ameliorate their condition. Dr. Doyle has now obtained, as he well deserved during life, the heartfelt admiration of all the members of the Catholic faith, and also the decided approbation of the liberal and enlightened of every other religion. The resolution adopted in the diocess of Kildare, of erecting some suitable public monument to the memory of so great and good a Bishop, is strongly in unison with my own feelings and wishes, and I therefore approve of it most cordially; and be pleased to accept from me an assurance that I can offer nothing commensurate to my wishes. But I beg you will be so kind as to put down my name for £50—a small sum indeed, but the claims upon me from all parts of the kingdom are many and urgent. Few men have been so justly held in, or commanded such general estimation as the late Bishop of Kildare, on account of the rare talents and mental superiority so pleasurably united in so exalted a character. A thousand thanks to you for having reminded me of the strict propriety of paying a small tribute of my profound and unfeigned respect to the memory of Dr. Doyle. His own private and public virtues will suffice to illustrate his episcopacy, and transmit his name to future ages in characters more durable than any monument.—Believe me, &c.,

"SHREWSBURY, WATERFORD, AND WEXFORD."

The original idea of the Committee was to establish, as a national testimonial to Dr. Doyle's memory, an agricultural model school at Carlow, but on more mature reflection they decided that a statue from Hogan's chisel would prove a more fitting monument to the departed worth of J. K. L. This splendid piece of sculpture, of which an idea may be formed from our second frontispiece, was completed in 1840 at a cost of £1000.

"Pilgrims of devotion and lovers of their country's glory will yet kneel upon his grave," observes Monsignor Meagher: "The inspiring marble may cheer them, it is hoped, by a glimpse of what he was, and fire them to aspire to what he exhorted their fathers to become." This monument has more than once inspired the voice of patriotism and eloquence.

In September, 1858, we find Cardinal Wiseman, during his visit to Carlow, thus eulogising the memory of J. K. L.: "But there was one object there, a tomb, which reminded him how much the awakening of a powerful religious feeling in Ireland was due to that great and noble theologian, the pride of his country, J. K. L. He remembered, when young himself, reading the glowing letters which awakened anew an enthusiastic feeling in every one who perused them, which, while they confounded the enemies of the faith, encouraged its friends, and which might be said to be the first trumpet-note of that out-spoken Catholicity and bold avowal of faith which had since become the general law of the country. He remembered the enemies of their faith perplexed—struck by wonder at the man

whose courage, and ability, and address, and learning, and eloquence enabled him to speak so powerfully in defence and vindication of his religion. To the illustrious J. K. L. and another great man, closely connected with him in feeling and views, Dr. Milner, the Catholics of the United Kingdom were indebted in an eminent degree, for the writings of these learned divines formed the foundation of that powerful mode which had since prevailed in advocating and proving Catholic doctrines, and claiming without shrinking all Catholic rights."

But it is not in Great Britain alone that the memory of Dr. Doyle is held in veneration. The learned Josephum Lanteri Licur Sodanensem, in his work entitled "The Six Last Ages," printed at Tolentini, in 1858, eloquently pronounces Dr. Doyle "Unus procul dubio ex præcipuis recentioribus Hiberniæ scriptoribus, qui in suis celeberrimis epistolis titulo J. K. L. evulgatis, aliisque aureo stilo exaratis valde pretiosis lucubrationibus Religionem, ac patriam egregie est tutatus; alter vero est vir eximius Guilelmus Gahan, cujus summa laus habetur in suis præclarissimis concionibus, aliisque editis ad pietatem allicientibus longe optimis scriptis, quæ singula, doctrinæ soliditate, atque devotionis oblectamento istud obtinent, ut cunctorum Hibernorum manibus diu noetuque assidue terantur, quare juge ipsorum spirituale pabulum jure meritoque appellari queunt. Ex præfatis concionibus veluti," concludes Lanteri with exquisite Latinity, "equibusdam nectare refertis uberibus cuncti Hiberni præcones sermonum suotum succum quotidie eliciunt."

THE END.

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